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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA
ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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EARINGS
BEFORE A
SPECIAL
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

VOLUME 1

AUGUST 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, AND 23, 1938
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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



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UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1938

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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CONTENTS

	Page
Resolution, text of, authorizing.....	1
Statements of—	
Broun, Heywood.....	938
Chaillaux, H. L., American Legion.....	429
Davin, Frank.....	72
Dawson, Leo A.....	933, 938
Fenlon, Edward I.....	943
Frank, Henry.....	860
Frey, John P., A. F. of L.....	91
Gissibl, Peter.....	47, 84
Halpern, Alvin I.....	747, 773
Huffman, Miss Hazel, Professional Theatrical Employees.....	775
Humphrey, William Harrison.....	829
Kerr, Garland.....	845
Kerr, Miss Margaret A., California Better American Federation.....	712, 767, 973
Martin, Earl A.....	957
Martin, Meyer.....	968
Matthews, J. B.....	868
Metcalf, James J.....	75
Metcalf, John C., committee official investigator.....	3, 86
Revzin, Seymour.....	851
Saunders, Miss Sallie.....	857
Shoemaker, Thomas B., Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service.....	707
Sobel, Abraham.....	726, 772
Stark, Wallace.....	928
Steele, Walter S., National Republic.....	278-455
Verdi, Francis M.....	833
Walton, Charles.....	839
Communications from—	
Frey, John P. with copies of his letters to Wm. T. Bonsor, and Paul M. Paterson.....	978

INDEX TO EXHIBITS

Witness

Metcalfe, John C.:

Exhibits:

No. 1.....	14
No. 2.....	14
No. 3.....	15
No. 4.....	15
No. 5.....	15
No. 6.....	16
No. 7.....	16
No. 8.....	16
No. 9.....	16
No. 10.....	17
No. 11.....	17
No. 12.....	19
No. 13.....	19
No. 14.....	19
No. 15.....	20
No. 16.....	20
No. 17.....	20
No. 18.....	20

Witness		
Metcalf, John C.—Continued.		
Exhibits—Continued.		Page
No. 19	-----	20
No. 20	-----	22
No. 21	-----	22
No. 22	-----	22
No. 23	-----	22
No. 24	-----	22
No. 25	-----	22
No. 26	-----	23
No. 27	-----	23
No. 28	-----	23
No. 28½	-----	23
No. 29	-----	23
No. 30	-----	24
No. 31	-----	24
No. 32	-----	24
No. 33	-----	24
No. 34	-----	24
No. 35	-----	24
No. 36	-----	25
No. 37	-----	25
No. 38	-----	28
No. 39	-----	28
No. 40	-----	29
No. 41	-----	29
No. 42	-----	30
No. 43	-----	30
No. 44	-----	31
No. 45	-----	32
No. 46	-----	33
No. 47	-----	34
No. 48	-----	34
No. 49	-----	34
No. 50	-----	35
No. 51	-----	36
No. 52	-----	36
No. 53	-----	37
No. 54	-----	37
No. 55	-----	38
No. 56	-----	38
No. 57	-----	39
No. 58	-----	40
No. 59	-----	40
No. 60	-----	41
No. 61	-----	41
No. 62	-----	42
No. 63	-----	42
Nos. 64 to 81, inclusive	-----	90

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

I understand that it is customary for the chairman to make a preliminary statement before the committee begins to take evidence. The Chair will make his statement very brief.

This special committee was created by a resolution of the House of Representatives, House Resolution 282, for the purpose of conducting an investigation of the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and, all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The resolution is here printed in full:

[H. Res. 282, 75th Cong., 3d sess., Rept. No. 2319]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven members for the purpose of conducting an investigation 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.

That said special committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress 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, by subpoena or otherwise, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman and shall be served by any person designated by him. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 2, sec. 192).

The Chair wishes to reiterate what he has stated many times—namely, that this committee is determined to conduct its investigation upon a dignified plane and to adopt and maintain throughout the course of the hearings a judicial attitude. The committee has no preconceived views of what the truth is respecting the subject matter of this inquiry. Its sole purpose is to discover the truth and report it as it is, with such recommendations, if any, as to legislation on these subjects as the situation may require and as the duty of Congress to the American people may demand.

We shall be fair and impartial at all times and treat every witness with fairness and courtesy. We shall expect every witness to treat us in the same way. This committee will not permit any "character assassination" or any "smearing" of innocent people. We wish to caution witnesses that reckless charges must not be made against any individual or organization.

The Chair wishes to make it plain that this committee is not "after anyone." All that we are concerned with is the ascertainment of the truth, whatever it is.

It is the hope of the committee that we can admit the public to the hearings. However, in the interest of a dignified and judicial hearing we cannot tolerate any demonstration, disorder, or interruption on the part of those who are the guests of the committee. If any such demonstration, disorder, or interruption occurs, the person or persons responsible for it will be immediately ejected by the police and denied further admittance.

The Chair wishes to emphasize that the committee is more concerned with facts than with opinions, and with specific proof than with generalities. Opinions, conclusions, and generalities have no probative force in any court of justice and they cannot be made the basis of any findings on the part of this committee. It is the Chair's opinion that the usefulness or value of any investigation is measured by the fairness and impartiality of the committee conducting the investigation. Neither the public nor Congress will have any confidence in the findings of a committee which adopts a partisan or preconceived attitude. Statements and charges unsupported by facts have no evidentiary value and only tend to confuse the issue. It is easy to "smear" someone's name or reputation by unsupported charges or an unjustified attack, but it is difficult to repair the damage that has been done. As I previously stated, this committee is determined to be fair and just to everyone, and when any individual or organization is involved in any charge or attack made in the course of the hearings, that individual or organization will be accorded an opportunity to refute such charge or attack.

In investigating un-American activities it must be borne in mind that because we do not agree with opinions or philosophies of others does not necessarily make such opinions or philosophies un-American. The most common practice engaged in by some people is to brand their opponents with names when they are unable to refute their arguments with facts and logic. Therefore, we find a few people of conservative thought who are inclined to brand every liberal viewpoint as communistic. Likewise, we find some so-called liberals who stigmatize every conservative idea fascistic. The utmost care, therefore, must be observed to distinguish clearly between what is ob-

viously un-American and what is no more or less than an honest difference of opinion with respect to some economic, political, or social question.

We have four witnesses who will testify today. We intend to complete the testimony of these four witnesses before we conclude the hearing today.

The first witness will be Mr. John C. Metcalfe.

STATEMENT OF JOHN C. METCALFE, OFFICIAL INVESTIGATOR FOR THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is John Metcalfe?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. John C. Metcalfe.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell your name?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. John C. M-e-t-c-a-l-f-e.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the investigators for the committee?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I am a regularly appointed investigator for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live now?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. In Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. About 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I was born in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of Germany?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. In Dresden, Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. In what year were you born in Germany?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. In 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. In 1914, shortly before the World War.

The CHAIRMAN. What occupation have you been engaged in since you have been in Chicago?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Chiefly as a newspaper reporter for the Chicago Daily Times.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were a newspaper reporter for the Chicago Daily Times, were you ever assigned to the task of investigating the German-American Bund of the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I spent some 6 months last year—

The CHAIRMAN. I say, were you assigned to that task?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; I was.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do after you were assigned to that task?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I spent 6 months investigating the activities of the German-American Bund during 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately when did that begin?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. About April or May.

The CHAIRMAN. In what year—1937?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. In 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. You completed that investigation 6 months thereafter?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; in the fall.

The CHAIRMAN. After you were appointed one of the investigators of this committee, you renewed your investigation, and have been engaged in it since that time?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; and I was also engaged in reporting on subversive activities around the country since the investigation for the Chicago Daily Times, and I have been active in this work for a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Your various investigations have carried you how many miles, approximately?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I have covered approximately 20,000 miles of the American-Nazi front in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. After you were assigned to this task by the Daily Times, where did you go?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. To New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do after you got to New York?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I joined the German-American Bund in Astoria.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have your membership card in the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I have a photostat copy of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get that at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Under what name did you join?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Hellmut Oberwinder.

The CHAIRMAN. You first filed an application to join the German-American Bund, did you not?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; the Astoria camp.

The CHAIRMAN. The Astoria camp?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have photostat copies of the application blanks?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; they are over here.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you made application to join this Astoria camp, you frequented taverns in New York where other members of the bund were in the habit of going?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; particularly in the Yorkville section, in Manhattan.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the first official of the bund that you met?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The first official I met was Hermann Schwartzman.

The CHAIRMAN. What official position did he hold with the bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. He was the fuhrer, the leader of the Astoria Post of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he invite you to join the bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time you joined the bund, what did you do? Will you explain to the committee what you did in connection with signing the application or paying any fee, or anything of that sort.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I came to the headquarters of the Astoria camp, in Astoria, and there was given an application blank to fill out, and was told that the membership fees were about 75 cents a month, and there was a contribution, a sort of initiation fee, of a dollar upon

joining, and I was at the same time given a talk on the aims and purposes of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom were you given that talk?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. By a man by the name of Seckel; he was the treasurer of the Astoria post.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you relative to the aims and purposes or objectives of the bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. He told me very definitely that the organization was opposed to a democratic form of government and believed in national socialism for the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You speak German?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. To some extent.

The CHAIRMAN. You had to satisfy them with reference to the fact that you were a German?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; I had a birth certificate.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a birth certificate that you displayed to them before they admitted you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. After you joined, what took place within that camp with reference to meetings?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Meetings were held at the post headquarters, but the social gatherings and drills were held outdoors at various camps in the New York area—at Camp Sigfried, on Long Island, and Camp Nordland, in New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard speeches made at the various camps in German, did you not?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Add also in English?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Some in English and some in German?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. When I originally joined, it was as a social member of the organization, and then later I became a storm trooper.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you a social member before you were qualified to become a storm trooper?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It took me only a few weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a question of convincing the organization or the leaders that you were qualified?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They asked me to join several times before I accepted; they wanted to have me come in.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference between a social member and a storm trooper?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The storm-troop detachment of each post is the uniformed force, and ostensibly their purpose is purely as a unit for ushering at meetings, and so forth. However, the real purpose of the storm-troop division is as a strong section of the German-American Bund, sharply patterned after the Hitler troops in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Patterned after the Hitler troops in Germany?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; very sharply.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get your uniform?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I got a uniform on orders from the leader of the post in Manhattan.

The CHAIRMAN. You were sent to a particular place?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. To a particular place.

The CHAIRMAN. To get a uniform?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. After you got a uniform, did you march with the other storm troops?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; there were special meetings each week for only storm-troop detachments, at which there were drills behind closed doors, and these drills were along the lines of the German Army regulations; all of the drilling was according to German Army regulations down the line. Every command was given in German; there was no English spoken whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us something with reference to the salute of the storm troops? Was it identical with the raising of the right arm, used by the storm troopers in Germany?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. There are two types of salute.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you show us the two types?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. There is the formal salute, like this [indicating], and the informal salute is this [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you remain in the Astoria post?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I remained there for several months before starting out.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were a member of the Astoria post, did you become acquainted with Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain to the committee the circumstances under which you met Mr. Kuhn and approximately when that occurred?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The officials of the German-American Bund were interested in the idea of developing me as a public speaker for the bund.

The CHAIRMAN. A public speaker to be sent to the posts of the German-American Bund in the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. To speak on national socialism and the propaganda of a national character.

The CHAIRMAN. To speak on national socialism and what else?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. And other subjects of Nazi propaganda in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You met Mr. Kuhn and he discussed that with you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I met Mr. Kuhn. I met several persons who discussed the matter with me, and they began to train me for that particular purpose. I met Mr. Kuhn at a later date, and he also became very much interested in that idea.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you were trained to become a public speaker for propaganda purposes throughout the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What training were you given? Were you given literature?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Literature sent from Germany to the United States; literature that had been printed here in the United States and sent to Germany, literature that could be bought by any American by writing to Germany, and a good deal of other official Nazi literature and domestic literature of a Nazi character.

The CHAIRMAN. When you became a member of the German-American Bund, were you required to subscribe to any oath to Hitler or the German Government?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. If I may say so, the matter of that oath has been debated a great deal around the country, particularly in New York, due to a certain case in Long Island where six members of the German-American Bund were indicted on the charge that there was a secret oath taken by members of the German-American Bund. I know definitely I did not take any oath of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not take any oath of the kind, subscribing fealty or allegiance to Hitler or to the German Government?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. There was an entirely different ceremony.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to come to that. I am talking about an express oath; you did not take that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. If you have in mind an oath alleged to have been given, according to the testimony in New York, then I believe that is perjury, because there is no such oath.

The CHAIRMAN. You did go through a silent ceremony, which had a peculiar significance?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain what ceremony you went through, to become a member of the bund, and the significance of that ceremony?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. There was a meeting of the storm-troop division, a uniformed meeting in Astoria, at which this ceremony took place behind barred doors, and no one was admitted but members of the storm-troop division, where the word code was to be given to new members of the storm-troop division, and there were six of us who went through the ceremony at that time. We were lined up in drill formation, and Hermann Schwartzman, the fuhrer of the Astoria post, one of the six men under indictment in New York, was in charge of the ceremony that night. He explained in a speech that the German-American Bund no longer was permitted to give an oath of allegiance; no member of the bund was permitted to take an oath of allegiance.

Mr. HEALEY. An oath of allegiance to whom?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. To Germany. He explained that in place of the oath of allegiance we would be asked to give our word of honor; and he explained that word of honor, which would be interpreted by the organization, would have identically the same significance as if it were an oath of allegiance.

There were no words spoken during the ceremony whatever. The troops were lined up in a U-formation. The new members stood back of the U-shape, at the base of the U, and Schwartzman stood at the opening of the U; there were two flags, one the American flag and the other the swastika, and he took hold of the ends of the two flags, and as the new fledglings approached, the drums rolled a thunderous roar, and you salute in the Nazi salute, place your left hand open, and he places in your left hand first the edge of the American flag, and then at the tip of it he places the swastika.

The CHAIRMAN. All that you testify before this committee will be corroborated by documentary evidence and by photographs of you and other members of the bund, and by certain correspondence from

Germany to the bund, and by the testimony of witnesses who are here to verify a large portion of your testimony; that is the fact, is it not?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to clear up one more point, let me ask you this question: Your investigation was not directed at any race, but it was directed at individuals?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Confined entirely to the activities of certain individuals throughout the United States alleged to be engaged in un-American activities.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the overwhelming majority of people of German descent in this country you found, from your investigation, are entirely out of sympathy with this movement?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I would say at least 90 percent of the German-American element in the United States is bitterly opposed to the activities of the German-American Bund and all it stands for.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you now return to the point at which you were interrupted, and proceed?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. You gave the salute in holding the flag, and there were no words spoken at all, and Schwartzman would grip your hand while the drums rolled and look sharply into your eyes and try to impress you with the significance of the ceremony, and you returned to your position. That is all the ceremony consists of.

Mr. STARNES. Prior to this time had there been an oath given to and taken by the members?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The statement was made by Schartzman that the German-American Bund no longer was permitted to give an oath.

Mr. THOMAS. With regard to this word of honor, what did that signify to you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Allegiance to the swastika.

Mr. THOMAS. Why allegiance to the swastika?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Because it was explained by Schwartzman that the swastika represented the post flag, that it was flying in various countries throughout the world, that it stood for the freedom of the people, for national socialistic ideals.

Mr. THOMAS. When that word of honor was given, in all the cases, did you ever hear of a case where the tip of the American flag was put over the Nazi flag? As I understand it, in your case you first grasped the tip of the Nazi flag.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The American flag.

Mr. THOMAS. And that the Nazi flag was placed on top?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. On top of the American flag.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever hear of a case where the reverse happened?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No. I saw six instances of that on that evening, and in each case the ceremony was identically the same.

In addition, I noticed in placing the flags in the corner prior to the ceremony, which I had been instructed to do, that the swastika cleared the American flag by at least 6 inches, was a much larger flag.

The CHAIRMAN. After you met Mr. Kuhn, you made arrangements with Mr. Kuhn to go on this public-speaking tour throughout the United States; is that a fact?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I told Mr. Kuhn that I had a business trip to make, and he asked me to combine with that business

trip the speaking engagements before the German-American Bund posts throughout the country, and to speak at as many as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you to say to the various posts?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, he asked me to extend the greetings of the East to the Middle West and to the far West. The German-American Bund is divided into three sections, three divisions: The far West, the East, and the Middle West. He asked me to tell them of the work of the German-American Bund in the eastern section; of their camps, of their activities, of their aims, of their comradeship, of the various activities and of their splendid camps that they had; how large they were, how many people came there; to tell them the complete story of the various activities of the bund and to tell them that they could depend upon 100 percent support in anything they were doing in other sections of the country; that they were marching with them, to the same end.

Mr. HEALEY. Why not establish where and when this meeting took place?

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to do that right now. This meeting between you and Mr. Kuhn was in New York, when?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. About August of 1937. It was during August of 1937.

Mr. HEALEY. In New York?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. New York City.

Mr. HEALEY. At what place?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. At the national headquarters of the German-American Bund, which are on Eighty-fifth Street, East Eighty-fifth Street.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, following that conversation, you did make a trip throughout the country?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, I went to California, to Los Angeles.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you furnished with the names of the leaders or the fuhrers of the local bunds?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I had been attempting for a week or so to obtain those names, and I was successful, after this conversation, in obtaining permission to see a ledger which the German-American Bund had at its national headquarters. That ledger listed the various leaders throughout the country. It also listed the individuals who sold the Weckruf and Beobachter.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the Weckruf and Beobachter?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It is the official newspaper of the German-American Bund. It is published in the East and distributed throughout the United States.

I noticed the names, as many as I thought I would be able to take down without creating any suspicion. I also noticed the names of the North German Lloyd Lines in the book, and of the German consul general in Chicago, who was listed in the book.

The CHAIRMAN. The German consul general in Chicago was listed?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about your visits to these posts.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, with my arrival in Los Angeles, for instance, and the presentation of my credentials, I had no difficulty in getting inside and sitting down with the various leaders on the coast

and learning of their activities. Naturally, they told me of all their difficulties, their troubles, particularly the troubles they were having with the Consular Service. It seemed that in some parts of the United States they were not receiving the fullest cooperation from the German Consular Service. In other parts they were receiving very fine cooperation, they said. And they told me of their various difficulties; the differences in policy.

They told me of their difficulties in getting uniforms; that they had sent their money to New York for a shipment of uniforms to the coast and the uniforms had not yet arrived. They wanted to know why. They asked me to check up on that, to confer with New York and to see what was the trouble. We discussed these various things—literature—they had the same difficulty there, and matters of that type were discussed.

The CHAIRMAN. You made speeches in German?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No; I spoke in English.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke in English?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; at Los Angeles.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you in your speeches explain and applaud the National Socialist Party aims and principles?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Oh, yes; I did, naturally.

The CHAIRMAN. And those statements were received with enthusiasm and applause?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. With a great deal of enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN. And applause?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you gone on that tour, approximately?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. A month or more.

The CHAIRMAN. Name the posts that you visited.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. As well as I can remember, I was in Los Angeles. I was in San Francisco. I was in San Gabriel. They have a post there. They have a post in Oakland. I also contacted some people from San Diego, where there is another post. I was in Texas also, in San Antonio, where they were attempting to set up three posts. But they had no German-American Bund post at that time. I was in St. Louis and in Cincinnati; in Cleveland; in Detroit; in Buffalo; in Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. You were gone how long altogether?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Approximately a little more than a month; something of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. You returned and reported to Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you and Mr. Kuhn when you made the report to him?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Mr. Kuhn was at the national headquarters of the German-American Bund in Manhattan.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee what conversation took place between you and Mr. Kuhn at that time?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I had several conversations with Mr. Kuhn relative to my trip. I did that purposely. I did not want to tell him everything at one time. I felt that if I would tell him a little at a time, at least I would have two or three opportunities for him to talk

rather than to give him just one opportunity to explain some of the activities. So in the conversations I told him of the difficulties that various post leaders were experiencing throughout the country, their trouble about obtaining uniforms, financial support for the radio programs on the coast, and matters of that type. Mr. Kuhn became very much alarmed, very much excited. He said, "My God, I do not understand; what is the matter with these people? I have given them instructions. Don't they know what to do? Can't they read? When they have any difficulties with our consular officials, they should report it to me at once. "After all," he said, "I have removed the former German Ambassador, Hans Luther. I have a secret relationship with Germany. I can get anything I want. I have shifted officials. I have removed consular officials. And if they have any trouble, all they have to do is to tell me and the consul will be removed and another one will be put in his place until we get the kind of cooperation that it has been agreed in Germany we will get."

The CHAIRMAN. After your conversation with Mr. Kuhn in which he made these statements to you relative to his ability to remove consuls that were displeasing to him, and relative to his past performance along that line, what did you do?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, shortly after that, I returned to the Chicago Daily Times to assist in the preparation of a series of stories exposing the activities of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to explain at this time the difference between the German Bund and the German-American Bund.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, there are two organizations. That is, generally, the German-American Bund is one large organization with some 80 posts in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The German-American Bund has 80 posts in the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Approximately.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately 80 posts in the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Throughout the United States. Then there is, in addition to the German-American Bund, an organization known as the Deutscher Volksbund.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, your brother, who will testify later, was a member of the German Bund, as distinct from the German-American Bund; is that right?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. He joined the storm troop division of the German Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. There is this difference, that every man in the German Bund is a German citizen. None of them ever intend to become American citizens. In fact, they scoff at American ideals, American institutions of government; they are constantly deriding Americanism in general. They are under oath to Hitler, to Hitler alone. They take orders only from Germany. They are not responsible to anyone else. They are drilled on American soil. They have been trained here.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, your brother was a member of that organization, as will be testified to later?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. And in these documents, there will appear photographs of your brother, along with other members of the German Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be developed shortly. Now, to continue, what is the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The German-American Bund is made up of German and of American-naturalized citizens. That is contrary to what Fritz Kuhn contends. He says that there are no German citizens in the German-American Bund. But there are German citizens in the German-American Bund. There was an order issued from Germany which asked that the organization be purged of all Germans, and this order was not carried out. We will have a witness to testify to that fact.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point I want to ask you a question. You secured certain correspondence between people in Germany and officials of the German-American Bund; is that a fact?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain to the committee how you secured this correspondence?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I was in the United States district attorney's office in Chicago. The United States attorney was taking statements, or a statement of a certain witness as to his activities in the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is here today?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The witness is here. He asked this man whether or not he had any correspondence between himself, the German-American Bund, and Germany, and he said he did; that he had not destroyed all of it. Fritz Kuhn, I might explain, shortly after the authorization or the creation of this committee, sent out a letter to all of the bund post leaders throughout the United States, ordering them to destroy all evidence, whether in correspondence form or otherwise, which could be interpreted as being of an un-American character.

Mr. HEALEY. You know that of your own knowledge, do you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. We have several affidavits as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. That statement will be supported by positive proofs.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Affidavits of members of the German-American Bund. This order, of course, was not carried out just as thoroughly as might be expected, as will be shown through these letters, which were given to me through the witness who will testify later as to the correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to this correspondence a little later on as we develop this. I would like to take up the photographs that were taken of yourself and various members of the bund. In that connection, let me develop this point. At these bund meetings certain Fascists appeared from time to time, Black Shirts, did they not?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Italian Black Shirts; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They were in black shirts?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they collaborated with the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These pictures show these Fascists along with the members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The storm troopers had white shirts, I believe?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Silver shirts.

The CHAIRMAN. Silver shirts?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Fascists had black shirts?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Black shirts. They drilled together.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the mutual understandings or meetings between those two groups, did the Silver Shirt members meet with the bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The Silver Shirt members?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; they met jointly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have members that belong to each organization; that is, a member will belong to the Silver Shirts and at the same time belong to the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. What is there in common between those three organizations that caused this collaboration?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. To begin with, they both have anti-Semitic policies. They have attacked religions; races. They seek apparently to set up a dictatorship in this country; and, although they claim to be thoroughly American, they are opposed to a great many governmental institutions.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that, you have official publications of the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Containing certain statements which in turn were published in German papers in Germany; that is a fact, is it not?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You say that they attacked religions?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. All religions, or certain ones?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Sometimes Catholicism; and Jewish people at other times.

Do you mean the general subversive groups like the Silver Shirts and other groups?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They have attacked about every religion; Protestantism. Catholicism.

Mr. THOMAS. How do you know that they attacked these religions?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I have heard them. I have read their literature.

The CHAIRMAN. You are careful in all your testimony to testify concerning things you know to be facts and not to give opinions or conclusions on hearsay, is that right?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I am.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you got some documents to show that they attacked religion?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to that right now. I want to take up these photographs at this time.

As we present these photographs as exhibits, I want you to identify each photograph. These photographs have notations on the backs of them and they explain where they were taken.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They are classified as to the particular type of activity, such as the youth movement; storm troop movements, and so forth. Most of the pictures have certain identifications on the back of them as to when and where they were taken and what they depict, what they portray.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of these photographs were taken by you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I took nearly all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. The ones that were not taken by you were taken by members of the bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you secured a print?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. From the official photographer of the Bund. Some were taken by other persons.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us take this one. I hand you a photograph, which will be marked exhibit No. 1. On the back of the photograph are the following words:

They forgot their orders from Kuhn. Michael Drey drills Los Angeles storm troops. Kuhn ranted when Times storm trooper reported this Nazi unit was having difficulties with German consul in California city.

Did you take that photograph?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No; I did not. This was obtained from the official librarian and treasurer of the Los Angeles Post.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you obtain it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. I know the person in this picture. I can identify him.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 1.")

The CHAIRMAN. I next hand you a photograph with a notation on the back of it. This photograph will be marked "Exhibit No. 2."

(The notation on the back read as follows:)

Astoria—Storm Trooper Otto Arndt (holding swastika flag) told Times Storm Trooper John C. Metcalfe (left) that Hitler would recall Dr. Driedhelm Draeger, vice consul at New York, because he was not 100 percent Nazi.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you identify that photograph?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take it, or someone else?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No; someone else took it. I am in the picture in a storm troop uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. What position are you in that picture?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Right here [indicating on photograph].

The CHAIRMAN. Describe that for the record.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I am a color guard. I am in a storm troop uniform. This was taken, I believe, at Camp Siegfried, on Long Island.

The CHAIRMAN. Identify for the record your position in the photograph.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The first from the left.

(The photograph above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2.")

The CHAIRMAN. I next hand you a photograph, which will be marked "Exhibit No. 3." It has the date September 9 on it. Will you identify that photograph and tell us what it is?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a picture taken in Chicago. I did not take this picture, but one of the witnesses who is here will testify about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a witness who will testify to that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that purport to be?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This was a celebration at Harms Park in Chicago of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is seated on the platform?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Peter Gissibl; he was the leader of the Chicago Post until very recently. He is in the picture giving the Nazi salute while the troops parade by the stand.

(The photograph above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 3.")

The CHAIRMAN. I next hand you a photograph which we will mark "Exhibit No. 4." Will you identify that, please?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a picture taken at Camp Siegfried, Long Island, of the storm troops, and some Black Shirts at the left side of the picture. I am in the picture right here [indicating on photograph].

The CHAIRMAN. What is your position in the picture?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I am the third behind the American flag. That is about the best identification I can give.

The CHAIRMAN. This picture shows both the Black Shirts, the Fascists—

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Just a few of them.

The CHAIRMAN. And the storm troopers?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

(The photograph above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 4.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture and ask you to identify that.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It is a picture of Herman Schwarzman, the leader of the Astoria Post, saluting at the celebration at Camp Siegfried, Long Island.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Schwarzman now?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. So far as I know, he is in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have any definite knowledge of that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No.

(The photograph above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 5.")

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you to identify this photograph.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. These are storm troops entering the parade grounds while the entire crowd is giving the Hitler salute. The swastika is shown. Several of them are leading the parade.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any American flags in that photograph?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I do not see any.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a number of swastika flags, and these people are shown giving the Hitler salute.

Mr. THOMAS. Where was that?

The CHAIRMAN. Camp Siegfried.
Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Long Island.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 6.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture which purports to show a joint meeting between Fascists, Black Shirt Fascists, and storm troopers. Will you identify that photograph, which will be marked "Exhibit No. 7"?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This was also taken at Camp Siegfried, with the Black Shirts in the center of the picture, giving the Fascist salute and the storm troops, of the German-American Bund giving the Hitler salute, with the swastika in the foreground.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 7.")

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you to identify this photograph and tell us what it is.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a unit of the Astoria Post, just a portion of it. There are a few storm troopers here. I am at the extreme right in uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the person at the extreme right is yourself?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 8.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another photograph and ask you to identify that.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. These are storm troopers from Los Angeles. The picture was given to me by the wife of one of the storm troopers, who was identified, whom I met in Los Angeles. His wife is in Chicago.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 8.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another photograph and ask you to identify that.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a picture of the storm troop division and part of a crowd attending an affair of the German-American Bund at San Diego, Calif.; at the camp.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 9.")

The CHAIRMAN. You have in addition to these large photographs a number of smaller ones. Who took these?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I believe I took all of those, pretty nearly all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you manage to take them?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I have a German camera with me. In fact, the box for the camera has the revenue stamp on it. The camera was given to me by a friend. It had been bought by him in Germany. I used that camera very frequently. It was a German camera, and, of course, it was a very good one. I would take pictures and then give them prints, extra prints, to members of the post. Of course, they encouraged me to take other pictures, and in that way I took some four or five hundred pictures altogether.

Mr. THOMAS. Would it be possible for a visitor to these camps to take pictures, just as you took them?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It may be, sir. I do not know what the regulations are now. At that time there was not a great deal of trouble, except that I was taking different type pictures than the average visitor would take.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you this photograph and ask you to identify that.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a review of a parade by storm troops and Black Shirts at Camp Siegfried on July 4, 1937. In the foreground, at the left, are the fuhrers of the various sections of the United States. In the center, left to right, is Fritz Kuhn, the Bundesfuhrer, the national leader of the German-American Bund, and Joseph Santi. He was the commander of the Italian Black Shirts. At the right is Herman Schwarzman, the fuhrer of the Astoria Post, leading the parade in a goose step, past the reviewing stand.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 10.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a smaller photograph; some smaller photographs. What do they show?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. These are storm troop leaders, or a storm troop leader saluting a scout leader. They have a Boy Scout organization. That is the Hitler youth movement.

(The photograph was marked "Exhibit No. 11.")

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, what does the Hitler youth movement in the German-American Bund represent? Is it a counterpart of the youth movement in Germany?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Practically the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. What size children do they have in it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. From very tiny tots, 6 or 7 years old, all the way up to about 18 years of age.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they train them?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They train them and drill them and rather thoroughly Hitlerize them in their ideals.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they bring books from Germany over for them to read?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They give them literature. They have their own schools. They have a school system established in the United States, at the various bunds in the country. They have motion pictures imported from Germany which are frequently brought over by the German Tourist Information Bureau in New York and shown at the bund meetings.

Mr. THOMAS. In this school system, what do they teach them?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I attended some of the meetings. They teach the principles, basically the principles of national socialism. They glorify Hitler and all that he stands for; the Hitler youth movement and all that it stands for. They glorify Germany in general.

Mr. THOMAS. Do they have these school systems throughout the public school year or just in the summer time in connection with these camps?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No; they have them throughout the year.

Mr. THOMAS. Then how do they go to the public schools in this country?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They take them in these camps in the summer, where they drill them and give them swimming and everything else.

Mr. THOMAS. But if they have a school system throughout the year, do these children go just to these schools, or do they go to the public schools also?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They go to the public schools, so far as I know.

Mr. STARNES. What vehicles do they use for propaganda in this country?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, literature of all types; radio; motion pictures; speeches, by word of mouth.

Mr. STARNES. Do they have agents in the American Army? Do you know anything about that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, at one time in Illinois, for instance, the entire camp was made up of members of the German-American Bund.

Mr. HEALEY. A company of what?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The National Guard.

Mr. HEALEY. How do you know that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. We have a record of it, a company report of it. An investigation was made under the direction of the Governor of Illinois. I believe there was some difficulty of that same type in New York.

Mr. STARNES. Did you find any members of the German Bund or the German-American Bund among the officers of the Reserve Association of the United States Army?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Not that I know of personally. I cannot testify to that.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to develop this school system a little further.

The CHAIRMAN. Please proceed.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you prepared to develop this school system to which you have referred?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I will have some material on it.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that, you have photographs of various youth meetings; and you will develop the matter of this school system further?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know definitely that Kuhn is Hitler's No. 1 man in this country?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. You mean he is the top representative of the German Government?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I would not say that. There may be someone else behind Kuhn.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say he is in this German Bund movement or the German-American Bund movement the No. 1 man?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. He is the leader of the German-American Bund movement, definitely.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know how close his relationship is with Hitler?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I have a picture of him with Hitler.

Mr. STARNES. His official connection; do you know what official connection of relationship exists between the two?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Other than his own admissions to me, of his relationship with Hitler and of the German Government.

Mr. STARNES. Did he tell you that he had authority to remove consuls at will in this country, and did he have sufficient influence to have consuls removed at will?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; he claimed that he had actually had removed Consul Luther. That is, where they were not giving the type of cooperation that they were supposed to give.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he name any others that he had had removed?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I do not recall. I think I have a complete report on that, and I will bring it in at a later date, showing the exact conversations which took place between Fritz Kuhn and other leaders of the German-American Bund throughout the country.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "with others," do you mean to say that you made a written report or memorandum of it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; almost immediately after I left the office, after a conversation of that type. I made a notation at once.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify this photograph [exhibiting it]?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; this is a photograph of a German fife and bugle corps at Camp Nordland. They are members of the bund.

Mr. HEALEY. Is this uniform a distinctive uniform or is it patterned after the German uniform?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It is a distinctive uniform.

Mr. HEALEY. What does it consist of?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Black trousers, a silver gray shirt, black band around the cap, silver lined, black tie, swastika on the band, and brown belt.

Mr. HEALEY. Is it patterned after the German uniform?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Not exactly. The uniforms of the American Bund have changed from time to time. This is now the official uniform, not the original uniform, of the predecessors of the German-American Bund, known as the Friends of New Germany.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 12.")

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify this photograph?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a photograph of storm troopers lined up over at Camp Siegfried, at Yaphank.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 13.")

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you to identify this photograph.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a section of black shirts at Camp Siegfried.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 14.")

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. These are storm troopers in black shirts.

Mr. THOMAS. You were asked a question about propaganda.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you develop that at a later date? Will that be done through another witness at a later time?

The CHAIRMAN. There is another witness who will do that.

We will place in evidence the balance of the photographs, which are more or less the same as the ones already produced. We want these photographs of the Hitler youth organizations in the German-American camps. I hand you a photograph of a boy and girl with the background of a swastika. How did you secure this photograph?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. That picture was secured by another witness who is here and who will testify to it.

THE CHAIRMAN. Will you identify it?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a photograph of an American boy and girl at Chicago, members of the Hitler youth movement of the German-American Bund.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 15.")

THE CHAIRMAN. Will you identify this picture of a boy and girl, the boy with hand raised in the Hitler salute, and the girl standing beside him?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a picture taken at a youth camp, with a boy giving the Hitler salute. The picture was taken at Camp Horstswart in Pennsylvania.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 16.")

THE CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture of two boys, one with a steel German helmet on, and, also, a spear in his hand: Will you identify that?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. I took that picture of this boy on sentry duty at a youth camp. That was Camp Siegfried.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 17.")

THE CHAIRMAN. The next one is a picture of three boys, one with a steel helmet on, and two with spears in their hands.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. This was taken at the same location on another day. There is a boy with a helmet on and two others.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 18.")

THE CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture of some girls with black skirts, white, blue, and black ties, with the swastika in the background.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. The uniform is blue and white. That picture was taken at Camp Siegfried, of the youth movement in the girls' section.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 19.")

THE CHAIRMAN. What is the result of your tours throughout the country, investigations of documentary evidence and other things, in forming an estimate of the strength of the German-American Bund, including the German Bund and the various Silver Shirt and other allied organizations, with their sympathizers, or those who attend the Bund camps and contribute to the movement? What is your estimate of their strength?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. You understand by membership—

THE CHAIRMAN (interposing). I do not mean the membership of the Bund, but of allied organizations, and their sympathizers, or those who attend their meetings.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Five hundred thousand—half a million.

Mr. THOMAS. In that estimate, do you divide them among the organizations?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I would say that the German-American Bund claims to have a membership of 6,500. The Department of Justice, after a cursory investigation, said it was 8,500. The investigation of the Chicago Daily Times showed it was closer to 20,000. I believe I can say at this time that a more accurate estimate would be about 25,000. The bund advertises in its public gatherings, where people are willing to be seen in the camps and attending their meetings, that the total of such people in the United States is 100,000.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the claim of the actual number of those who attend the bund camps.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When they attend camps, do they make contributions?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In uniforms, or what?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. In money.

The CHAIRMAN. They make voluntary contributions, buy beer and other things, and so forth, to maintain the camps.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; and they buy literature. I would say that there were at least 100,000 of them throughout the United States. The total, with the sympathizers and others who attend their meetings, would run to half a million.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the division as between the bund membership and that of the Silver Shirts, Black Shirts, and so forth?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They are separate organizations. Of the three movements, the bund movement is by far the largest of the three. Mr. Saulter, who attended this affair, and whose picture is shown there, claims that the Black Shirt movement in the United States as 10,000 men in uniform, or in Black Shirt uniforms in the United States, with an additional 5,000 in uniform on the outside. In other words, in the whole world the number would be 15,000. They were supposed to have been sent from Rome to America to further the Black Shirt movement in the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Then we have about 140,000. As I understand it, you have approximately 25,000 bund members and 100,000 sympathizers.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No, sir. Your figures of bund membership are 25,000 members. I will draw a line against the total of 100,000. That does not include all the people who do not want to be seen publicly with them, but who support them and aid them all the time privately. They are in sympathy with them. There are thousands of those people.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this is just an estimate of the number.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. I think that is a conservative figure.

Mr. THOMAS. The membership of the bund—

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The registered membership of the bund proper is approximately 25,000.

Mr. THOMAS. It is much larger than the membership of the other two.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I believe it is larger.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a photograph of a group of girls carrying a swastika and banner.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That photograph was taken at Camp Nordland.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 20.")

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a photograph of a group of small girls, ranging, I presume, from about 6 or 7 years of age. Will you identify that photograph?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This picture was taken at Camp Siegfried, on Long Island.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 21.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture of a boy leaning against a tree with tents in the background. Will you identify that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That was taken at Camp Siegfried, on Long Island.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 22.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture of some boys marching with a flag, with the official swastika or half swastika in one corner, and in the middle is a skull.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; that is the insignia of various troops. A lot of scouts have different insignia. They have the swastika insignia indicating the youth movement.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 23.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture with someone with his right hand raised, speaking through a microphone.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That picture was taken at a celebration at Camp Siegfried, at which the speaker is here giving the Hitler salute. This man is Carl Nicolay. He is giving the Hitler salute and an address. He is a very ardent national socialist, and he has been engaged in that particular work for a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he show that to you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; he was one of the men who was trained to become a public speaker. We will tell considerably more about that at a later date.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 24.")

The CHAIRMAN. There are many more photographs of the Youth movement, but we will pass them over for the time being.

I hand you a picture with two men in uniform, with one in civilian clothes in the middle.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is a picture of three Chicago Times reporters who covered the Nazi investigation, representing James J. Metcalfe, who was assigned to the German Bund, distinguished from the German-American Bund; William E. Miller, who was an observer assigned to the general field organization, and myself.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 25.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture of an airplane. Will you please identify these two pictures.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I took those pictures of an airplane flying on July 18, 1937, over Camp Nordland, N. J. From this plane there were dropped swastikas on the camp, to the cheers of the group. The flyer was not identified.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the plane have any identification marks on it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Not that I know about.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know whether they were dropped on any of the neighboring municipalities?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I cannot testify to that directly. I did see this same thing happen again at Philadelphia and Detroit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 26.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a photograph of a group of men in black shirts: Will you identify this photograph, and, if possible, identify the persons?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This picture was taken at Camp Siegfried. I am in the center, with a storm troop uniform. There are others around in black shirts.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 27.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another photograph of a group of men in black shirts, with two women in the picture.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is another picture taken on the same day.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 28.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a photograph of an individual apparently making a speech.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This man is Commander Salvatore Caridi, the head of the Italian World War division, who spoke to about 10,000 persons gathered at the German camp bund celebration at Camp Nordland, September 12, 1937.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 28½.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a photograph of an individual in uniform standing back with a group of magazines and books, apparently German literature.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That photograph I obtained at Los Angeles. It was actually taken at San Diego. The man is the manager of the Los Angeles Post, charged with the distribution of Nazi literature, much of it from Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. That picture shows some of the literature, books, pamphlets, etc., being distributed to people coming up.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 29.")

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a picture of two men in uniform.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That picture was taken at Camp Siegfried. I am in uniform there along with another storm trooper. These people are being advised where the literature is sold to visitors to the camp.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you develop, Mr. Chairman, whether this propaganda comes from Germany?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we will develop that the propaganda comes from there.

I hand you a picture of a swastika, a large swastika, with a man in uniform.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This picture was taken at Hindenburg Park, Los Angeles.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 30.")

The CHAIRMAN. You have among these photographs a picture of Fritz Kuhn with Adolph Hitler.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a picture of five individuals. Will you identify that picture?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The man on the left, or the extreme left, is Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. You say it is Hitler, but you do not know that to be the fact, do you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That picture has been distributed very freely among the members of the bund, and a man who was present gave me this. He is at the extreme right. At the foreground here is Fritz Kuhn speaking to Hitler.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 31.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a photograph of, apparently, a banquet, with the swastika and two American flags.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is in a banquet hall of the Biltmore Hotel, on September 14, 1937, at the time of the reelection of Fritz Kuhn for 4 years. I am sitting there in the foreground, just in front of Fritz Kuhn, and the German vice consul at New York is addressing the leaders of the German-American Bund gathered from all over the country.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 32.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you this photograph of a number of persons in uniform.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This picture was taken at Camp Siegfried, on the rifle range. The German-American Bund has throughout the country various camps and at a number of them they have shooting ranges.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a target with you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will come to that later.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 33.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another picture of a man in uniform with an American flag and some other flag: Will you identify this photograph?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a picture of Ukrainian Storm Troops. It is a German-American Bund affair at Chicago.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 34.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a picture of a group of men wearing some uniform.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. These are White Russians giving the Nazi salute. That was an affair held in New York.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 35.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another picture of men in uniform saluting. They have torches.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This was an affair held throughout the country. That is the flaming swastika. It is reminiscent of the flaming cross of the Klan.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 36.")

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a photograph of two boys: Will you identify it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. These are pictures of boys made in Germany. They were posed for by German Army officers, and are modeled that way. Then they were shipped to the United States, and sold at Yorkville. There is a sale of this stuff at Yorkville of children in those poses.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 37.")

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell this committee, based upon your actual knowledge, as a result of your membership in the bund, your conferences with the various members, the literature you have read, and so forth, what are the main purposes of the German-American Bund and like associations in the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Of course, the German-American Bund claims that they are purely a social movement, and that it has no other purpose than preserving the identity of the German-American; but we have discovered that the real aims and purposes of the Nazi Germans in the United States are threefold: First, the establishment of a vast spy net; second, a powerful sabotage machine; and, third, a German minority with the present group as a nucleus and to encompass as many German-Americans as possible.

In this connection, it must be borne in mind that in 1916, prior to the entrance of the United States into the World War, Germany had practically no espionage organization or sabotage machine in this country. It is to avoid a duplication of this mistake that the bund has become active without letting even its own membership know the real purpose behind the movement so that they may be prepared for any eventuality that may arise, such as a state of war with America or an attempt to prevent the United States from delivering arms or supplies to a Nazi enemy. We will show, as we go along, the activities here which will support this statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Going back to the proposition of propaganda in the United States, will you tell the committee how that propaganda is carried on?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. One of the principal means of bringing this about has been the establishment by the Nazis in Stuttgart, Germany, of the Auslands Bureau, which is the foreign institute. This institute at the present time is manned in Stuttgart by men who were former leaders of the Nazi movement in this country, some of whom have even taken out citizenship papers.

We refer here to such men as Walter Kappe, who was the chief propaganda officer in this country for several years and served as editor of the Nazi newspaper here; Fritz Gissibl, former national leader of the Nazi Bund in this country, who, incidently, was a witness for the McCormack committee in 1934, and then fled the country; a man by the name of Schuster, a former leader of the

eastern division of the Nazis, and unconfirmed reports have it that this same institute now also employs Heinz Spanknoebel, one of the founders of the Nazi movement in this country, and a fugitive from justice, having been indicted by a Federal grand jury in New York.

This foreign institute of the Nazis is actively engaged in directing, planning, and helping to finance under various names the activities, the plans and programs of the German-American Bund in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The correspondence which will be produced after dinner, and the magazines and writings, establish the connection between the Nazi Party in Germany and the bund movement in the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; that literature will, in a way, be a missing link in that long-suspected connection—the correspondence to which the Congressman refers and to which I have referred earlier; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You recently attended a meeting of the Silver Shirts, did you not?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You previously testified that they have a very close relationship with the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a fact?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the course of that meeting you heard certain things?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Statements made by official speakers?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; by one official speaker, the main speaker of the evening.

The CHAIRMAN. From your investigation and your contacts, you believe, or rather know, that there is a definite relationship between the Silver Shirts and the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. By their own admissions—the letters.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say “by their own admissions,” what do you mean by that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Publicly, at their meetings of the Silver Shirts.

The CHAIRMAN. What about their aims and objectives, as announced? Are they similar?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They are similar. Their procedure of attack is very similar, as I think I have pointed out.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any literature or pamphlets of the Silver Shirts movement reprinted in Germany; or do you know that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. They are not reprinted, but they can be obtained in Germany. You can write to the Foreign Institute, for instance, and obtain from them copies of the Silver Shirt Weekly, which is known as Liberation. It is published by William Dudley Pelley. Pelley is the chief of the Silver Shirt Movement. He is the national headquarters of the Silver Shirts, at Asheville, N. C., but you can write to Germany and obtain copies of Liberation. You can buy it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you obtain other magazines?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; you can obtain other magazines, other publications, in Hamburg—material that has been printed in the United States and shipped over there and sold again.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true with reference to the official publication of the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No. The official publication of the German-American Bund is quoted in such publications as Julius Streicher's "Sturmer," and Julius Streicher, of course, is the top notch anti-Semitic in the German movement, which is a well-known fact.

The CHAIRMAN. At these various meetings that you attended did any vice consul ever address the audience?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that happen once or on numerous occasions?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Oh, I think we have pictures of several occasions where they have attended, and we have admissions from an affidavit of the—of course, he is not here, but I have his affidavit that was taken under oath, from the United States attorney, that the various consul generals and vice consuls attend the affairs of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear any of those speeches yourself?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they in German or in English?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. German.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the general tenor or purport of those speeches?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Of a desire to be of the fullest cooperation, assistance, and help in the movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Praises of Hitler and the Nazi regime?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, in view of our getting into other phases, which will take about an hour or an hour and a half when we get into the propaganda and correspondence, we will take a recess until 1 o'clock and resume the hearing at that time.

(Thereupon a recess was taken until 1 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Metcalfe, will you resume?

TESTIMONY OF JOHN C. METCALFE—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Metcalfe, you stated this morning that you had your membership card in the German-American Bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you an instrument here. Is this the membership card?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is the membership card, with the signature of Fritz Kuhn on the card itself.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a photostatic copy of the card?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is a photostatic copy of membership card of the German-American Bund.

(The card referred to was received in evidence, marked "Exhibit No. 38," and is filed herewith.)

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that, are there some photostatic copies of applications, and what else?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. And various applications—here is another photostat of the membership card, from the front view, and this [indicating] is a receipt for the initial dues and initiation fee. The originals are here.

The CHAIRMAN. There you have two photostatic copies of the membership card; next is the official receipt for the membership dues—well, we will get to that in a minute.

Now, you made some general statements this morning, and we want to begin to tie them in now with specific proof. You testified with reference to some correspondence that you secured from Mr. Grissibl; is that right?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you secure a letter from a Mr. Brand, treasurer of the city of Chicago?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Among the letters which were given to me through Mr. Gissibl there was one letter written by Gustave A. Brand, treasurer of the city of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you this letter. Will you identify this as the original letter that you secured?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have that letter translated?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The original letter is written in German?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is on the stationery of the office of the treasurer, city of Chicago, Gustave A. Brand, treasurer, dated July 9, 1937.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 39," and is filed herewith.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read the translation of the letter?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE (reading):

DEAR HERR GISSIBL: Very many thanks for your friendly note and the guest card which you sent me a few days ago.

That is the guest card for the German-American Bund.

It will certainly be a great pleasure to visit the club rooms of your bund, and I do not doubt that your books will be of the greatest interest to me.

I thank you again most cordially and am with a German greeting and best wishes.

GUSTAVE A. BRAND.

In this connection, the books referred to is a library—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know this to be a fact?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I have the statements of a witness who will testify later on as to the library itself, and I have his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. What library is it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. A library that has been created in the headquarters of the German-American Bund at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. How many volumes do they have?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They have several thousand books.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did they secure the books?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Some of them in Germany; a great many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they in the German language?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They are in the German language.

The CHAIRMAN. Now with reference to the other correspondence that you secured in the same way that you have heretofore testified about: I hand you a letter written in longhand, dated—what is the date in 1936; what month?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. December 19, 1936.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 40," and is filed herewith.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please read that letter?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is to the Deutscher Volksbund Ortsgruppe—that means the post of the German-American Bund—at Chicago, Ill. [Reading:]

GENTLEMEN: I am a German-American and we have already corresponded (your letter 3.10.1933).

Next spring I shall probably come over again. I should like some information now, as follows: I have paid here nearly 4 years in the party (U. S. D. A. P.). Of course, I cannot take an oath here. The leader here tells me I cannot belong to the party as an American. Thus I should like to ask you, are in your Ortsgruppe or in the Deutsche Volksbund only Germans or also German-Americans? Then another thing, can you find out whether there are any Jews engaged on the Abendpost?

I beg you kindly to answer immediately.

With best thanks and German-American greeting.

PETER KASTENHOLZ.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that letter sent from?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That letter was sent from Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of Germany?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Cologne.

The CHAIRMAN. Addressed to whom?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It is addressed to the German-American Bund post at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another letter—or, rather, this is a carbon copy of a letter dated Chicago, January 16, 1937, written in German, of which you have the translation attached. Will you kindly read that letter?

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 41," and is filed herewith.)

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is the reply to the other letter.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a reply to the letter that you have just read?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. [Reading:]

HERR PETER KASTENHOLZ.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of December 19, 1936, I wish to say:

In the American German Volksbund (former Friends of New Germany) there are no members of the N. S. D. A. P.—

The National Socialist Party—

and no party members can join this bund.

Besides the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund there is another organization in Chicago, the Duetscher Volksbund. American citizens cannot join this organization. In the Deutscher Volksbund are only members of the N. S. D. A. P.—

National Socialist Party—

German citizens who have taken out their first papers—i. e., who intend to become American citizens—can join the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund. These, of course, cannot remain members of the N. S. D. A. P., as they have forfeited their German citizenship.

Both groups are on friendly terms with each other. The Reichsdeutschen are only given to cultural activities, while the other group is politically active.

With regard to the Abendpost we are just not clear. The paper has large ads from Jewish houses, and is naturally dependent on them. Whether Jews are employed by the paper or not, I do not know. The owners of the Abendpost are not Jews.

PETER GISSIBL, *Ortsgruppenleiter*.

The CHAIRMAN. I next hand you a letter dated Chicago, January 16, 1937, signed by—well, you can read the letter and identify it.

All these letters are the correspondence that you got in the way that you have previously testified; is that right?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

This is addressed to Firma Kasper Berg, Nuremberg.

(The letter was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 42," and is filed herewith.)

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE (reading):

We wish to purchase some Rhuen bicycles for our young people. Please send one on receipt of this letter to the above address. The amount will be sent you as soon as we receive your bill.

With German greeting.

Signed again by Peter Gissibl, the head of the German-American Bund at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. I next hand you a letter dated Munich, August 13, 1937, signed "H. R. Hoffmann." Will you kindly read that letter and identify it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE (reading):

DEAR HERR GISSIBL: In answer to your writing of 26.7 I wish to inform you that I shall, of course, be glad to receive the Americans recommended by you. Mr. Coleman and Mr. Kent A. Blakeslee, and to give them an insight into the up-building of New Germany. As, however, on 25.8 I shall be in Nuremberg for the preparations for the Reichsparteitag—

That is the National Socialist Party day—

I hope I shall not miss their visit. In any case, I shall appoint someone to take care of the gentlemen.

Signed "H. R. Hoffmann." Sent from München; that is, Munich, Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was written to whom?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. To Peter Gissibl.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 43," and is filed herewith.)

The CHAIRMAN. I next hand you a letter dated Berlin. Will you read the letter and identify it? What stationery is the letter on?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It is on the stationery of the Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland. That is the bund for the Germans in foreign lands.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the bund for Germans in foreign lands?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is right. It was sent here to Peter Gissibl, to the German-American Bund at Chicago.

The letter states:

DEAR MEMBER: It is a great pleasure—

This is a point, I think, that is quite important—

DEAR MEMBER:—

Sent to the German-American Bund post.

It is a great pleasure to us to be able to send also to you as a greeting of loyalty of the old country for the coming Christmas feast a V. D. A. calendar "Deutsche in aller Welt"—

That is, Germans throughout the world—

1937. At our expense many firms in the Reich have put at our disposal a large number of almanacs for Germans in foreign lands, to show them the close connection between the members of the same people.

We beg you to use the calendar so as to be seen by as many as possible, as our 100,000,000 people live scattered over the whole earth, and in spite of centuries of separation from the Reich still hold true to German customs, language, and culture, although subjected to endless suppressions in many countries.

We should be very glad to hear if the calendar reached you, and whether you would enjoy hearing more in the future from the Reich. We are especially anxious that the firm, which also published the enclosed almanac, receives an acknowledgment from you. We are sure that such a letter will please the sender.

The CHAIRMAN. Signed by whom?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Signed by the Volksbund für das Deutschland im Ausland.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the agency established by the Nazi Government to bring closer together the Germans throughout the world; is that right?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is right; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an official agency of the German Government?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is an official letter.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 44," and is filed herewith.)

The CHAIRMAN. I next hand you a letter dated October 20, 1937, from Stuttgart; is that right?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter is signed "Your comrade," with the initials underneath "b. w." Will you read that letter?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter from the Foreign Institute at Stuttgart, which I mentioned this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. The Foreign Institute, as distinct from this other organization. What is this?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The Foreign Institute is engaged in assisting the German-American Bund in the spreading of propaganda in this country. A number of officials in the institute at Stuttgart are former leaders of the bund, and the brother of Fritz Gissibl is one of the officials of this institute in Stuttgart.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the letter.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE (reading):

DEAR HERR GISSIBL: We have asked repeatedly in the U. S. of A. for an exchange of boys and girls in vacation with Germany. In the future we want to give more emphasis to this negotiation and make a permanent arrangement.

We see that this problem, properly handled, can be of the utmost importance for the development of foreign connections. I refer to a paragraph that appeared about 2 years ago in an article in the *New Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*: "Friendships cannot be made early enough. Youth is especially susceptible to this. The impressions of a youth in a foreign country influence hundreds of his comrades on his return."

With this conviction, we have taken upon ourselves the task, beginning next year, of bringing a number of young people of German and non-German blood in exchange to Stuttgart, the city of the foreign Germans. The limit of the considered number for the above-named cities has been taken care of. With Chicago, as also with Detroit, the most friendly feeling connects us; that was fostered through the visit of our president, Herr Oberbürgermeister—Dr. Strölin. Besides the German element in both cities holds a prominent place.

The choice of Stuttgart was made, aside from the unusually adapted situation and structure of this city, not only because of the exchange to take place, but also we wanted to be able to provide that the stay of our young friends from abroad could be made profitable to them in the Reich. That we could only do in our own city. It would be here only that we could get the guarantee that the families for whom the exchange would be made, would be adaptable. Every boy and girl from abroad would, through our intervention, be introduced into our German family life. They would be in contact with our youth, in the home, at work, at play, at sport, and in the community.

Before we begin with the separate details, we should like to know how you feel about our plan, to which our president, Dr. Strölin also as Oberbürgermeister of the city of Stuttgart, gives his full support.

With your support we expect to attain the success we are aiming for.

We are aware of the difficulties before us. In the first place one is the expense of fares. Still I think there should be 20 families that can be won to give their children for exchange. Not to be forgotten is that the Reichs Railway gives a rateage of 60 percent, and a special rate will be granted by the German Steamship Co.

I shall be especially grateful to you to be notified of your stand in this matter.

Your comrade.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 45," and is filed herewith.)

MR. MASON. Have you a record of any answer to that letter?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. All the correspondence I have received is here.

MR. MASON. Is there a direct answer to that letter?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. Apparently some of the letters were lifted. These were given of their own volition, and there will be a witness here who turned these letters over, and he can be questioned about them.

The CHAIRMAN. He turned the letters over to someone else?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. He turned the letters over to Otto Willumeit. Otto Willumeit is the present leader of the German-American Bund post at Chicago, and Mr. Willumeit simply brought them down as a matter of convenience, and to save Mr. Gissibl a trip again to the United States attorney's office.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a letter which you can identify.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter from Great Kills, N. Y., dated October 24, 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. All these original letters are written in German; you are reading from the translation of the German?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; that is correct. [Reading:]

DEAR HERR GISSIBL: You may remember that I took care of the V. D. A. (Volkbund für das Deutschtum in Ausland, Berlin) work.

Our book agent in Berlin would like to know whether the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Verbände der Südseite"—

That is South Side unit—

in Chicago still exists. In 1934 a number of books were sent to this organization. Letters that were sent to George Ott, 11141 South Sawyer Avenue, the secretary, came back or were not answered. Herr Ortmann, of the Abendpost, gave a new address, 5524 South Bishop Street, but letters written there were not answered.

Unfortunately I must say that it is very hard to get an answer from Chicago. I have several times written to the Artsgruppe of the A. V., as well as to the paper, but never had an answer from either.

Now, Gault Froebse—

That is the Middle West leader of the German-American Bund—

tells me that I will undoubtedly get an answer from you. Let's hope so.

Then a Herr Herbert L. Baldermann, 2541 Sunnyside Avenue, Chicago, has asked for books for his "organization?" Do you know him? What organization does he lead?

Signed by "C. G. Orgell."

I believe that Mr. Orgell was under investigation for un-American activities by a former committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a general statement. Do you know that to be a fact?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. He was called before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean he was called by a former committee?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not volunteer any conclusions unless you know what you are saying.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 46," and is filed herewith.)

The CHAIRMAN. I show you another letter which you may identify.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is another letter written from the same person, Orgell. [Reading:]

DEAR MR. GISSIEL. Many thanks for your prompt answer. My complaint, that I can get no answer from Chicago, goes back to the time before May 1917.

From your letter I gather that it is of no use to send books the Arbeitsgemeinschaft dt. Vereine on the South Side any more.

The material that Herr Baldermann received came from V. D. A., it came through our agent (Mirbt). If he wishes he can get more any time, that is, if you approve.

The 30 books for your Theodore Koerner School—

that school is the youth-movement school in the post to which I referred this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. These were sent through the German consul general?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. In other words, they cooperated in this way.

The 30 books for your Theodore Koerner School that came this summer (through the German consul general in Chicago) are also from the V. D. A.—

And they came from the Foreign Institute—

if you wish more primers or school books, then please write me direct, the request goes then—without the official way through the consulate and foreign office—to our agent. Let me know how many you want and what you need besides primers and readers. I shall take care of prompt delivery. Fritz Kuhn must of course know of the request and give his O. K.

The CHAIRMAN. Read that over again. I did not get it exactly.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE (reading):

I shall take care of prompt delivery. Fritz Kuhn must of course know of the request and give his O. K.

The CHAIRMAN. Before they can get additional books?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Before they can get additional books.

If you can get me of the following Chicago German papers a few proofs I should be grateful:

Heimatbote (Donaulaender Blatt) Michael Schaut, 1543 Larrabee Street.

Illinois Staats-Herold, 118 North La Salle Street.

Neue Zeit, Wochenschrift fuer Politik, 3825 Pine Grove Avenue.

Wahrheitsfreund, Menonite Publishing Co., 2812 Lincoln Avenue.

They can be old numbers, so long as they can be used as proof.

With German greeting,

CARL G. ORGELL.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 47," and is filed herewith.)

The CHAIRMAN. What do they mean by "With German greeting"?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, that is the familiar greeting that they use throughout the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify this letter? It is a short letter.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; it is very brief. [Reading:]

GENTLEMEN: I studied the German language—

This is sent to the Foreign Institute in Germany, at Berlin—

I studied the German language for a year and have corresponded with a student in Germany but seem to have lost track of him. Therefore, I would like to secure another correspondent and was referred to you. I will, therefore, be grateful if you will let me know if you can help me in this matter, advising me of the amount of your fee. I am interested particularly in economics and politics, am 27 years old, and interested in getting the German viewpoints from one who is a German.

Yours truly,

D. D. GEORGE,

4881 North Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

(The letter referred to was marked for identification "Exhibit No. 48," and is filed herewith.)

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Here is another letter connected with it.

This letter was sent to Germany, and the institute in Germany wrote Mr. Gissibl in Chicago enclosing this original letter, which had come from Chicago. They said:

MARCH 17, 1938.

DEAR COMRADE GISSIBL: Enclosed we send you a letter from an American in Chicago. Perhaps this man will be valuable to you. We have not answered his letter.

Mr. HEALEY. Who signed that letter?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It was signed in Germany.

Mr. HEALEY. By whom?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It is Ross, as I make it out. Perhaps a witness who will testify later will give you the exact spelling of that name.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you now read this letter which I hand you, which is marked "Exhibit No. 49."

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter on stationery of the Girl Scouts, and it reads as follows:

GIRL SCOUTS (INCORPORATED),
New York, N. Y., March 1, 1938.

Mr. PAUL DUNSING,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. DUNSING: As Miss Hess is not in the office today, your letter and the book, German Folk Dances, were laid on my desk.

They are most opportune, as we are revising all our badge material and I am responsible for the dancer badge. I had seen a copy of this book in someone else's possession and it seemed to be just what we wanted, as I am planning to include a German section in the new folk dancer badge.

We will certainly review your book next fall in the *Girl Scout Leader*, but there will be no book reviews in the next three issues, because our new program material is being published in them. However, the book will be given as a reference in the folk dancer badge which will appear in the June issue. I will see that you get a copy when it comes out.

If you ever publish any more volumes of German Folk Dances, please let us know. As you say, yours seems to be the only book of German folk dances printed in English. I have danced with the German group in the New York Folk Festival Council, and have enjoyed the German dances very much indeed.

When the book is reviewed we will send you a copy of the review also.

Sincerely yours,

VIRGINIA GREENE,

Editorial Assistant, Program Division.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter which I now hand you, which is marked "Exhibit No. 50," was written in Germany. What is that letter?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is a letter from the Foreign Institute in Stuttgart.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read that translation?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. It says:

STUTTGART, March 7, 1938.

DEAR PETER—

That is Peter Gissibl—

Weeks ago I wrote at length to Fritz Kuhn and suggested a trip to Germany for members and friends of the bund for this year. To this suggestion I have had no answer. I should like to ask you now to sift this plan for Chicago and tell me as soon as possible your opinion. I wrote in my letter to Kuhn, among other things, the following:

"Can we take for granted that the bund will sponsor again this year a trip to Germany?

"I hope very much that your answer will be affirmative. I can assure you today the fullest support of the institute during their stay in Germany. It would only be necessary to let me know as early as possible all important details, the number of individuals, time and length of stay in Germany, means at disposal and any special desires.

"I would then immediately make out an exact itinerary and also make provisions for the travelers to get special rates throughout the Reich and every possible opportunity for them to learn of our new industries and community life from personal inspection. These arrangements will be made in the closest cooperation with the officials in the different localities. For the special rates I would get in contact with the committee *Kraftdurch Freude*.

"It would be desirable among the travelers to have an official at the head of each arts group. I should like to suggest that these, at the end of the tour, meet with other suitable members of their own choice for a week in Stuttgart of intensive schooling at the institute."

That is the training and propaganda activities in which the institute is engaged, training them before they return to the United States. The letter goes on to say:

"I am sure of the most favorable results from such a procedure, with regard to our future joint work and for the end toward which we are striving.

"I believe already now I dare say that we can make their stay here in Stuttgart free of charge.

"Depending on the time the tourists are in the Reich it may be possible for a limited number to attend the Reichsparteitag. Also the advent of the whole group in Stuttgart could be used to stage a big demonstration for the American-German people. Such a demonstration would surely attract a great deal of attention and be of a big service to our efforts."

I am writing the same as this to Herman Schwinn, Los Angeles.

He is the leader of the Far West section of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the same individual reported by the press to have addressed the convention of the bund recently in California?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; that is the same man.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another letter, marked "Exhibit No. 51," dated March 15, 1938, and ask you to identify that.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter to the Germania Club, and it reads as follows:

CHICAGO, March 15, 1938.

Prof. Dr. GEORG SCHERGER,

Germania Club, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR HERR PROF. SCHERGER: For years the Amerika-deutsche Volksbund (former Friends of New Germany) has used the rooms of the Germania Club on all great occasions. The former manager of the building, as well as his predecessors, never had occasion for any complaints, on the contrary, these gentlemen expressed their pleasure over the model behavior of those present, at A. V. meetings, in words of commendation.

Thus all the more surprising it is that the responsible director of the Germania Club suddenly finds it necessary to refuse to rent the clubrooms to the bund only because at the end of a peaceful meeting (February 23)—

I was at that meeting—

after the official business had been transacted, a few communistic noisemakers make a disturbance.

The reasons for this action of the responsible leader, and which were given in writing March 9 by the receiver, Mr. Marshall Keig, to the club members, are not good enough to justify such a procedure. Right here we should like to state the following facts:

The leader of the local group of the A. V. has for months advised the wealthier members of the bund to join the Germania club, thereby doing their part toward the upkeep of the building as a culture center for the German element in Chicago.

2. A large number of the members of the American-German Volksbund and its subordinate groups joined the Germania Club for the same reason.

The Germania Club, is according to its most prominent members, intended as a gathering place for the positive German element in Chicago, out of which a prosperous culture work can spring.

As a foundation for the fulfillment of such an undertaking, it is necessary, according to our opinion, that the club free itself from the influence which prompted the weak-kneed declaration of Mr. Marshall Keig, and, in our opinion, is as un-German as un-American.

The responsible leader of the Americadeutsche Volksbund expects therefore that the next meeting of the Germania Club members will take into consideration the decision made and find a solution to the situation.

We are perfectly willing to withdraw from meetings of a political nature in the rooms of the Germania Club, except though for celebrations of a cultural or social nature the rooms will be at our disposal.

It is hardly to be expected that the members and friends of the bund will visit the clubrooms until this matter has been satisfactorily settled.

That is dated March 15, 1938, and is signed by Die Ortsgruppenleitung Des Amerikadeutschen Volksbundes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you another letter, marked "Exhibit No. 52," dated March 18, 1938, also from Stuttgart? Will you identify that letter and read it?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is also a letter from the institute at Stuttgart. It says:

DEAR PETER—

MARCH 18, 1938.

That is Peter Gissibl—

I received a letter dated February 15 from your representative, Comrade Moller. He told me, among other things, that in this year there could be no

exchange of young people. I regret that very much. I should have liked in the interest of our mutual efforts, if we could, already this year, have had some of the youth from your circle. Perhaps with some help this could be made possible. It is true, the time to get ready is very short. I quite understand that.

I shall soon write you more. In the meantime, you can perhaps give me more details about the development of your school in the past weeks. I have anew given support to the fulfillment of your just wishes. Let us hope that we very soon reach the goal we are striving for together.

That letter is signed by Moshack. I think the following witness can give you the exact spelling of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter addressed at Berlin, dated April 2, 1938, and marked "Exhibit No. 53." Will you read that letter?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This letter says:

APRIL 2, 1938.

DEAR COMRADE GISSIBL: Unfortunately, the visit of your Bf—

That is Fritz Kuhn—

caused by apparently all too many complications, that lie outside of my compass, has not yet led to any decided clearing up. I have not seen your Bf up till now.

Nevertheless, I have taken up all your wishes and desires and worked on them. The same will be done in the future, only we must keep our correspondence strictly personal.

I have already approached the chairman of the Reichsmusikkammer, and hope in the near future to report to you.

The Enders affair is also being worked on.

I do not know what that is.

We have also approached a number of children's choruses and even the Berlin Domchor, the Thomaner-Chor, Leipzig and Bielefelder Kinderchore, of whom I send a group picture.

The enclosed list of writings is now insofar worthless, as the people have received pamphlets. Your women's organization will in the future receive enclosed material from our Frauenendienst. The Sangerfest authorities have up to now not gone along with us regarding the prize, which we are willing to offer. Put more pressure behind this. Costume heads are being sent and will soon be over there.

Besides, you will receive in the future regularly 25 numbers of our magazine Der Volksdeutsche. There will also be sent you a number of the big speeches of the Fuehrer of February of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. I now hand you another letter from the same organization, marked "Exhibit No. 54." What is the date of that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is dated April 11, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom to whom?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is from the same institute in Berlin, addressed to Peter Gissibl, who was then head of the German-American Bund post in Chicago. It reads:

APRIL 11, 1938.

DEAR COMRADE GISSIBL: Our preparations for the song festival have advanced to such an extent that we have decided to give a placard to the children of the children's chorus. The Bielefelder Children's Chorus, which is very well known here, as well as the Thomaner Chorus, Leipzig, have already promised their cooperation. The placards will have about the following form: As title, "Children's Chorus, 39 National Singer Festival, Chicago, 1938." Under that two musician heads, "Johann Seb. Bach and Richard Wagner." Under that, "Given with German Singersgreeting by (VDA) Bielefelder Children's Chorus and Thomauer Chorus." The names of the sponsors will not appear on the poster but, printed on colored ribbons, will be attached to the poster.

The president of the Reichsmusikkammer, Herr Professor Dr. Raabe, will send, in his own handwriting, a letter of greeting, through the consulate there. Put yourself in connection with the consulate, so that you can fit in there.

Putting themselves in connection with the consulate.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that last sentence again?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. It says, "Put yourself in connection with the consulate," in touch with the consulate, "so that you can fit in there."

The CHAIRMAN. I do not get the significance of that.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. It says:

The president of the Reichsmusikkammer, Herr Professor Dr. Raabe, will send, in his own handwriting, a letter of greeting through the consulate there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he going to the consulate?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. He is connected with the consulate in connection with this affair. The letter goes on to say:

To add to the decoration of the festival programs, we would like to know Dr. Raabe's letter, a greeting from our bund director, Herr Burgermeister Behaghel, as well as greetings with short explanations of the two before-named children's choruses will be inserted. Also we are prepared to offer a prize, but only on the assurance that such a prize will be accepted.

Wire me briefly whether the plans I have developed will find full support, so that we can go ahead with everything.

Referring to your letter of 18.3.38 with regard to the reader, I can assure you that the matter, as laid clear by you, will be taken care of. About this I shall let you know more soon after we have made contacts with the places in question as to the disposal.

MR. MASON. Would you gather from that letter that the consulate is to be used as a clearing house or contact between the organization writing the letter in Germany and the German-American Bund in Chicago?

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. The letter so states directly that the consulate there is the contact point.

The CHAIRMAN. I now hand you a letter dated April 22, 1938, marked "Exhibit No. 55," and ask you to read that letter.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter again from the same institute in Berlin addressed to "Dear Comrade Gissibl," and it says:

APRIL 22, 1938.

DEAR COMRADE GISSIBL: We are sending you today one copy of our educational paper Volksdeutscher Ruf, intended only for the Reich, that in July will appear for the American-German following.

In this number we should like a report on the German song in the fight for the upholding of Germanism in America.

Perhaps a suitable article will be found in one of the festival numbers of the Singerspaper. If not, perhaps you can get a suitable singer to write us such a report for the July number.

That is of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another letter, which is dated May 20, 1938, from the same institution in Berlin, which is marked "Exhibit No. 56," and I will ask you to read that letter.

MR. JOHN C. METCALFE. This letter says:

MAY 20, 1938.

DEAR COMRADE GISSIBL: We wrote you yesterday that the 3,000 placards for the Sangerfest will reach you through Argell.

That is the same man as referred to in the other letter: in other words, they are shipping them through him. The letter goes on to say:

For several reasons we are having the placards packed in 10 separate parcels, of which 2 go to each of the following: Friedrich Schlenz, Karl Moeller, Karl Kraenzle, Argell, and 2 to you.

Please inform your coworkers of the same and see that the expenses of duty be taken care of. Herr Argell will later reimburse you. It was the simplest and the only way the placards could be sent to reach you in time.

Mr. STARNES. What is the significance of that transaction?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Apparently they are breaking them up because they would be more difficult to trace. That Argell is reimbursing these agents for paying the duty that you have to pay on literature that comes into America from Germany. So Argell is handling the financial transactions between the bund and this institute in Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. I now hand you another letter, dated June 14, 1938, and ask you to read that letter.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter from the institute at Stuttgart, addressed to Peter Gissibl, and it says:

JUNE 14, 1938.

You will have received by now my letter of April 11 in regard to a Mr. Roth, who will go over to you this summer. I wrote you earlier that I would investigate Roth. I did so. No new information has come in. I repeat therefore my request to you, in every way, further this plan, and to write to me as soon as possible.

I have no explanation of that letter. The succeeding witness may explain it.

The CHAIRMAN. I now hand you another letter dated March 30, 1938, marked "Exhibit No. 57." Will you kindly read that letter distinctly?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a copy of a letter to the German-American Berufsgemeinschaft, dated March 30, 1938, and it says:

MARCH 30, 1938.

DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHE BERUFGEMEINSCHAFT,

21 East Seventy-fifth Street, New York, United States of America:

About 10 days ago the Deutsche Arbeitsfront informed us of a telegram received from your leader, Johannsen, regarding your school in Chicago.

As there are already several language schools in and about Chicago, some already started, some planned, we decided to give one man in Chicago the authority of supervision for all these schools. No matter what the very-to-be-regretted differences among the separate German-speaking and those of strong German feeling organizations may be, our work must not and shall not be influenced by such. Especially with regard to language-school conditions, that recently have made a noticeable progress in the United States of America, a unification and centralization is imperative.

Thus we ask you, for the good of the entire German-speaking growth, to lay aside any differences that may have arisen between you and our confidence man for language schools in the district of Chicago and contact at once our man, Herr Friedrich Schlenz, 6226 North Paulina Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Any financial support, as you request, is out of the question. (1) Such support is never given by us, and (2) as your organization combines German-American citizens, who have close ties to German authorities, a financial support from our side would be very dangerous, as the always watchful enemies of Germany would have a definite proof of our suspected financing of German "propagandists" in foreign countries.

Besides such help from us would be an injustice toward so many other schools, who never get one cent from us, some of which have for years labored under the greatest difficulties.

We cannot imagine it should be hard for your members in Chicago, considering the size of this city, to raise the small amount of \$500.

We regretted very much that your leader during his short stay in Germany—

That is Fritz Kuhn—

did not find the time to look us up. Doubtless, by such an opportunity, many things could have been talked over that would be valuable for our future work together.

In conclusion let us make this clear: Our confidential work in the United States of America does not confine itself to any one particular German-American organization; on the contrary, every good, reliable, and German-people-conscious places in the United States of America, whether it be a large organization, a single group, or a true German pastor, they are all welcome to us. Then only thus is a guaranty given that as many as possible of German origin are taken in by us and bound to their home.

Mr. THOMAS. Who was that letter from?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is signed by E. A. Vennekohl.

Mr. THOMAS. Of what organization?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The letter is addressed to the German-American Berufsgemeinschaft, in New York, and he is writing from Germany. It does not state here what organization he represents.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is another letter dated March 4, 1938, which is marked "Exhibit No. 58."

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter addressed to the Volksbund for the Foreign Germandom, in Berlin. That is the same one I spoke about. It says:

DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHE BERUFGEMEINSCHAFT (D. A. B.),
New York, N. Y., March 4, 1938.

VOLKSBUIND FOR THE FOREIGN GERMANDOM,
Berlin.

GENTLEMEN: The local group, Chicago, of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft, founded a German school about 2 months ago. It was started with a very small number of pupils and today shows the goodly number of 100 children, who wish to have schooling. This should be definite proof that there is a great need for a German school in Chicago. The equipment is very primitive up to now. Our organization and likewise a number of friends in Chicago have already raised a sizeable sum of money so that these children can at least begin to get their schooling. It is absolutely necessary that 100 desks be procured, that cost about \$10 apiece. This necessary expenditure will amount to about \$1,000; \$500 have already been raised, but at the moment there is no possibility of raising the remaining \$500.

That other letter is an answer to this one. This letter continues:

It is known to us that the Volksbund for Foreign Germandom has a very lively interest in erecting such schools and we take the liberty to ask if it would be possible for you to place at our disposal \$500 for this work. For your further information, we wish to say that instruction has been arranged for children from 6 to 18 years of age. An absolutely competent German teacher will take over the direction and care of instruction. It has already been necessary to take on a second teacher, and we believe that we shall be faced with the necessity of acquiring more teachers. In case you need more information on this school in Chicago, please get in contact with the German consul general in Chicago. Any information on the Deutsche Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft will be given you by the foreign department of the Deutsches Arbeitsfront in Berlin.

Hoping to hear from you very soon regarding this affair.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is another letter from the same organization dated April 13, 1938, marked "Exhibit No. 59."

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This letter reads as follows:

APRIL 13, 1938.

DEAR COMRADE GISSSEL: We sent you a few days ago a school songbook, published by Eher, that, in our opinion, will serve your purpose.

Let us know your opinion on this book upon receipt of same.

That is signed by the same man who signed the other letter.

Mr. STARNES. What kind of a school is this?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The bund claim to the public is that these schools are purely for teaching the German language, so that they do not forget the language, but actually they are propaganda schools.

Mr. STARNES. Schools teaching Hitlerism in America?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that to be a fact?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I have attended some of the sessions.

The CHAIRMAN. You have attended the sessions and you have heard them talk in a way that convinced you they were teaching propaganda?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they talk?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They spoke along those lines and showed motion pictures that glorified the German Army and Navy; films were shown there that were sent from Germany, that were brought in from Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another letter from, I believe, the same organization, dated March 31, 1938, marked "Exhibit No. 60."

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is to the Foreign German Institute at Stuttgart.

The CHAIRMAN. Signed by Roth?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; Ludwig Roth, chief inspector of school studies. [Reading:]

Re visit to the German peoples group in North America.

The unusually long Bavarian summer vacation makes it possible for me this year to take a trip to the United States of North America, in the company of a friend and colleague. We intend to join a tour of the Hapag, but in America we shall separate from this and travel a few weeks independently. The time at our disposal (from about July 20 to September 1) is of such extent that for personal reasons we should like to use part of it for a rest period. We should be very glad, during that time, to get in connection with young Germans in America. We are both members of the V. D. A. and on earlier trips to the Baltic lands and South Tyrol we always sought personal contact with the Germans living there; we had then also the feeling not only of having gained something for ourselves but also of having done for those Germans.

I should like to ask you to kindly tell me how I can contact the young American-Germans before my trip? The following possibilities are under consideration:

1. The acquaintance of young Germans, who would be willing to travel with us during the time in question, preferably in one coach. We should prefer students about our age (26 years).

2. Participation in a camp or in a meeting of the German youth of the United States of America or Canada.

Should you not be able to make such arrangements, then I beg you to place my request in the proper hands or let me know to whom I should turn. For all your trouble let me express my warmest appreciation and thanks.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you herewith another letter dated April 11, 1938, a short letter, marked "Exhibit No. 61," which I will ask you to read.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a letter from the institute at Stuttgart to Peter Gissibl, head of the Chicago post. [Reading:]

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I received a few days ago. I am getting in touch with you immediately and ask you for an opinion regarding Studienassessor (chief-inspector of school studies) Roth's plan.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Roth's plan? Do you know what it is?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No.

I do not know him, but I am having him investigated. If he should prove to be in every way dependable, I am ready to support his plan to the utmost. I beg you, in such a case, to do the same.

You will hear from me soon again. At the moment I am much too busy to write more. The same is the case with Fritz.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you a letter dated March 16, exhibit No. 62, a short letter, which I will ask you to read.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE (reading):

DEAR COMRADE GISSIBL: We are sending you registered our bronze honor plaque with document for Herr Frank von Friedersdorf, requesting you to present this to him on a suitable occasion.

It is very much to be desired that you procure for us the life history and photo and negative for publication in our magazine Der Volksdeutsch.

E. A. VENNEKOHL.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you the last letter, dated March 31, 1938, exhibit No. 63, marked "Confidential." Read it.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE (reading):

DEAR COMRADE GISSIBL: Enclosed we are sending you a copy of a writing of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Brufsgemeinschaft of the 4th of March, sent us, and also our answer.

VENNEKOHL.

Neither was enclosed. It was lifted out of the correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. We have here an affidavit signed by Peter Gissibl, who is here to testify this afternoon, and who will follow you shortly. We will not go into that at this moment, as we will have his direct testimony.

I have here an affidavit from Mr. Willumeit. This affidavit was given to the United States district attorney. Will you kindly read this affidavit so that it may go into the record?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a statement of Dr. Otto Willumeit, 4344 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill. It was taken July 15, 1938.

STATEMENT OF DR. OTTO WILLUMEIT, 4344 NORTH SHERIDAN ROAD, CHICAGO, ILL., TAKEN FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1938, UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE, CHICAGO, ILL., ROOM 826

Present: Harry N. Connaughton, assistant United States attorney; Earl C. Hurley, assistant United States attorney; John Metcalfe, investigator, Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, Dr. Otto Willumeit.

My name is Dr. Otto Willumeit and I reside at 4344 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

I took over the leadership of the German-American Bund, Chicago chapter, May 17, 1938. I joined the German-American Bund in September 1937.

I became an American citizen in 1932 at Hammond, Ind. Shortly after taking over the leadership of the local chapter, I received a letter from Fritz Kuhn of New York. I carried this letter with me for about a month and recently tore it up as I did not believe it was important. This letter, although I do not remember the exact wording, advised me that in view of the coming congressional investigation of the bund, Mr. Kuhn deemed it advisable for me to destroy all correspondence between the local bund and Germany. He further pointed out that no matter how harmless it may be, the letters could be interpreted in a different light.

I have never been a member of the Nazi Party.

I was away from Chicago from 1933 to 1936. I have returned several times, but I resided in Austria during that period and also for a period of 6 months in Germany.

I have never at any time in any speech advocated the overthrow of the Government or urged any antireligious movement. I am willing to turn over copies of my speeches to the congressional committee when I am so requested. I am also willing to cooperate with the committee on any official matter which is in my possession or give them any information which I have.

I am not familiar with the financial status of the bund, either local or national.

I do not know Fritz Kuhn personally, have not corresponded with him, nor have I talked with him over the telephone, nor have I corresponded with the officials of the German Government in my official capacity.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ----- day of July, A. D. 1938.
-----, *Notary Public.*

The CHAIRMAN. That is signed and sworn to before whom?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It is signed and sworn to by Otto Willumeit.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you with reference to the Silver Shirt movement. You had occasion to investigate it in connection with the German-American Bund, did you not?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I came across the Silver Shirt movement. I have, since the investigation of the Times, followed their activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you recently attend a meeting?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I attended a meeting of the Silver Shirts held in Chicago last Saturday night.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a memorandum of what took place at this meeting?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you rather read this memorandum or testify as to what took place from your memory?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Whatever you wish, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this memorandum written immediately after the meeting?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Immediately after the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose, then, you read the memorandum.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is an account of what took place at the meeting of the Silver Shirts which was held at 8 o'clock, 8 p. m., in Gross Park Hall, 2123 Roscoe Street, Chicago. The meeting was open to members only and closely guarded by Silver Shirts in uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get in?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. By invitation.

The CHAIRMAN. Who invited you?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The secretary of the Silver Shirts organization. Do you want me to explain that?

The CHAIRMAN. Explain how that happened.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Well, several months ago there was a meeting in Chicago at the Great Northern Hotel at which it was alleged that, in a speech made by William Zachary, who is the field marshal, so called, of the Silver Shirts—it was alleged that in this speech Zachary threatened to shoot President Roosevelt. I attended that meeting and can testify to the fact that no such statement was made.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you aware of the fact that some five or six people, alleged to be Communists, signed affidavits—

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Affidavits were turned in to the United States Secret Service claiming that these remarks were made. I appeared before an investigation held by the United States Secret Service and testified to the fact that it did not take place and shortly thereafter the United States Secret Service issued a statement to the effect that there was no evidence whatever to show that the statement had been made. Thereafter the Silver Shirts, who found no fault at all with my story, the story I had written about that meeting—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). It is not clear to me who made that statement originally.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The statement was never actually made.

Mr. THOMAS. Who said that it was made?

The CHAIRMAN. Some Communists.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It was supposed to have been made by Zachary.

Mr. THOMAS. Who said that it was made, though?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. A reporter for the Midwest Record. Gilpin is his name. It was also reported in the Daily Worker.

Mr. THOMAS. The Daily Worker said it was made?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The Daily Worker said that it was made.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what date of the Daily Worker that appears in?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I believe I have a copy of that paper.

Mr. THOMAS. I think a copy of the paper ought to go in the record; a copy of that particular edition, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I believe I have it in my file.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to that and put it in.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Because it was not true. It did not take place. As a result of that the Silver Shirts since that time have sent me their literature; and no matter what stories I have written since, they have never found any fault. They have always admitted what I said was true. As a result of that they sent me an invitation to this particular meeting, not knowing, however, that I was assigned to your committee.

Approximately 200 attended the gathering, which was addressed by Field Marshal William Zachary, of the Silver Shirts. There is one witness, I believe, who is qualified to testify to those facts. He is not here, has not been subpoenaed, but can be produced here to testify as to what took place.

Following are some quotations from the speech made by Zachary. There was only one speech made that night:

It was reported following a meeting of the Silver Shirts held recently—

The CHAIRMAN. You are quoting from what?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. From Zachary's speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE (continuing reading):

It was reported following a meeting of the Silver Shirts held recently in the Great Northern Hotel, Chicago, that I had threatened to shoot the President of the United States. This is an absolute falsehood and a statement that was inspired by Communists. I want to say that at no time have I threatened the President of the United States. I think that anyone making such a threat would be nothing short of an unmitigated fool. A reporter for the Chicago Times was present at that meeting. He wrote a story about it the next day. He wrote a truthful, straightforward story of what took place the night before. Nowhere in his account did he refer to these alleged threats. Yet a half dozen Communists signed affidavits testifying that I had threatened to shoot the President. When the matter was brought before the United States Secret Service, Times reporter testified that no such threats had been made. His word was taken against those of the Communists. I dare these Communists to bring their affidavits into court.

The labor unions must purge themselves from within, and not from without, of the radicals and "reds" in their ranks. They must clean their own house. No one else can do it for them. Good members of labor unions today don't dare take the floor at union meetings to express their opinion for fear of gangster reprisals from within their own unions.

Zachary indicated strongly that the Silver Shirts have a membership of 300 in the city of Chicago. He told of the organization being harassed by Communists in meetings throughout the country at which he was the main speaker. He named the League for Peace and Democracy as one of the organizations which has been taking leadership in picketing and harassing Silver Shirt meetings in various parts of the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Who finances that league, do you know?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. What league?

Mr. STARNES. The League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I am not qualified to testify as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have considerable testimony on that later.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Zachary referred to the investigations of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee which was headed by Senator La Follette, and told how the committee had attempted to subpoena the records of the Silver Shirts.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you mind reading that again?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Zachary referred to the investigations of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, which was headed by Senator La Follette, and told how the committee had attempted to subpoena the records of the Silver Shirts. He charged that the committee wanted the information "simply to turn it over to the Jews"—that is a direct quotation—and said that in his statements about the Silver Shirts Senator La Follette had been "a dirty liar." That is a direct quote.

I am quoting again from the speech.

There is a censorship on truth in America. The department store advertisers are controlling the press of the Nation. American newspaper editors don't dare to tell the truth about what is going on, even if they wanted to. If they did they would be fired from their jobs. These hidden interests can break any newspaper inside of 6 months.

The Constitution of the United States will be heaped into the waste basket if President Roosevelt's reorganization bill is passed. I warn you that this bill is a plot to set up a dictatorship in the United States. I remind you that the President is boasting that he will pass that bill at the next regular session.

When they have passed all the legislation in Washington that they need for a dictatorship a panic will follow. Then you will see the international bankers and hidden sinister interests begin to put the pressure on the newspapers, radio, and so on, and in a short time the newspapers will be howling for some strong man to take over the Government. They will want some man like John L. Lewis. * * *

Mr. MASON. That is a direct quotation from his speech?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is a direct quotation from his speech; yes.

It doesn't really matter who they want; the point is it will have already been planned before they set out to actually set up a dictatorship, and the man they want will already have been selected.

The Silver Legion of America is for the Constitution of the United States, but it is determined that the Constitution will be restored to the people of the United States. Of course, if a certain few changes must be made in the Constitution in order to achieve our objective legally, they will be made. We shall see to that.

The Silver Shirts are determined to crush the howling reds—these outlaws running rampant in this country. You must understand clearly what they stand for. I give you my own definitions of communism. Communism is where the people surrender everything that they possess, including all their personal and real properties. These they turn over to the Government, under communism,

and then the Communists turn the Government over to the Jews. It is a double deal.

It is an established fact that Browder and every member of the Communist Party in America is under direct orders from Moscow. It is therefore a fact that communism is a decided un-American movement.

We will stop communism by force. It cannot be voted out. The Silver Shirts, and other organizations in sympathy with them, will merge into a great force. When we have joined together we will move forward and smash the Communists.

And he struck his fist [illustrating] as he made that point.

The New Deal is a camouflage. Its true identity is the "Jew deal." The New Deal, no matter what it may lead the people to believe, is actually putting over communism in America. You know yourself that Browder said only recently that the Communist Party is for democracy. They are working hand in hand.

The Silver Shirts, despite what others charge us with, are not fighting all the Jews. We do not hate the Jews; we pity them. We are not against a little Jew who is a victim of his own race. We are fighting the big powerful Jewish leaders who are seeking to control the whole world. We will fight them to the last ditch. This ruling class among the Jews represents from 8 to 10 percent of the people of the Jewish race.

Once each year every orthodox Jew goes to his synagogne and asks his God to be absolved from all obligations, pledges, and debts that he will make the coming year to Gentiles. He gets his absolution in advance. The day is coming when the Silver Shirts will succeed to the point that no orthodox Jew will be permitted to testify in a court or cast a ballot in America.

We don't believe in violence. We have never advocated violence. We will protect even the Jews against violence that might be committed upon them. I predict that within 5 years from now Chicago Jews will be running 5 miles to get Silver Shirts to protect them.

Ballots did not stop communism in Russia. Ballots did not stop communism in Germany. Ballots did not stop communism in Italy. Ballots are not now stopping communism in Spain. And ballots will not stop communism in America. I want each of you to get your silver shirts as quickly as possible. I want all of you to go out and get guns, and I want each of you to get plenty of ammunition. * * *

So far as I know this is the first time the Silver Shirts have been told to arm.

I want all of you to store your guns and ammunition in your respective homes and prepare for the Communist revolution that is coming to America. You have a right to do that. Every man has a right to have guns and ammunition in his home. But I want to point out to you that the United States Attorney General, Homer Cummings, is now trying to pass a Federal law that would force you to register all your guns. Are you going to stand for that? Are we going to let them know how many guns and how much ammunition we have? I warn you that this law which the Attorney General is trying to pass is simply a Jewish plot to confiscate all your guns and ammunition when the Communists get ready to seize this country. If they get our guns and ammunition, we will not be able to fight them. Are you going to let them pass this law?

Of course, there was a great furor, and they followed with shouts of "no" from the audience.

We are going to do all this legally. Even if we have to amend the Constitution a little here and there. There's nothing wrong in that. The Constitution has been amended before. Our plan is to form a huge reserve army that will fight behind the constituted police forces of the Nation in the revolution to smash communism. I predict now that within 3 years the streets of Chicago will be thick with Silver Shirts. There aren't many Silver Shirts here tonight. Don't be disappointed by the attendance on this hot night. Many of our Silver Shirts cannot be here, some for very obvious reasons. They are working for Jewish interests, and if the Communist and Jew spies in this audience could spot them they will lose their jobs.

So I warn you again to get your shirts quickly, and arm yourselves with guns and ammunition. There is no time to be lost.

I want to say for the benefit of any spies in the audience that we have no connections whatever with the so-called American Nazis—the German-American Bund. However, it is true that some of the members of the bund are also members of the Silver Shirts, and that a number of bund members attend our meetings. They have a perfect right to do that, since they agree with us in many of our principles and plans, but let it be understood that we are against the Nazis, Fascists, and the Communists. We are a 100-percent American organization. We don't want any Hitler or Mussolini in this country. But certainly we are not going to stand for a "red" dictatorship in America. At the same time while we don't want any Nazis in this country we know that the bund and the Silver Shirts have much in common. I want to make it clear that there would be no need for Nazi or Fascist organizations in this country if it were not for the fact that there is a Communist menace. When the Communists have been wiped out the Nazi and Fascist movements in America will die a natural death. But so long as there are Communists there will be Nazis and Fascists in America and we shall work together to smash communism.

Zachary concluded his talk with statements predicting a revolution was not far off in America and repeated his remarks about the formation of a reserve army of Silver Shirts along with their allied groups to fight behind constituted authorities to wipe out communism. He ended his talk by announcing that the Silver Shirts expect to have 1,000,000 members by 1939.

Nearly all of the high-light remarks by Zachary were greeted with thunderous cheers from the audience.

Hugo Eger, secretary of the Chicago post of the Silver Shirts, gave his residence address as 340 West Seventy-fifth Street, and his telephone number as Stewart 8567, in obtaining the Gross Park Hall.

In the hallway outside the meeting hall there was displayed on the table a large amount of violently anti-Semitic literature, most of which bore the authorship of William Dudley Pelley, Silver Shirt chief, located at the national headquarters in Asheville, N. C. Police officers from the thirty-ninth district who were in and out of the meeting are Lieutenant Brennan and Detectives Patrick O'Malley and Stanley Tronsell. The thirty-ninth district station is located at 3801 North Damen Avenue, telephone Lakeview 6640. Lieutenant Brennan's residence phone is Rogers Park 0081. Detective O'Malley's home phone is Lincoln 7816 and Detective Tronsell's phone is Ardmore 5696.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a great deal of data here on the Silver Shirts, but we will pass it up for the time being and go into it at a later date.

We will defer the examination of the witness until later in order to hear Mr. Peter Gissibl, a witness who is under subpoena.

TESTIMONY OF PETER GISSIBL

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gissibl, I want you to talk very distinctly and I will talk very distinctly to you. If you do not hear me, do not hesitate to ask me to repeat, because we want to be perfectly fair with you. I understand that sometimes you have some difficulty in understanding what is being said. I am going to speak slowly, and you ask me to repeat if you do not understand, because we want to be entirely fair with you. All we are concerned with is the truth.

Mr. GISSIBL. O. K.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Peter Gissibl?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is spelled G-i-s-s-i-b-l?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were born in Germany; is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will follow your affidavit here, which you gave to the assistant district attorney.

You were born in Germany on October 2, 1900?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You came to this country on May 10, 1923?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been a citizen of the United States since April 29, 1929?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You reside at 1846 Barry Avenue, Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You joined the Teutonia Society in February 1925?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That society was afterward changed to Friends of New Germany, and later to the German-American Bund; is that true?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were an active member since February 1925; is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Teutonia Society you were on the press committee which printed a newspaper at that time?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, is it?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were an officer in the Teutonia Publishing Society; is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That organization known as the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Since 1935 you were president of the German-American Business League, and president of the Teutonia Publishing Co.?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And president of the Concordia Male Chorus; is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were local leader of the German-American Bund in Chicago from May 1, 1937, until May 18, 1938?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Your brother's name is Fritz Gissibl?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was founder of the Teutonia Society in October 1924; that is correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was later president of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And left this country in 1936 because American citizenship papers were refused him?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why American citizenship papers were refused him?

Mr. GISSIBL. On account of that investigation that was pending. There was an investigation of un-American—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You do not understand me. Do you understand why they would not give him his papers, his citizenship papers?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know why.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know why?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He left the United States on account of the investigation which was then pending?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; he did not.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to misquote you.

Mr. GISSIBL. He was after that 2 more years in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. After the investigation?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he leave about the time of the investigation?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He never left at all?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in the United States for approximately 2 years?

Mr. GISSIBL. After the investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. After the investigation?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. He left this country, then, in 1936?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is now with the foreign department of the National Socialist Party in Germany at Stuttgart?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

Mr. HEALEY. Why did he leave the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. He testified he does not know why he left the United States—well, I beg your pardon. He left the United States because citizenship papers were denied him, is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that the only reason why he left the United States?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is the only reason, yes. He could not be active any more in this organization in this country, because he was a German citizen.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that why he left, because he could not be active any more in this organization?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is why he left, yes. He could not get a job any more. He was working for the Chicago Daily News, and after his activity in the bund he could not get a job in his profession any more, so he had to leave the country.

Mr. HEALEY. What is his profession?

Mr. GISSIBL. A printer.

The CHAIRMAN. About that time an order came from Germany to the effect that German citizens were not to belong to the German-American Bund; is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And that made it necessary for him to get out of the organization?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Because, not being able to take out his citizenship papers, he was not eligible to membership in the German-American Bund; is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you are concerned, and your activities are concerned, have you ever advocated the commission of any acts against the Government of the United States?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; I never did.

The CHAIRMAN. You never have?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. At your various meetings, while you presided over the bund, what did you advocate with reference to any changes in the Constitution of the United States?

So that you may understand this a little more clearly, you say in your affidavit:

At my meetings I have preached that if any changes have to be made in the Constitution of the United States they have to come by the action of American citizens who have been born in this country, not naturalized citizens.

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right. That is the attitude I took.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you personally know Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first become acquainted with Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. GISSIBL. I think it was in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1935?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you meet him?

Mr. GISSIBL. At Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you and Fritz Kuhn agree with each other as to the way of propagandizing in the United States?

Mr. GISSIBL. When I became local leader of the German-American Bund in Chicago I had several times conferences with Kuhn as to the policy of the bund. Of course, there were many plans on which I did not agree.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you not agree with Fritz Kuhn on, as to the policy to be adopted by the German-American Bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. Well, I advocated a more liberal policy in Chicago, as the local leader of the group in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. You disagreed with the membership policy that Kuhn had?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "liberal"?

Mr. GISSIBL. I did not want to be so radical on some points.

The CHAIRMAN. What points were those?

Mr. GISSIBL. For instance, the Jewish question.

The CHAIRMAN. On what other questions?

Mr. GISSIBL. The question of other German-American organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. On working together with other German-American organizations?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted to work with them, and he did not?

Mr. GISSIBL. I wanted to work with other German-American organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. And he did not want to?

Mr. GISSIBL. He did not in the East.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why he would not work with other German-American organizations, or did he tell you why he would not?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other disagreements did you have with Fritz Kuhn besides the fact that he did not want to work with other German-American organizations and the Jewish question? Were there any other disagreements between you and Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There were other points of disagreement.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just tell the committee the full truth and the facts about it.

Mr. GISSIBL. I think it was not right to have children, for instance, wearing uniforms so close to the uniforms used in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not believe that it was right or proper for German-American children or American children to wear uniforms so closely resembling uniforms worn by the children in the Hitler youth movement.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, is it not a fact that you did not believe it was right to undertake to build up in this country a separate and distinct organization for the children? In other words, you wanted them to assimilate with the American people.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not think it was right to propagander them with reference to national socialism or the doctrines and objectives of Germany.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. But he wanted you to do that.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had some difference there.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, with respect to close relationship with Germany, did you have any disagreement with reference to that?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir. I think that our relations with Germany should be in the cultural way.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not think there should be a political relationship between the Nazi Government of Germany and the German people in the United States.

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you do not believe that Nazi propaganda or political propaganda should be distributed among German-Americans in this country—is that the fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On account of your difficulties and disagreements with Fritz Kuhn you resigned as fuehrer of the post.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You resigned on May 18, 1938?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you this: Do you know a man named Kessler?

Mr. GISSIBL. In St. Louis?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have met him?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he fill in the St. Louis Bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. He was the local leader.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you call them fuehrers, or how does the word you use translate?

Mr. GISSIBL. It translates local leader.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not Kessler is still in the United States?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; I think he is in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he go to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. I cannot give the exact date, but about 6 weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not he left to avoid this committee?

Mr. GISSIBL. I cannot tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be a conclusion, and you do not know?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. He left after this committee was formed?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know William Kunze?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in New York?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Kessler a citizen of the United States?

Mr. GISSIBL. I cannot tell you. I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. He has a brother by the name of Cleveland Kessler?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; he is not a brother.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the relation?

Mr. GISSIBL. He is no relation at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Going back to Kunze, he lives in New York?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he an American citizen?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; he was born in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. He left the country, too?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He went to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. After the committee was formed?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that he was not avoiding a subpoena from the committee?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not think so, because he will be back by September 1.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know George Froboese?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the Middle West leader, is he not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not he has been planning to leave the country?

Mr. GISSIBL. I heard that he wants to leave in September or October.

The CHAIRMAN. That is merely hearsay, is it not?

Mr. GISSIBL. I cannot say.

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot swear to it?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get that from a reliable source?

Mr. GISSIBL. He mentioned himself that if he did not get a job he would go back to Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. The membership of the Chicago Bund consists of about 300 regular members, 40 members of the concordant male group, 66 members of the war veterans' group, and 200 members of the youth movement.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And a hundred children in school and 200 businessmen of the businessmen's league.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a duplication in the members of the different groups; is that true? In other words, one may belong to one group and another group.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There are approximately 1,000 members all together of the Chicago bund.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Consisting only of American citizens, or citizens of the United States.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that number, you have the German Bund.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is composed entirely of citizens of Germany.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they sometimes meet together?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; they used to.

The CHAIRMAN. They used to meet together?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When the order came from Germany, or from Adolph Hitler—did it come from Hitler direct?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; from the foreign department.

The CHAIRMAN. When the order came for German citizens to withdraw from the German-American Bund, then they formed a separate organization—is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; only in Chicago, though.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you know of.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know as to that with reference to other places?

Mr. GISSIBL. The German element did not withdraw from other groups that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Chicago was the only post where German citizens withdrew from the German-American Bund in obedience to the order from Germany.

Mr. GISSIBL. They did.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as other posts are concerned, they disobeyed the order.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they continued to meet together?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When this order came from Germany, did it come in the form of a letter?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; my brother brought it back.

The CHAIRMAN. Fritz Gissibl?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he hold with the Nazi Government?

Mr. GISSIBL. He is in the foreign department.

The CHAIRMAN. And he came to the United States and brought the order with him.

Mr. GISSIBL. At that time he was not in the foreign department. He was in the United States. He went over for a visit, and he came back and said that German citizens should resign from the bund because Germany did not want to be involved with the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not have any written order?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was simply a verbal message that he was authorized to bring to the United States.

Mr. GISSIBL. As I remember, the German Ambassador gave a statement to the press at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time the German Ambassador made the statement that the German Government did not want German citizens to belong to the German-American Bund.

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in the German Bund, you are not eligible to membership if you ever intend to become an American citizen, are you?

Mr. GISSIBL. I know that they cannot be American citizens if they want to join the bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a fact that before you become a member of the German Bund you must promise never to become a citizen of the United States?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; I cannot say that.

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot say that that is the fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; I cannot say that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not say that it is not true, but you do not know.

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. What we are interested to know is the truth about it.

As to the German Bund, one who belongs to the German Bund regards himself as subject to the orders of the German Government, does he not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he believes that if an order is issued by the German Government he must obey that order regardless of the fact that he lives in the United States—is that true?

Mr. GISSIBL. I suppose so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the German Bund is under the leadership of Fritz Heberlein?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he lives in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They meet twice a month at the Germanic Club, in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those meetings take place on the second and fourth Mondays of each month?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization, the German-American Bund in Chicago, meets at 3853 Northwestern Avenue, in a building which is leased for 3 years from the Lakeview Trust & Savings Bank?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For a corporation that issues a weekly German newspaper?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. While a member of the bund, or leader of the bund, you yourself would not make a sweeping statement against any other race, would you?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; I never did.

The CHAIRMAN. You might disagree with individuals in a race, but you yourself would not make a denunciation of an entire race.

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor an entire religion.

Mr. GISSIBL. I never did that.

The CHAIRMAN. And because you would not do that, you got into a disagreement with Fritz Kuhn, who wanted a different policy.

Mr. GISSIBL. I would not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. This was the beginning, or a part of your disagreement with Mr. Fritz Kuhn, was it not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You believed in the principles of your Government.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; for upholding the Constitution of the United States. I am for that.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have no part in any movement aimed against this Government or the Constitution.

Mr. GISSIBL. That is correct.

Mr. MASON. And you would have no part in trying to defame or destroy any one's religion in this country whose rights are guaranteed under the Constitution?

Mr. GISSIBL. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Each member of the German-American Bund pays a membership fee or an initiation fee.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you charge them a monthly fee.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Forty percent of the membership dues collected by your local bund is sent to New York.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sent to Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever render to this local post an accounting showing what he did with this money?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At no time?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever request such an accounting?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know. I am for it—yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If you asked Kuhn for an accounting, you have not had it?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you yourself do not know what became of the money that was sent to Fritz Kuhn in New York, do you?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know for what purpose he used the money?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do know that in one case \$2,000 was sent to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir. That was a special collection made when Kuhn went to Germany to the Olympic Games. He took \$2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. That was given him to take to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as your local bund is concerned, you never sent any money directly to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever receive any money directly from Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever receive any money indirectly from Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever confer with German consuls here as to the policies of your organization, or anything having to do with the organization in the United States?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the German consul at Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he attend the bund meetings?

Mr. GISSIBL. When there was a big celebration; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he make any speeches?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there contact at all times between the members of the German-American Bund and the German consul in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know that to be the fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that it is not a fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. It is not the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Do other members of the bund go to see him at various times?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is possible, but I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Various officials of the bund, from time to time, have made trips to Germany, have they not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the expenses of those trips were paid for by the German Government?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know it to be a fact that the German Government has paid the expenses of the members of the bund to Germany? Have they not given them free transportation?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know. They only gave my brother free transportation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that when your brother went to Germany he got free transportation?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as the others are concerned, you are not in a position to say whether they got free transportation or not?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that many of them went to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A number went when your brother went?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir. They did not pay for it, either. They fixed it in a different way. They got the steamship line in New York to fix it up for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, it did not cost the men who took the trip anything.

Mr. GISSIBL. I am not so sure about that, but I do know that some of them went free. Some of them went there without paying for it.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that some went without paying for it?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When they went over there, did they go to some sort of school for propaganda purposes while over there?

Mr. GISSIBL. I cannot say—I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. While over there, did they send back any literature in reference to the Nazi Party that you know of?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. When they came back, did they bring any books and pamphlets dealing with the National Socialist Party and its objectives?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know because I was in Chicago at that time. Nobody went there from Chicago. I do not know about it. I am not in a position to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anyone who can tell the committee about that?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no hesitancy in telling everything you know about it?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is true. I will tell everything I know.

Mr. THOMAS. When you asked Fritz Kuhn what he did with the money received from you, what did he say to you?

Mr. GISSIBL. We go to the yearly meeting. Once a year they have a bund meeting in New York and he gives a report there.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he make a report at that meeting?

Mr. GISSIBL. I was not at that meeting. I did not receive any regular report.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know about it then?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is general information, but I do not know, that when they made those trips it was arranged for by the Red Star Line.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them were listed as helpers on the boat.

Mr. GISSIBL. That is what I heard in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. That was general talk among those who went.

Mr. GISSIBL. I could not swear to it, or say that it was true.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we do not want you to swear to something you do not know, but that was general talk among those who went over there?

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

The CHAIRMAN. You made one trip to Germany in January 1938?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time you had very little income?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were receiving only \$40 per month for managing a building, and \$20 from the German-American Business Men's League?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why were they giving you \$20 per month?

Mr. GISSIBL. I was president of an organization that was doing a lot of work.

The CHAIRMAN. You were doing a lot of work for the organization, and they compensated you by paying you \$20 per month?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The various groups contributed approximately \$400 for your visit to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What groups?

Mr. GISSIBL. The German-American Business Men's League and the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. They made a contribution of \$400 to send you to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you go to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. I went over there on account of my child. I have a child over there.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to see your child?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; the child is in a sanitarium.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Two weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. While there you made a speech, did you not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that speech was incorrectly reported in the newspapers of the United States.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They reported you as having made a violent attack upon a certain race of the United States.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When, as a matter of fact, you did not make such an attack.

Mr. GISSIBL. I only made an attack on several individuals in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom you designated as Communists.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were in Germany, did you meet with or talk with the party leaders over there?

Mr. GISSIBL. I spoke to this gentleman, when I received letters from Mr. Metcalfe here. I spoke to Mr. Wenekoll.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet anyone else over there?

Mr. GISSIBL. I met my brother, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. When you went over there, he had been connected officially with the Nazi Government.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet anyone else?

Mr. GISSIBL. I met Mr. Moshack, the chairman of the Foreign Institute at Stuttgart.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet anyone else besides them? I mean some officials in the Nazi Government.

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were in Germany you conferred with your brother, and he told you that the German Government wanted all Germans to leave the bund because they were afraid that it would jeopardize the relationship between the United States and Germany. That is the fact, is it?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When the order came that all Germans must leave the bund, Fritz Kuhn merely made them auxiliaries and called them participating members of the bund, instead of closing all connection with the bund.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So he evaded the order.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But he did it in such a way that it appeared that he had carried out the order.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In your conversations with your brother, you discussed the matter of Kuhn's standing in the United States, did you not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You discussed that with your brother.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss it with anyone else?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he in a position to speak definitely as to what the German Government's attitude was with respect to Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. GISSIBL. I suppose he was quite informed about the whole matter, but he did not have any authority to say.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, you do not know what the attitude of the German Government was with respect to Fritz Kuhn and his activities in the United States.

Mr. GISSIBL. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do know your brother told you he did not stand very high with the German Government.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They feared that his activities in the United States would do infinitely more harm to the relationship between the two countries than good.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition, you have a fear yourself of such activities, as has been indicated in your own case, a fear of great injury to a great number of good loyal German citizens in this country who have no sympathy with those methods.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of your great fears.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not want an entire class of people to suffer on account of the misdeeds and shortcomings of a few.

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you yourself know whether Fritz Kuhn advised that all records, letters, and documents should be destroyed after this committee was formed?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir; because I was not the local leader any more when the order came in.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you are concerned, you did not destroy any of your correspondence.

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When the correspondence was requested, you voluntarily surrendered it to the investigating committee?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were some of the letters removed from the correspondence?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know—I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get the exact facts: Did you surrender the letters to the representative of the committee, or surrender them to someone else? You surrendered them to someone else, did you not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Mr. GISSIBL. Dr. Willumeit.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you surrender the letters to him before you gave them to the agent of this committee?

Mr. GISSIBL. Because he had a subpoena to see the United States district attorney, and I gave him the letters and told him to take them up the next morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to state definitely that none of those letters were taken from the files? Do you not know it to be a fact that Dr. Willumeit took what he considered the most damaging letters out of that file? If that is the fact, I want to know it. Is it the fact that he took letters out of the file that you gave him? He was the local leader, and you did not know what to do about it.

Mr. GISSIBL. I cannot say as to the letters. There were 25 letters.

The CHAIRMAN. You counted the letters?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there 25 letters?

Mr. GISSIBL. There were 25 letters that I gave Dr. Willumeit.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, if that is a fact, you know that no letters were lifted?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know how many are there.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, at the time they were given to the agent, did you check up on them?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; I did not know how many there were.

Mr. HEALEY. You simply turned them over to Willumeit?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. That was all you had?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You say you did not receive any instructions from Fritz Kuhn to destroy any letters or documents whatsoever?

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Didn't you receive them through Willumeit?

Mr. GISSIBL. I heard from Willumeit, but I did not read the letter.

Mr. STARNES. Didn't you read the letter from Kuhn to Willumeit?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. STARNES. But did not Willumeit tell you he received that letter?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Telling you to destroy all letters, membership lists, and especially all correspondence with Government agents.

Mr. GISSIBL. Willumeit told me that.

Mr. THOMAS. Willumeit told you he did?

Mr. GISSIBL. Willumeit told me nothing. He was not going to destroy anything, because he was only local agent when he received that letter; because I was local leader in Chicago, and I kept that in my file.

Mr. STARNES. Do you think Willumeit would obey Kuhn's orders in a case like that?

Mr. GISSIBL. I don't know. But I still have correspondence in my office.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made arrangements for that speech at Stuttgart?

Mr. GISSIBL. My brother did that.

The CHAIRMAN. How long had you been in Germany before you made that speech?

Mr. GISSIBL. Two days.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was your home in Germany prior to that?

Mr. GISSIBL. Nürnberg, Bavaria.

The CHAIRMAN. How far is that from Stuttgart?

Mr. GISSIBL. About 200 miles.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have a child in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How old.

Mr. GISSIBL. Eight years.

The CHAIRMAN. Where in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. In Nürnberg, in a sanatorium.

The CHAIRMAN. You made a speech 200 miles away from that point 2 days after you arrived in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that speech written before you went to Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. One reason you went to Germany was to get books in the German language to bring back to German children in the United States; is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted to get the best possible German books in Germany, and bring them back?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, while you were in Germany you picked out the books which you thought were best suited for the children?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. These books were edited before the Hitler regime, is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These books were shipped to you by the German Foreign Institute; is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The German Foreign Institute is a cultural institute that was established in Germany many, many years ago; is that it?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, does it have any official connection with the Nazi Party?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Upon your return, a book was also compiled, with the assistance of a professor at Northwestern University, Dr. Z-i-e-g-e-l-s-c-h-m-i-d; how do you pronounce that?

Mr. GISSIBL. Ziegelschmid.

The CHAIRMAN. That book has not been completed yet?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But it contains excerpts from various German and American authors?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Including such persons as Coulin Ross?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that to be a fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know as a fact that Coulin Ross is an admitted Fascist?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; I know he is not, because his wife is Jewish, and he is not so much in favor of Hitler, even though he lives over there. I know that personally.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that from what he has told you?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many books are there in the library in Chicago maintained by the German-American Bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. There are several thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Those books are accessible to any member of the bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of the trouble of the bund was in the East, was it not?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You had very little internal trouble in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. HEALEY. What kind of books are maintained in the bund's library in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. Some stories, books on political science, military science, and of course, some books of the modern German writers.

Mr. HEALEY. On socialism?

Mr. GISSIBL. Also those books; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Many of them?

Mr. GISSIBL. Not so many. They haven't got so many; possibly 250 of the modern writers of Germany.

Mr. MASON. You have more of the old writers of Germany than of the new writers of Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. The old culture rather than the new dispensation?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In your various bund meetings you had various speakers at different times, did you?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you name some of the most prominent speakers that you had?

Mr. GISSIBL. You mean Germans or Americans?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Americans.

Mr. GISSIBL. I would have to look up my list. I have several of them. Dr. Williams—Rev. Dr. Williams, of Chicago, and, of course, I don't remember their names.

Mr. STARNES. What types of membership do you have in your organization? I mean by that, are there different classes or grades of membership in it? Do you have what they call storm troopers?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; we have got them, too.

Mr. STARNES. What is the first step in it?

Mr. GISSIBL. First, they become a member, and after they are a member for 3 months then they can join the O. D.—what you call storm troopers.

Mr. STARNES. Do they receive military training?

Mr. GISSIBL. No. Of course, we just have them for the protection of our meetings. We used them several times when Communists started to break up our meetings. We train them, all right.

Mr. STARNES. What type of training do you use?

Mr. GISSIBL. Jujitsu.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have Mr. Raymond Healey to speak at any of your meetings?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; only once.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Donald Chase spoke at your meetings?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir. He is sitting right there [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name any other people who spoke at your meetings?

Mr. GISSIBL. A fellow by the name of Lee. He claimed to be a descendant of Gen. Robert Lee, but that was a fake.

The CHAIRMAN. When you resigned from the bund you still had the confidence of the members, did you not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a vote taken, and 90 percent of them voted confidence in you and in the work that you had done?

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to read this correspondence that has been introduced here; the letters that were introduced?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Many of these letters were written to you, were they not?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right. I read all of them. These letters were all written to me, and I gave the answers myself.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that point here is a letter to you from Mr. Venekohl, which was read here this afternoon, but the meaning of it is not clear to me. Would you tell us what it means and also tell us a little bit about your answer [handing a paper to the witness]?

Mr. STARNES. Identify that by date, Mr. Gissibl, please.

Mr. GISSIBL. April 2, it was.

Mr. THOMAS. Whom was it sent from?

Mr. GISSIBL. It came from the bund for the Germans in Foreign Countries. It was sent April 2, 1938.

Mr. THOMAS. From Berlin?

Mr. GISSIBL. From Berlin; yes, sir. [After examining letter:] Yes. When I was in Berlin I had some conversation with Venekohl, because the Germans in Chicago—the German singers in the United States had their thirty-ninth German-American sing festival in the Ampitheater in Chicago. It was on June 27, and when I spoke to Mr. Venekohl about that. I told him that it would be advisable to do something for the German singers in the United States on a day like that, when the German sing festival would be at the Ampitheater in Chicago. He is referring to that letter he received from me.

Mr. THOMAS. In the first part of the letter it refers to Mr. Kuhn, does it not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. What does it say in reference to him?

Mr. GISSIBL. He says he did not see it; he could not tell me anything of what Kuhn has done so far in Germany. I asked him what was going on, because Kuhn was there about 6 weeks and we never heard anything from him.

Mr. THOMAS. Does he say that Kuhn was having some trouble?

Mr. GISSIBL. He says there were some complications.

Mr. THOMAS. What did he mean by that?

Mr. GISSIBL. I don't know, myself. I could not tell you. I don't understand it, myself, correct.

Mr. THOMAS. What was your answer to that letter? Your answer is not there. You said you answered the letter.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes; I answered the letter. Not in that Kuhn affair. I didn't know anything. I asked him for information. He could not give me any. I answered the letter about that sing festival of the Germans in Chicago on June 27.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you hear from anyone else about what complications Mr. Kuhn was having over there?

Mr. GISSIBL. Why, I heard from my brother; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And what did he say?

Mr. GISSIBL. He said that the German Government expects that all the German element, the German citizens which still belong to the German-American Bund, will have to resign, because the whole matter came up again in January, and the German consuls got the information from out there that they have to tell the German citizens to resign as members of the bund.

Mr. THOMAS. And you said your brother told you of the complications that Kuhn was having in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What complications did he tell you about?

Mr. GISSIBL. He told me that—I don't know what you mean—you know, Kuhn was over there; he wanted to straighten that thing out, that Germans can stay in the bund. So my brother told me that he did not have any success in that thing, because Germany don't want any German citizens to be members of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with your statement that the Red Star Line arranged the transportation of these members who went to Germany—some of them went as helpers—did they not realize that that was a violation of the law? Did you ever hear anything in connection with its having been done secretly in order to get around the law?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; I did not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know anything about that?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. THOMAS. You probably know that in this Congress we passed a law which permitted the exportation of helium gas?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand it, at a meeting that you attended the question was discussed.

Mr. GISSIBL. Correct.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you tell the committee a little bit about what was said at that meeting in regard to the exportation of helium gas?

Mr. GISSIBL. Well, of course, a law was passed in the United States Congress that Germany can get that helium gas from the United States. The German Zeppelin Corporation rebuilt that old airship because they depended on getting that helium gas, and you in the United States were making propaganda against selling that helium gas to Germany. So finally Secretary of the Interior Ickes refused to let that go into effect—to sell that helium gas. So we called that meeting in Chicago, and Rev. Dr. Williams was addressing the meeting, and a fellow by the name of Sawyer.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Dr. Williams?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know who he is. He is an American-born man—a priest.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you propose to take any action on this question?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes. We sent a letter of protest to the President and to Secretary of the Interior Ickes, and I had several organizations sign up that letter of protest—about 28 in Chicago—German-American organizations.

Mr. THOMAS. And did you get any word from Germany at all about this, or from the steamship company in New York?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. THOMAS. While you were in Germany, did you discuss this question of helium gas?

Mr. STARNES. What other cities did you visit in Germany besides Berlin, Nürnberg, and Stuttgart?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; that is all.

Mr. STARNES. Whom did you visit in Berlin?

Mr. GISSIBL. I saw my brother there. My brother was in Berlin.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who Mr. Kuhn called on when he went to Germany on the visit when he had these complications?

Mr. GISSIBL. No. I asked him, but he did not tell me anything about it.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any information that would be helpful to the committee in that connection, as to whom he talked to, or whom he conferred with?

Mr. GISSIBL. I will have to find out.

Mr. STARNES. Will you find out and let us know?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You have been pretty active in the education of school children in Chicago, have you not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. In activities of school children?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Those children are mostly all born in this country?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Of German parents?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. Were these activities outside of their regular school attendance?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. That is, they would go to the public school and then also, in addition, attend these schools?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes. I can explain you that thing.

Mr. HEALEY. Will you explain it to the committee?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes. There are so many schools in the city of Chicago. They used to teach the German language before Hitler came in power in Germany. So after that it was the Jewish influence in Chicago which stopped the teaching in the public schools and in the high schools.

Mr. HEALEY. That is your opinion?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is my opinion; O. K. So we started a school, an evening class, to learn the German children the German language and history.

Mr. HEALEY. How old were these children?

Mr. GISSIBL. From 10 to 18.

Mr. HEALEY. And they went to school at night; evening school?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; Saturday. They went Saturday and Wednesday. The larger ones went to school on Wednesdays, at the age of 14 or 15 up to 18; and the smaller ones came to school Saturday.

Mr. HEALEY. What was taught them in the schools?

Mr. GISSIBL. The German language.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that all?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is all. They were not shown any foreign moving pictures so long as I was in Chicago.

Mr. HEALEY. Were these textbooks printed in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And they were shipped, of course, here?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And, of course, these textbooks were all censored by the German Government?

Mr. GISSIBL. They may be. I don't know.

Mr. HEALEY. They were passed upon by the authorities, the educational authorities in Germany, were they not?

Mr. GISSIBL. I tell you, these books are not used in Germany any more; these books that I brought over to this country.

Mr. HEALEY. Are these books passed on? Are they approved by the present educational authorities in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. I don't think so, because they don't use them in Germany any more.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, they are printed; they are published in Germany now, are they not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. They are published in Germany now; they are current publications?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; they do not print them in Germany now.

Mr. HEALEY. Can you tell the committee how old they were? In what year were they published?

Mr. GISSIBL. I don't know; but I know that it was before Hitler came to power, because I know the books. I used to have them when I was in school yet.

Mr. HEALEY. Have the textbooks changed now? Do they have different books in Germany now from what they had when you were a boy?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir; quite different.

Mr. HEALEY. Nevertheless, these came from educational sources in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Present educational sources in Germany; is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. And they were shipped over here to you?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. And you distributed them to these classes that you established here for German children; is that correct?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is correct.

Mr. HEALEY. Were these children taught any English at all in those schools?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; because it was only 2 hours a week.

Mr. HEALEY. They were not taught anything but the German language and German history?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Anything about the German Government, or the policy of the German Government, or the philosophy of it?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. HEALEY. You are certain as to that?

Mr. GISSIBL. I am sure.

Mr. HEALEY. But you were not present all the time, were you?

Mr. GISSIBL. But I know my teacher would not advocate it. I could not get any lady to teach my school like that.

Mr. HEALEY. But your idea in doing that was to keep these children of German parents together, and perhaps away from assimilating with other children with whom they attended school; is that right?

Mr. GISSIBL. No. The purpose was only to teach these children the German language. That was the purpose, and that still is.

Mr. STARNES. And for what purpose?

Mr. GISSIBL. It is always well for anybody in this country to know a second language.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that also the purpose of the classes conducted in the East here?

Mr. GISSIBL. I don't know.

Mr. HEALEY. Don't they teach German in the high schools in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. In some of them they do not.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you want to tell the committee that children, on their own election, in the public schools in Chicago cannot study the German language?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know how that is; but I know many public schools where German children go to school that they don't have the opportunity.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that true in the high schools of Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. I don't know. I could not say that.

Mr. HEALEY. You know that is not so, don't you?

Mr. GISSIBL. Why, I don't know.

Mr. MASON. May I ask a question or two along this line of schooling?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. I have been a school man for 30 years, and, of course, I am interested a bit. Is it not true that you want to teach the German language to the German children when they are young, and long before they get to high-school age?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. You feel that that is the proper time for them to learn, and after they do get to high-school age, then they will have the foundation necessary to grasp the German culture and all that goes with the higher German teaching?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. It is true, of my own knowledge, that German is not taught in some high schools, because there is not demand enough for it in that particular community.

Mr. GISSIBL. I see.

Mr. MASON. In Chicago and in many other schools.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. MASON. I think that if you can vouch for the fact that you taught the German language to these youngsters at these schools on Saturday for 2 hours, or in the evening, Wednesday evening or whatever it is, and not any propaganda—

Mr. GISSIBL. (interposing). Not any whatsoever.

Mr. MASON. Not anything of the principles of the present Government in Germany?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; nothing at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You do know it to be a fact, don't you, Mr. Gissibl, that in your bunds you had toys brought from Germany, did you not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Modeled after Hitler?

Mr. GISSIBL. I saw it in the paper; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen these photographs?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all true, are they not?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is correct; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is true that the Black Shirt Fascists met with you, is it not?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That they were Fascist organizations?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were in sympathy with you?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do these photographs correctly show the scenes that took place?

Mr. GISSIBL. Absolutely; that is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you have a member in your post out there by the name of Ernest Koerner?

Mr. GISSIBL. Koerner? I don't remember.

Mr. THOMAS. You have not heard that name before—of Ernest Koerner?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you know the names of the bund who reside in Milwaukee?

Mr. GISSIBL. Koerner? Yes, sir. I think he is from Milwaukee.

Mr. THOMAS. He is a member of the bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. I could not tell you for sure. I have heard that name before; but I do not think he is a member of the group in Chicago.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know whether he is a member of the bund or not?

Mr. GISSIBL. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. To be perfectly frank about this, you are afraid that your testimony before this committee might result in a great many injurious consequences to you later on, are you not? In other words, you are afraid that you will be branded as a traitor, and that there may be some danger to you in the future? Is that a fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. Well, I am not afraid of the fact. I do not care. I tell you the truth and nothing but the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. But is there any likelihood of that happening?

Mr. GISSIBL. Maybe.

The CHAIRMAN. You are testifying under the subpoena of this committee and under the protection of this Government; you understand that, do you not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Colen Ross?

Mr. GISSIBL. He used to be with German newspapers, writing about this country.

Mr. STARNES. Is he in this country now?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; he is in Berlin.

Mr. STARNES. Does he write any articles about this country?

Mr. GISSIBL. In several newspapers.

Mr. STARNES. Were those articles published in this country?

Mr. GISSIBL. No—yes; several times he wrote articles for our newspaper.

Mr. STARNES. On government and economics?

Mr. GISSIBL. I could not tell you; I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Froboese?

Mr. GISSIBL. He is from Milwaukee.

Mr. STARNES. Does he hold a position with the bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. He is a district leader of the German-American Bund of the Middle West.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Tove Miller?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Is he a member of the Chicago bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What is his position?

Mr. GISSIBL. He has a certain district as a leader there.

Mr. STARNES. He was a leader there?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. A leader of storm troops, too?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a storm trooper?

Mr. GISSIBL. No. Several groups were under his supervision in territory surrounding Chicago.

Mr. STARNES. Will you describe the organization of the bund? You speak of different types of leaders. There is a man who is the head of the German-American Bund.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes; they have three district leaders, East, Middle West, and West.

Mr. STARNES. Who are the leaders?

Mr. GISSIBL. In the district East, it is Rudolph Markmann.

Mr. STARNES. Where does he live?

Mr. GISSIBL. I think in Brooklyn.

Mr. STARNES. Who is the leader in your district?

Mr. GISSIBL. George Froboese.

Mr. STARNES. Where does he live?

Mr. GISSIBL. In Milwaukee.

Mr. STARNES. Who is the leader in the West?

Mr. GISSIBL. Hermann Schwimm.

Mr. STARNES. Where does he live?

Mr. GISSIBL. In Los Angeles.

Mr. STARNES. In the organization, after these three district leaders, what is the next step?

Mr. GISSIBL. We have certain smaller districts; always five groups have a district leader, and then there are leaders of smaller groups or locals.

Mr. STARNES. That you call districts?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Then you have leaders under the district leaders?

Mr. GISSIBL. These posts have different groups. We have about five in Chicago.

Mr. STARNES. You work on the figure "5"?

Mr. GISSIBL. No. It is just according to how many different groups locally we have. In Chicago we have five in groups.

Mr. STARNES. Who decides matters of policy in your bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. Only headquarters.

Mr. STARNES. Who compose headquarters?

Mr. GISSIBL. Kuhn.

Mr. STARNES. He is "it"?

Mr. GISSIBL. He is "it."

Mr. STARNES. He is the whole show?

Mr. GISSIBL. Of course, we have a yearly convention and we decide the policy for the year again there.

Mr. STARNES. Until the next convention meets your chosen leader decides all questions of policy?

Mr. GISSIBL. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Is there any appeal from his decision to any other person?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; only to the national convention.

Mr. STARNES. What relation does Kuhn have with the German Government?

Mr. GISSIBL. As far as I know, nothing at all, because, as I explained before, the German Government does not want to be involved.

Mr. STARNES. It is only the German Bund, you say, that has direct connection?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes; the German Bund has direct connection.

Mr. STARNES. What connection does the German-American Bund have with the German Bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. None. We used to work together.

Mr. STARNES. You used to take orders together?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That no longer takes place?

Mr. GISSIBL. Pardon me.

Mr. STARNES. You no longer have any connection with each other?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. STARNES. Are you permitted, as a member of the German-American Bund, to attend meetings of the German Bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. STARNES. Outside of the city of Chicago you say members of the German Bund still attend meetings of the German-American Bund?

Mr. GISSIBL. It does not exist like it does in Chicago. In the East there is no special organization for German citizens only.

Mr. STARNES. Who finances the Foreign Institute?

Mr. GISSIBL. Which one?

Mr. STARNES. The one that has been referred to here.

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. How is it financed?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Is it financed by the German Government in any way?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know. The Foreign Institute was founded through the King of Württemberg in 1913 or 1914, and he gave

donations to keep in cultural connection with all Germans who were living abroad.

Mr. STARNES. It was financed at that time by the German Government?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And presumably is today?

Mr. GISSIBL. I suppose so.

The CHAIRMAN. We will excuse you for the present so that we may hear another witness.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK DAVIN, CHICAGO, ILL.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. DAVIN. Frank Davin.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in Chicago?

Mr. DAVIN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mr. DAVIN. I was born in Chicago in 1905.

The CHAIRMAN. What business are you in, and have you been in, during the past few years?

Mr. DAVIN. Public relations counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that consist of?

Mr. DAVIN. Public relations is a job of defining objects or policies. It is the selling, you might say, to the public at large of a program in connection with industrial organization, which has been used to promote better understanding of objectives, commonly referred to as publicity, through the use of newspapers, magazines, or radio.

The CHAIRMAN. Or it might be termed "propaganda"?

Mr. DAVIN. In the better sense of the word "propaganda," that would cover the job.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been engaged in that work for some time?

Mr. DAVIN. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. And have been known to be in that work?

Mr. DAVIN. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever meet the city treasurer of Chicago, a man by the name of Gustave Brand.

Mr. DAVIN. I have on several occasions in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he approach you with reference to doing propaganda work for the Nazi government in the United States?

Mr. DAVIN. Perhaps I ought to clarify that.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you tell us in your own language.

Mr. DAVIN. Rather than he approached me, sometime in March I would say I approached him. My thought was at the time—I had heard through casual remarks and upon information that I had—that as city treasurer of Chicago he would be in a position to be interested in the job of public relations work relative to what I had primarily in mind, and I approached him because I had made a study of the Chicago foreign-language situation. I had specifically had that in mind.

In Chicago approximately three out of four people within the city limits there speak or understand a language other than English.

That is a peculiarity not confined to Chicago but to all large metropolitan areas, and, frankly, I had handled that type of work in the 1936 campaign as radio assistant for the Republican National Committee and was familiar with the various groups.

You understand, my attitude was that of a salesman selling to the public rather than selling a political program.

I had lunch with Mr. Brand, and after some time the conversation seemed to be—I was trying to get at one point I could not quite understand, which seemed to me ought to be very clear. At any rate he mentioned to me he was not a political leader; he was an artist and had been, which is true. He is a very famous artist, a connoisseur of the arts in Chicago.

He spoke of the strained relationships between the German manufacturers—this is the substance of it; I do not recall the word he used, but it is a word that connotes industrial relations, or trade, or something like the steel people have in their Steel Institute, and mentioned the sale of Christmas toys and various other items that had dwindled down, and where now the newspapers were savagely attacking the German people, and he felt something ought to be done at that time, and I asked him, I said, "Are you interested in the Nazi organization—that is, the industrial set-up?" He said, "No." "Of course," he said, "I have some contacts there." He said, "I think you would be the type of person we could use, or rather that could be used, and I would be very happy to see you advanced," and so on.

I mentioned at that time the peculiarity of a business in which you had to devote the rest of your life, and how you would not want to get out on a limb with one group of Fascists, or a Nazi group, or a Communist group, either right or left; I was not interested.

I told him I was only interested in American public relations and that if I understood him correctly that type of job would bring me in contact with various diplomatic surroundings, and I did not believe I could afford to do it. Anyway, he told me I was mistaken, that my information probably came from reading articles and newspaper stories which were largely lies, and that "You cannot believe anything you read in the newspapers," because, he said, "After all, these newspapers are so controlled that they all tell the same story." He went on to mention something about writers, if I recall correctly, although I may need a little help with my statement there. I did not at that time make any particular discovery that I was solicited to be a Nazi agent.

I went home and talked it over with my wife. She insisted that I stay out of the job of monkeying around with any foreign government. That was the sum and substance of the matter.

In closing when I left I told him I would be very much interested in a publicity program that would not bring me in contact with anything of that kind, with a foreign government. He said, "Well, it is too bad you did not have the opportunity of speaking to Dr. Draeger." He said, "You would have opened your eyes." He said, "You are like all newspaper reporters, taking everything with the snap of the fingers."

At the time we talked over some of the newer books. I do not have a list, but I can get it. In passing, I had several references at the time which probably brought national socialism up to date. That is the sum and substance of what I had to say. I was practically offered

a spot at least with industrial organizations, German industrial organizations, for the promotion of better trade relations, as it appeared to me.

Mr. STARNES. That offer was made to you by Dr. Brand, Dr. Gustave Brand?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same man whose correspondence has been before the committee?

Mr. DAVIN. It was the same name.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he make an actual offer or just discuss it?

Mr. DAVIN. He did not say he could give me a job, but he thought if I could be brought into contact with the proper organization he would use his influence.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, he was just sounding you out as to whether or not you would take anything of that kind?

Mr. DAVIN. I suppose so.

Mr. STARNES. Did he ever give you the names of any parties?

Mr. DAVIN. No; but he said, "Of course, you know I belong to so many organizations as a German leader." I said, "Yes," because I know quite a few German leaders.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know what organizations he did belong to?

Mr. DAVIN. I do not think there is a German organization in Chicago that he does not belong to. I think he belongs to the Germania Club. I do not know whether he belongs to any other organization now, but he is a leading speaker at German affairs.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know whether he is a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. DAVIN. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. He is an American citizen?

Mr. DAVIN. To the best of my knowledge, he is.

Mr. MASON. You only had one meeting with him?

Mr. DAVIN. In regard to this. I have met him on many occasions.

Mr. MASON. But not since that meeting.

Mr. DAVIN. No.

Mr. MASON. That was a luncheon meeting?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. You were his guest?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was clear to you that he was approaching you to do propaganda work for the Nazi Party in Germany?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes; because my mind was running along entirely different lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he give you any idea as to what kind of propaganda work he wanted specifically?

Mr. DAVIN. In passing he said that the German people had been brought up in degradation, you might say, in and after the post-war depression, and that such a government had some good points, and as I listened to him, I gathered rather inferentially from his remarks, that the industrial angle was just one of the factors that would enter into such employment.

Mr. STARNES. What did he stress relative to industrial relations in Germany that was worth while?

Mr. DAVIN. He told of the falling off of German trade with America and mentioned in a sort of plaintive way the fact that we had

an abundance and other countries were starving, and told me that it pained him as an artist and cultural leader to see those things, and he thought it would be the very kind of propaganda that would be worth while.

Mr. STARNES. He did not say anything about the abundance of things that they had a scarcity of that they could exchange?

Mr. DAVIN. No.

Mr. STARNES. It was a question of our abundance helping the other fellow's scarcity. Did he discuss with you the relations between employers and employees?

Mr. DAVIN. He said they had no labor problems, but the job here would be rather difficult because of various factors.

Mr. STARNES. Did he give any reasons why they had no labor problems?

Mr. DAVIN. No; but I assumed there were reasons.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES J. METCALFE

(The witness was sworn by the chairman).

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is James Metcalfe?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. My name is James J. Metcalfe.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a brother of John Metcalfe, who previously testified today?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were born in Germany, also?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. In 1914.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become a citizen of the United States?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. In 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you become at any time a member of the German Bund?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I did, in 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a photostat copy of your membership card?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your application blank and other papers in connection therewith?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be inserted in the record later.

Will you explain to this committee what happened when you joined, and how you joined. Tell us in your own language.

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. I went to the headquarters of the German-American Bund and the Germand Bund; they were together at 3854 Northwestern Avenue.

Mr. STARNES. What was the date, Mr. Metcalfe?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. The first day I went there, the first public meeting which I attended, was on July 7, 1937. Previous to that time, about 2 or 3 days before, I had called at the headquarters and talked to Peter Gissibl, who had invited me to come to a public meeting held every Wednesday night. I will correct that. The public meeting date was July 14, 1937. That was the first public meeting which I attended.

However, it was not until Saturday night, July 17, at the weekly dance, when a serious discussion came up about my becoming a member of one or the other organizations. On that occasion I talked to both Mr. Gissibl and to Fritz Heberlein, the leader of the German Bund.

The question of my citizenship arose. I explained the facts relating to my life to Fritz Heberlein, the leader of the German Bund, and he told me that in his opinion I was a citizen of Germany and not a citizen of the United States. I did not, of course, tell him I had already obtained citizenship papers, and I was going under a different name at that time.

He told me that evening he would discuss the facts in regard to my case with the German consul in Chicago and obtain from him a decision as to whether or not I was a German citizen. Subsequently, on July 20, 1937, I talked again with Mr. Heberlein, and he told me at that time that the German consul had advised him that I was, in fact, a German citizen, and that consequently I was eligible to become a member of the German Bund.

He asked me then if I cared to file my application for membership in the German Bund. I told him I did. He asked me if I had any intention of becoming an American citizen at any time, and I said I did not. He stressed that point very strongly and made it very plain that if I had any intention at any time of becoming an American citizen they did not want me in the German Bund, that they wanted only those who had the intention of remaining German citizens. He brought that up again on several occasions. He wanted to make very sure that I knew my own mind on that matter.

Subsequently I filed my application and paid my initiation fee and my monthly dues. My application was accepted and approved, and I had presented my birth certificate, and I was admitted to membership, pending final approval, after a period of several months.

Thereafter I was instructed as to where I could purchase various parts of the uniform worn by the storm troopers of the German Bund. I was informed by Fritz Heberlein that it was compulsory as a member of the German Bund to belong to the storm-troop organization and to drill with them and obey all the orders implicitly.

I then obtained my uniform, and thereafter I attended all the public meetings, dances, and all social entertainment, and listened to their speeches and participated in their drills and marches and various parades on public occasions.

Mr. STARNES. Do they actually have military drill?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; they do. They had a weekly drill every Tuesday night in the hall at the bund headquarters in Chicago, in the assembly hall that was called the House Fatherland.

They drilled there every Tuesday night, not in uniform, and then when the occasion arose for their appearance in public every member was instructed to wear his uniform and they were compelled to march in the parade, and they were very strict about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they openly preach belief in the Nazi Party program in Germany?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; they did.

The CHAIRMAN. They do that openly?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. They do that openly at their meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. None of them have any intention, as you have heard them express it, of ever becoming American citizens?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they talk about in connection with the Nazi Government as compared with the American Government?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. The views most expressed by both leaders and individual members, and when I say leaders I mean Fritz Heberlein and his assistants, such as Fritz Mattis, the leader of the uniformed Storm Troopers, and other assistants—they specifically state that they are dissatisfied with the form of government in this country and that they believe the only kind of government is the national socialistic form of government that they have in Germany, and that in this country they should have one leader such as in the Hitler organization to operate the various departments of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with what you said a while ago, will you explain to the committee the different salutes they have in the German Bund and demonstrate them to the committee.

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. They have the full Nazi salute, which differs slightly from that of the German-American Bund, because in the German-American Bund they put their hands on their belt, but in the German Bund they hold their left arm straight to the sky and put their right arm up like that [indicating], and then the informal salute is like that [indicating].

Mr. STARNES. These military drills, do they give you instructions on the salute, military courtesy, and military discipline?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; they do. They teach you how to salute, how to stand at attention, how to go through the various formations. They drill, incidentally, in the German style. For example, when they give you a right face, they turn on the left foot. When they make an about face they also turn on the left foot, and they swing around to the left rather than to the right, as they would in the American Army.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they goose step?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. They goose step. That was formerly called the parade step. They employ that at the time of coming to a halt after marching and also at the time of passing a reviewing stand in a parade, such as the one at Soldiers' Field on German Day, when they passed the reviewing stand where the German consul sat. At that time they go into the parade step with their left hand on their belt buckle and their right arm stiffly held to their side and their eyes turned to the right or left.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any oath when you went into that organization?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; I did not; because I had not gone through the entire period of waiting.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the period of waiting before you became a full-fledged member?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. I was informed that the period of waiting was 3 months, during which time Fritz Heberling, the German Bund leader, told me, "It was necessary to investigate you not only in Germany but in this country as well. You are required to give a reference in this country and in Germany, preferably someone who is related to you and residing over there."

The CHAIRMAN. Before you became a full-fledged member?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. And they thoroughly checked that information before you could become a full-fledged member.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you taught that you had to obey orders directly from Germany?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir. You were told that the organization and every member was strictly under Hitler and the German Government; that all orders to be complied with by that organization had to emanate from Germany, they being taken through the German consul at Chicago. Fritz Heberling told me himself, on the night of July 17, 1937—to quote him directly—that “we are under one man only—Hitler.” He says, “We take all our orders from him and we deal strictly with the German consul here in Chicago.”

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say were the aims and objectives of this organization? What was said by leaders in speeches and in conversations as to the aims and objectives of the organization?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. The aims and objectives of the German Bund in Chicago as distinguished from the other organization were simply to grow as much as possible and to cooperate with the German-American Bund; to carry out all orders from Germany; to spread propaganda as and how they were told to do and to carry out any orders which they might be given.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything said with reference to the necessity of building up a minority bloc in the United States in the event of war or any other trouble?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; not with reference to the German Bund. You see, I was informed that that was the only organization of its kind in the United States and it was comparatively small, but they hoped to increase it.

The CHAIRMAN. As to the Germans belonging to the German-American Bund, there was no distinction, is that correct?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. That is true. Also Mr. Heberling told me that he did not feel that a German should belong to the German-American Bund. If he were a true German, he should belong to the German Bund, his organization, because he could not understand how a man could be loyal to two countries at one time. Therefore he could not see how the members of the German-American Bund could be honest with themselves, because they were, in fact, trying to be loyal to two countries at one and the same time.

Mr. STARNES. What did he say the object was in giving you military training?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. He had no specific explanation on that point except that he pointed out to me that any time you might be recalled to Germany, being a subject of Germany, and as such you would be qualified to proceed with your military training over there. And, of course, you would have that added advantage of having been trained over here.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the members of that organization really believe in the Nazi form of government?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they openly profess that belief?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; they do.

The CHAIRMAN. And do they explain why, believing in the Nazi form of government, they do not go over there; why they continue to reside in the United States?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; they do not explain why they do that, except that they are free to express themselves; that they enjoy the freedom accorded them here and also the positions which they hold; the fact that they are able to make more money here than they would over there.

Mr. MASON. Then, in that particular they are not any more consistent than the members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of any direct contacts between the German Bund and the consular service, or the consulate?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Only insofar as Fritz Heberling told me he was in constant communication with the German consul in Chicago; that as a matter of fact he took up all matters with him, obtained his advice and approval, consulted him in everything, and if any questions arose he always took them up with him. Also he said the relationship was so close that he could communicate with the German consul in Chicago at any hour of the day or night as occasion might arise.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever say anything with reference to money being sent from Germany to aid the cause of the German Bund in the United States?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge of any instance where any German money was spent by any member of the German Bund for propaganda purposes or otherwise?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know of that?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What became of the dues you paid into the organization?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. The dues were paid in by the members of the German Bund and went to the treasurer of that organization. His name was Bamberg, H. Bamberg. Aside from being used for the operation of the organization, and also for the purpose of erecting a camp, and things of that kind, providing entertainment and the like—aside from those things, if there was any other purpose for which money was used, I did not know for what it was used.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen these photographs here. You appear in some of them?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you secure those photographs yourself?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Where I am in the picture, I did not, of course, myself.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean you secured the photographs from someone else?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that party?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. I obtained the photographs from several individuals. I took a number of them myself. The picture, for ex-

ample, of the boy and girl in uniform which was brought out before—the large picture—was taken in the lobby of the House Fatherland in Chicago by a photographer named Norman Dingler, a member of the German Bund. I obtained a copy of that picture from him.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you acquainted with the Hitler Youth movement in connection with the organization?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I was. The children of the members of the German Bund, there was no distinction made as between them and the children of the German-American Bund. They went to camp together; they marched and drilled together. They all wore uniforms. The girls had their style of uniform and the boys had their own, and they were trained along military lines, taught to obey orders in all things. They were encouraged to adhere to all German traditions; to speak the German language; to sing German songs; and not to associate with American children and to stay away from strangers who might come up to them and speak English.

On August 1, 1937, at Camp Hindenburg, which is near Milwaukee, Wis., I had occasion to be present and I tried to talk to some of the children, particularly some of those from Milwaukee. I was not in uniform and I spoke in English to them, and they refused to speak to me. On later occasions, when I had my uniform and I was wearing it, I would talk to some of these children, and even though I spoke in English they did not hesitate to speak to me, because, of course, it was obvious to them that I was a member of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they disseminate any literature direct from Germany among the members at that time, especially among the children?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. I do not recall any literature being disseminated among the children.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the extent of the propaganda efforts among the children with reference to the Nazi socialistic ideas?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. I was informed by Fritz Heberling that the school which is maintained in the bund in Chicago for teaching the children German was also conducted for the purpose of instilling in them the ideals of the present Germany.

Mr. MASON. Is that the same school that the former witness testified about?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What was your statement there?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. My statement is that Fritz Heberling informed me that in the conduct of that school the children were instructed in the principles and ideals of the National Socialistic Government in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see, yourself, any evidence of that?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear of any speeches made directly to the children or while the children were present with reference to the Nazi Government ideals or ideology?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Not with reference to national socialism. However, all speeches which were made to them were along the lines of keeping them German children rather than American children.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they sell toys of Hitler—modeled after Hitler?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. They did not in Chicago, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see that?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; not in Chicago. I made an extensive search there.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent was the swastika used as a flag?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. The swastika was used by the German Bund and the German-American Bund as a flag. It was always present on every occasion. In the youth organization they carried a half swastika flag.

The CHAIRMAN. What did that signify?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. It signified simply the symbol of the youth organization, which was a special design which they had. You could call it a half swastika, or something like a streak of lightning. The children wore belt buckles which were inscribed in German with the words "Blood and Honor." And they also carried hunting knives with the swastika on the handle—many of the boys did.

MR. THOMAS. What was the purpose of those hunting knives? What were they going to use them for?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. I suppose to chop down trees!

The CHAIRMAN. Like the Boy Scouts?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. Like the Boy Scouts. The knives were imported from Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were there, there never was any arming, or effort to arm, or anything of that sort?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; there was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever present at any target practice?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; outside of a carnival, where you compete for prizes and the like.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am not talking about that.

MR. THOMAS. You heard the testimony this afternoon in regard to the action that the German-American Bund took on the question of the exportation of helium gas. Did Fritz Heberling ever discuss that question with you or take it up at any of the meetings of the German Bund?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; he did not discuss that publicly. Privately, his only comment on that subject was that he thought the German Government should be permitted to have the helium gas which it wanted.

MR. THOMAS. Were there any resolutions passed or any action taken at any of the meetings of the German Bund relative to the question of helium gas?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. Not to my knowledge during the time I was with the organization.

MR. THOMAS. You have not anything more you want to say in regard to the subject of helium gas, or anything along those lines?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have other statements there that you wish to make?

MR. JAMES J. METCALFE. I just wanted to explain one more thing about this salute. There has been a general impression that when they give this salute in public they do not say "Heil Hitler!" They do not say "Heil Hitler!" but the manner of execution is like this: The leader will appear before the troop or a group of children, as the case may be, and he will say in German, "We will now give three

heils. You say one for the leader," meaning Adolf Hitler, but the name is not mentioned, "one for the fatherland, and one for the homeland." Then, after he calls for each heil, he uses the word "Sieg," and everybody saluted and called "Heil!" They will say that three times. Naturally, the word "Hitler" is not mentioned; yet that is what they are actually doing, giving this "Heil!" for Hitler.

At the time that Fritz Heberling told me "We are under one man only—Hitler"—he said, "We deal with the consuls general of Germany here in this country. We take orders from Hitler, no one else. We are stronger, more powerful than the others," meaning the German-American Bund, "but we work with them and get along together."

He explained to me that he meant, by being stronger and more powerful, that so far as the ties with Germany were concerned, so far as political consequences in Germany were involved, they were stronger, more powerful, than the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Fascists ever meet with the German Bund while you were there?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. No, sir; only the Ukrainians.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Ukrainian Fascist movement?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. I am not familiar with the Ukrainian movement. The only thing I know is that the members of their organization appeared in uniform in Harms Park with German Bund and the German-American Bund, on the occasion of a Labor Day celebration, on September 5, 1937, and marched and paraded with them, took part in the activities. I also understood that there was close cooperation between the organizations in matters of mutual interest.

I might mention the fact that at the time I was first joining the organization, an announcement was made by Fritz Matthes, the leader of the uniformed storm troops, to the effect that the German Bund was giving its members an opportunity to compete for a chance to become aviation pilots; that this had been arranged through the Ukrainian organization, and that the members who were selected for this training were to receive a free course at the hands of the United States Army pilots. To what extent that was carried out I do not know, because the plans were still under way at the time I left the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any fear ever expressed among these people that they might be deported; and any precautions taken by them to prevent deportation?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir; Mr. Heberling told me that the members of the organization were instructed to conduct themselves in such a way as not to lay themselves open to possible deportation at any time; that they should be careful not to announce too publicly the fact that they were aliens; that in the event of any disturbance at any public occasion they were not to take part in any fight or retaliate if anyone from the outside started a fight, unless they had specific orders from the leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent do they obey the leaders? For instance, on one occasion when Fritz Heberling had married, tell us how he obeyed some orders.

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. He had just been married. This was the day after the marriage and he had planned to go on his honeymoon.

But the celebration of that day was in his hands, and it was his duty to be there and consequently he could not be with his wife.

On another occasion—this was just prior to the German Day celebration—Fritz Matthes instructed the storm troopers that they were to be present at Soldiers' Field on German Day and that nothing but death would be accepted as an excuse.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing but death?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Nothing but death; that if you are dead, you do not have to be there.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a concession!

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Also Fritz Heberling made it very plain at all times that every order had to be obeyed and the members of the German Bund very blindly obeyed all instructions. Also, if they came late to a drill, they had first to salute the leader and to receive his permission to join the ranks, thereby being excused for being late.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you say, from your contacts with this organization, and what you have heard, and so forth, whether it is not a fact that the great majority of the people of German descent are not sympathetic to this movement in any respect, and that they are making no headway among the old-stock German citizens, those people of German descent? Is not that a fact?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. That has been my impression; yes, sir.

Now, quoting from Fritz Heberling, on September 3, 1937, he said that national socialism was the only kind of government for any country to have and that they should have it in the United States: "They do not run things right here," he said. "Some day the people will wake up."

The CHAIRMAN. These are notes that you took at the time?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you might preserve the record?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. He also said:

I would like to go back to Germany. I do not like it here. There is no order here. You can do anything. All there is here is cheating and graft and crime. I would like to go back and stay there.

He reviewed for me the history of the German-American Bund in Chicago and how the German Bund came about. This is on August 9, 1937, in the home of Fritz Heberling, the leader of the German Bund. Here is a direct quote from him. He said:

In 1935 when Fritz Gissibl was here he made a lot of trouble. He was always ready for a fight and he liked to make a big show. So the German Government called him back and they told him, "You are making too much trouble over there, you will make it bad for us, you must stay here from now on." So they gave him time to come back here and get his things arranged and then he had to go back. Then the German Government ordered all German citizens to go out of the bund in America. We did that here in Chicago, and I organized the Deutscher Volksbund—for German citizens only. All the German citizens then left the bunds in America, but only for a while. After a while they let them come back. It was not good, but they did it. They should not do it. Some day it may cause them a lot of trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. You yourself were born in Germany?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know it to be a fact from your observation and contact with German people that the great majority of them are such that we have no more patriotic or loyal citizens in America

than the overwhelming majority of the people of German descent here?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And what you are telling us about now deals only with a very small minority; is not that correct?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think this organization is growing?

Mr. JAMES J. METCALFE. I have not kept abreast of their activity, but from what I have heard here and there, I believe it is growing in size.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to recall Mr. Gissibl for a few moments.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF PETER GISSIBL—Recalled

The CHAIRMAN. I believe Mr. Thomas had some questions he wanted to ask you, Mr. Gissibl.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you know Mr. Brand?

Mr. GISSIBL. The city treasurer of Chicago?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Was he a member of your post, the German-American Bund, out in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. No. He never has been a member of the bund, but since a few years I know him well; I met him several times and talked things over with him.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you want to tell us a little bit about some of the conversation you had with him?

Mr. GISSIBL. Just one thing. I am kind of surprised to have this man dragged into this investigation, because the man always was like a father to German-American citizens in Chicago; and, as a fact, he was really the man who quieted us down whenever we lost our temper, the young fellows. He never was a member of the bund. He never did agree with the form of government they have in Germany over there. He was a real and honest American citizen who lives—I don't know—I think 50 years, more than 50 years already in this country. I respected that man and always took his advice whenever he had to give me one. I just want to say that because this witness before me stated something about Mr. Brand, and I really am surprised that this man is dragged into this investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand we have no desire to drag anybody into it. It is just a question of trying to develop the truth here.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes. That is why I made that statement, because this man is in a high position in the city of Chicago and is very reliable.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other statement you want to make? We want to be perfectly fair and accord you a full opportunity.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes; there is another thing I want to say about our school. One of the witnesses made a statement here that we were making Nazi propaganda in that school. When I consulted that professor of the Chicago Northwestern University in Evanston to have somebody to be a teacher for the children in our organization, I told him what it was all about. He did not want to teach the children on account of that propaganda that was going on against the

German-American Bund. So I told him that it will be actually a teaching of the German language and nothing else. And then under these circumstances the wife of that professor who graduated as a teacher in American schools, she took charge of our school in Chicago. I know that there was never showed any moving picture or any Nazi propoganda in our school in Chicago.

Mr. THOMAS. You are only speaking for the school in Chicago. You cannot speak for the schools in the East here?

Mr. GISSIBL. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what is taught in the schools in the east?

Mr. GISSIBL. No; I do not know.

Mr. THOMAS. Who determines the policy—that is, the educational policy—of the various schools of the German-American Bund in this country?

Mr. GISSIBL. I do not know. It goes through the headquarters in New York.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Kuhn's headquarters?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. He determines, then, what you are to teach out in your school, does he not?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes—no—I tell you, I started that school in my local first, before he started the other locals. We built up a nice school there in a short time, so I did not have to take any advice of anybody. I do it the way I think it is the best.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the schools, this is one point I do not understand. You have admitted that these photographs are authentic.

Mr. GISSIBL. What?

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen these photographs. You say these photographs are authentic.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. True photographs?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. One of these photographs that I have in mind shows a table loaded down with Nazi propoganda, books and photographs of Hitler and the swastika, and so forth. The children are in the post. They are around all of this propoganda, and it is accessible to them. Is not that a fact?

Mr. GISSIBL. Well, there is a difference between the school and the youth movement of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the youth movement. That reaches the same children, does it not?

Mr. GISSIBL. No. There are many children in our school which do not belong to the youth movement.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of the children belong to the youth movement?

Mr. GISSIBL. I cannot give you the exact number.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a great many?

Mr. GISSIBL. I am quite sure that more than 50 percent of the children in the schools do not belong to the youth movement.

The CHAIRMAN. But those who do not belong to the youth movement are subject constantly to the propoganda.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know what contact they have with the other children.

Mr. GISSIBL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who organized the youth movement in Chicago?

Mr. GISSIBL. Carl Miller.

Mr. STARNES. As part of the organized movement?

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And the bund sponsored the organization.

Mr. GISSIBL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF JOHN C. METCALFE

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a file containing Nazi propaganda matters, covering bund meeting dates, anti-Communist committee; bund propaganda; radio propaganda; bund anti-Semitic propaganda, with translations; bund posters, bund propaganda, Edmonston; bund propaganda from Germany, Russian National Revolutionary Party; Bund American Association Against Communism, and so forth. Are all of these original documents that you procured, Mr. Metcalfe?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And all of these documents bear upon your testimony, or support your testimony.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, explain to the committee what this document is.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This material was obtained from the California Bund headquarters or the German-American headquarters. It is material attacking Russia, and was distributed at the bund headquarters. The authors of this publication are the Russian National Revolutionary Party, at Putnam, Conn.

Mr. STARNES. That is German propaganda against the Russian Government distributed here in the United States.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is propaganda put out by the Russian Revolutionary Party in the United States and distributed through the bund headquarters at Los Angeles, Calif., although the material is published in Connecticut.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you what appears to be a document entitled "The American Association Against Communism." Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is a membership application that I picked up in the New York headquarters of the German-American Bund. The material found its way there for distribution there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any connection between that organization and the bund?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. No, sir; except that I just picked up that material.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Ernest Koerner, of Milwaukee?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I do not know him personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a series of pictures relating to Mayor LaGuardia. Where did you obtain them?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The originals, I believe, are in this file.

The CHAIRMAN. This is written in the German language?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; it is attacking Mayor LaGuardia for his anti-Nazi attitude. It was distributed by the bund, and the paper was published in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the original paper?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I have it in this file.

This is the *Stuermer*, Julius Streicher's newspaper. Julius Streicher is perhaps the most violent anti-Semitic official in the German Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this paper contain any quotations from any publication of the German Bund in the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Not this particular issue.

The CHAIRMAN. This issue contains pictures and cartoons that appear in this copy?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any translation available of this material?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. We will place all this material in the record.

I wish you would show me a copy of a German paper that contains quotations from the German-American Bund publication.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a copy of the *Stuermer*, or the same newspaper, of the issue of June 1938. On the second page there is an article that appeared in the German-American Bund newspaper at a time previous to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Those two papers exchange news?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; that is shown from this. These are some programs for theaters in Yorkville, N. Y. Here is a program of a film of the German Army. Officials of the German-American Bund are employed at the theater, and are operating it.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the program of a picture made in Germany.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The film was produced in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. You were present at the exhibition of this picture?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the picture about?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. It was glorifying the German Army under Hitler. This is one of the German Navy.

The CHAIRMAN. This is an announcement of the program of a picture dealing with a German picture made in Germany, relating to the German Navy.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You saw that picture, also.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was it shown?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. At the Eighty-sixth Street Casino Theater, 280 Tenth Street, Yorkville.

This is a copy of a short-wave radio broadcast from Germany. This material was distributed from the bund headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. This is announcing a radio program from Germany, distributed to bund members so that everybody who wants to listen may be advised of it.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. These are Nazi programs sent out all over the world. These are translations, showing attacks upon Catholicism.

The CHAIRMAN. These are from official publications of the German Government.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which contain attacks upon the Catholic Church and officials of the Catholic Church.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. This is material with reference to the *Edmonston case*. This is distributed from bund headquarters to camps, and may be obtained by anyone who visits the camps.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a number of copies of the official publication of the German-American Bund.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. There is anti-Semitic propaganda in here. This is another publication, published in New York, called the *American Wacht*. This relates to the social policy of Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. This paper defends the Nazi regime.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. These are posters taken from public affairs of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. These are posters announcing proceedings of the German-American Bund.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. This is official Nazi Party information. These are releases from Germany and distributed by the bunds.

The CHAIRMAN. They are issued by the Nazi Government.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement about that is positive, and you know that they were distributed.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I picked them up myself.

The CHAIRMAN. These came from Germany, and were distributed by members of the German-American Bund.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And this [indicating] is the same thing?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. This is a copy of a speech made by Hitler in Germany.

Mr. STARNES. Will you tell us what are the subjects referred to chiefly in these articles and speeches?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. The political and governmental beliefs of the German Government.

Mr. STARNES. Do any of them touch on the racial question?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And social and economic conditions.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. As well as political conditions.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir; and on Soviet activities.

Mr. STARNES. And on religious activities.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. Here is a piece of literature by Fricke Bard, from Hamburg, Germany. This material is distributed through the bund, just as other material from the same source.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all German publications distributed in the United States?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. Here is the "New Germany Under Hitler."

The CHAIRMAN. In this publication they defend the new Germany under Hitler?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. Here is some more material from Hamburg, distributed from the bund headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. This is literature written in the German language, coming over from Germany?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir. This is a booklet entitled "Germans Abroad." On the flyleaf appears a notation that it is not for sale and is for members only. Among many other things it contains on page 746 an article written by Walter Kappe, former propaganda chief of the bund of the United States, formerly editor of the Weckruf and Boebachter, official bund newspapers. This article stresses the fact that all efforts should be spent to convert German-Americans into American Germans and to keep that tie intact always. That is an effort to tie them closely to the fatherland, the same as in the case of the Sudeten Germans. Instead of making German Americans they would make American Germans.

This is from the American Nationalist Confederation, showing the swastika openly on its face. This material is dated July 9, 1938. There are a large number of publications here that should be referred to for reading purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a file containing Nazi propaganda, showing membership applications, bund tickets, certificates, bund membership applications, identification receipts, and so forth.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Some of that relates to the Business Men's League, to which Mr. Gissibl referred, and of which he said there were several hundred members in Chicago. That is an organization that is engaged in furthering the purchase of German merchandise as against other merchandise. There is a certain number of members that belong to it. That is an active unit within the German-American Bund. It is known as the Boycott League.

The CHAIRMAN. All these documents listed in the file are documents that were obtained by you over a long period of time, beginning from the time you began the investigation, over a period of about a year.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are all authentic documents?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Generally, what do they show?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. They show in a general way the type of tickets for the various public affairs, raffles, and so forth. There are also copies of the insignia that they wear, the membership applications for the German Bund, the meetings, the announcements of meetings, and so forth, which were sent to me. There is also a list of some bund leaders throughout the United States with the dollar donations, certificates of donations, with statements of the various programs of public affairs of the bund. There are all sorts of announcements and stickers placed at some of the rifle ranges, with the rifle targets. Sometimes the bund has a rifle range hidden out on a farm, and they go out in the evening and shoot. Announcements are made in this newspaper. Of course, no one is permitted out there except members of the bund.

Mr. STARNES. Where do they obtain rifles and ammunition?

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. I do not know. Rifle-range targets are regulation supplies that may be purchased anywhere. Under the law

you can always set up a rifle club and you can obtain guns direct from the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Later on we will go into that in more detail. At some future hearing we will go in more detail into these various excerpts from the publications. You have submitted to the committee documentary evidence to support your various statements and allegations.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing the relationship between our Government and the bund organization in the United States, and the vast amount of propaganda activities that they are engaged in in the United States. You have shown the general nature of the organization, its ideals, objectives, and so forth.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have done that to give us a right picture of the entire activity as it relates to the Nazi Government.

Mr. JOHN C. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The documents you have submitted will be marked as exhibits and filed with the committee.

(The documents above referred to were marked as "Exhibits Nos. 64 to 81," both numbers inclusive.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn to meet at 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned to meet tomorrow, Saturday, August 13, 1938, at 9:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 9:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Before we hear from the witness this morning, the Chair wishes to reiterate his statement of yesterday that this committee is solely concerned with the truth; that we are not concerned with any jurisdictional disputes between labor organizations; that we are not after any labor organization; that if any labor organization is involved in any charge, or is attacked in the course of these hearings, that labor organization will be accorded a full opportunity to refute the charge or attack.

I am sure, as Mr. Frey knows, that what we are primarily concerned with is specific proof and not generalities. We want facts and not conclusions. When a witness makes a statement, we shall expect that witness to have the facts to sustain that statement.

Our first witness will be Mr. Frey.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. FREY, PRESIDENT OF THE METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Frey, give your name and your official position for the record.

Mr. FREY. John P. Frey, president of the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen of the committee, 20 years ago the Third International, popularly known as the Red International, endeavored to establish its program and its purpose in the United States. It failed completely because of the activities of the American Federation of Labor.

It is only within the last 3 years that communism has secured an official foothold in an American labor movement.

It is evident from press reports of the last week or so that the hearings which your committee is to hold and the knowledge that they would examine into communism, has led to a revival of the American spirit of resentment against all that communism stands for.

And so, within the last week or so, the press has been filled with the efforts of red-blooded Americans to rid their labor organizations of Communist control.

That is true of the national maritime workers, particularly in the city of New York. It is true, in part, in what is taking place in the automobile industry in Michigan.

It is also true in the resignation of certain C. I. O. unions from the Industrial Council of Los Angeles, because of its Communist control, under the direction of Mr. Harry Bridges.

Gentlemen, generally I prefer to speak without manuscript, but I want my statements to be accurate and I want to weigh the words more carefully than when I am speaking extemporaneously. So, if the committee will pardon me and will allow me, I would like to read a part of the statements which I desire to present.

There can be no adequate understanding of the purposes and policies of the Communist Party in the United States, without a knowledge of Communist activities in other countries.

Immediately after the Bolshevik revolution the Communist Party, through the Third International which it controls, launched vigorous propaganda campaigns in the oriental as well as the occidental countries. In occidental countries the definite objective was to secure a controlling position within the national trade-union movements.

Even before the armistice was signed, Communists had succeeded in becoming a definite factor in the Italian labor movement. After the armistice they became a controlling influence in a number of Italy's industrial centers. It was their seizure of the large industrial establishments which gave to Mussolini the opportunity of becoming Italy's dictator. His plea to the nation was that he was saving Italy from those conditions which had followed the Bolsheviks' victory in Russia.

The Third International made particular efforts to infiltrate within the German trade-union movement, the democratically controlled trade-union movement which had been the principal factor in establishing and maintaining the German Republic. It was the fear created by the rapid growth of communism among German workers which gave to Hitler and his associates the opportunity of claiming their purpose was to save Germany from communism. As in the case of Mussolini, this plea of patriotism was the stepping stone which enabled the Nazis to set up their dictatorship.

The obvious conclusion is that the Communists are as responsible for the plague of Fascist and Nazi dictatorship as they are for the destruction of free institutions in Russia through their dictatorship created there.

Fascism and nazi-ism in the beginning were launched through opposition to the spread of communism. This is one of the reasons why Communists in every country, our own included, are so vitriolic in their attacks upon the dictatorship in Italy and in Germany, while approving of the dictatorship in Russia.

It is also one of the reasons why leading Communists in every country outside of Russia favor pacifism and oppose military preparedness, while at the same time giving hearty approval and every support to the strengthening of Russia's military machine.

Preparedness in Russia is justified and applauded, but preparedness by any other country, even the preparedness now going on by the remaining democracies to protect their free institutions, meets with constant and active attack.

It is not my intention to analyze communism as such, or engage in any academic consideration of the principles which are involved. My purpose is to present evidence to this committee which will indicate the efforts the Communist Party in the United States is making to carry out the purpose of Moscow and of the Third International.

The evidence to be presented will indicate a measure of the extent to which they are accomplishing their purpose.

In the official Communist records, which will be given to you, terms will be found with which we are familiar.

We will find "democracy" meeting with official Communist approval. We will find that Communists are charged with the responsibility of establishing "unity" in the ranks of labor. But the term "democracy" as used by Communists has an entirely different meaning than our understanding of democracy and free institutions as Americans. Democracy as practiced in the one country where Communists are in control, is the very opposite of the free institutions of our country. In Russia it is dictatorship with all that form of government involves, including the purges.

Communist claims indicate that less than 2 percent of the people of Russia are members of the Communist Party. But under the dictatorship, there can be no opposition party. This small percentage of Communists in Russia believe that the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat can only be maintained by the suppression of free institutions, and by centralizing of authority in the hands of a dictator. When Communists refer to democracy in Russia, they have reference to a condition which is the very antithesis of democracy and free institutions as we understand and apply them in the United States.

The same difference exists in the term "unity" as applied to labor. The purpose of the Communist Party in the United States from the beginning has been to divide labor. In connection with their effort to establish themselves they have preached unity while endeavoring to secure control of the American trade-union movement. Under the term "unity" they scheme to secure controlling positions within the American trade-union movement. The term "unity" as they apply it is the unity which exists in Russia under Stalin's dictatorship.

The committee will have presented to it ample evidence from official Communist records to indicate the revolutionary methods by which the Communists seek to achieve their objective; revolutionary methods which involve the use of force; revolutionary methods which scorn the use of the democratic method in a country of free men who carry on their local and national activities through a representative form of government.

The American Federation of Labor in its form and structure, in its policy and methods, has closely adhered to the American form of government and the democratic base upon which it rests. The American Federation of Labor has never been satisfied with the industrial condition under which labor is employed. I sincerely hope it never will be, for satisfaction would mean an end to constructive efforts. It

would mean that labor had nothing more in which to be vitally interested.

What is important is that the American Federation of Labor has believed in evolutionary instead of revolutionary methods. It has believed that labor, through voluntary association in trade-unions, must build up the structure of protection step by step and stone by stone. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor have been convinced from the study of history that the evolutionary and educational method is the only constructive one. It has been applying these methods for over 50 years, and the record of accomplishment is impressive.

Only a generation ago many wage earners worked from sunrise to sunset and purchased the necessities of life from company stores. It is only the present generation which has seen the 12-hour day replaced by the 10-hour day, the 9-hour day, the 8-hour day, and the 40-hour week.

Through the evolutionary process, which is the educational method, many of labor's most serious handicaps have been removed through legislation. Only a few years ago equity courts issued injunctions which restrained labor from going on strike, which restrained our unions from paying strike benefits, and which even restrained our unions from endeavoring to organize the employees of the firm securing the injunction. The use of the labor injunction, in the manner labor had complained about so vigorously, was terminated by the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction bill.

Only a few years ago the so-called yellow dog contract, which was intended to make trade-union organization impossible, was used so widely that employers' attorneys notified our unions that the firms they represented had entered into individual contracts with all of their employees, and that any attempt on the unions' part to organize them would be an effort to prevail upon these unfortunate workmen to breach their contract and would lead to immediate legal action. The so-called yellow dog contract has been declared null and void by the legislatures of a number of States. This provision is also incorporated in the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction bill.

The American Federation of Labor has been successful in overcoming labor's most serious handicaps through the use of educational and evolutionary methods. The so-called company unions have been outlawed.

The Communists heap ridicule upon the progress made by the American Federation of Labor. They jeer at its constructive evolutionary methods. They preach revolution. Within the last 2 or 3 years they have seized every sit-down strike, every mass-picketing venture, as a means of stimulating their revolutionary tactics.

The sit-down strike and mass picketing have been used by the Communists in our country as a training camp in which Communists can become familiar with the tactics they are to apply when their revolutionary program is put into action. The sit-down strike and mass picketing have been used as front-line trenches in which the mass revolutionists of the future are to receive experience and training to equip them for the day when the signal for revolution is given.

The American Federation of Labor in its structure, its policy, and its methods has been made to conform as closely as possible to the

principles underlying our American form of government and our American institutions of human liberty. Because of its understanding of American institutions and methods, it vigorously set itself in opposition to the theories and apparent purposes of socialism. As a result the Socialists' attempts to determine the policies of the American Federation of Labor met with complete failure.

The American Federation of Labor learned its lessons in the practical and sometimes costly school of experience.

It was to be expected that it would vigorously resist the efforts of the Communist Party in this country to bore from within.

As the success of the Communist Party in any country depends primarily upon its ability to infiltrate into the national trade-union movements and control their policy making, the American Federation of Labor has vigorously defended its affiliated unions from Communist propaganda and Communists boring from within.

Because of this the Communist Party made no real progress in the United States.

It failed to secure a foothold in an American trade-union movement until the C. I. O. was organized.

Since then the Communist Party has become a definite factor in the American labor movement.

It will be my purpose to indicate the policy and the progress of the Communist Party in the years gone by and in more recent days, from official records.

Evidence will be presented indicating that the Communist Party in the United States completely scrapped its program in 1935 so that it could secure a controlling position within the C. I. O.

Evidence will be presented that numbers of prominent Communists secured key positions in the C. I. O. and were placed upon that organization's pay roll.

Evidence will be introduced showing that the Communists are now actively engaged in carrying out their united front and their people's front program in this country in the same manner as they have already done in a number of European countries, Spain and France in particular.

Evidence will be presented showing that the industrial and political program of the C. I. O. has the hearty endorsement of the Communist Party.

Evidence will be presented showing that the C. I. O. and its chairman, Mr. John L. Lewis, have been officially endorsed.

Evidence will be presented indicating that Mr. John L. Lewis has had a thorough knowledge of the danger to the United Mine Workers and to the American Federation of Labor which existed because of Communist activities.

Evidence will be introduced showing that violent industrial disturbances in connection with the automobile and the steel strike were fostered by Communist leaders and members.

Evidence will be introduced showing that the Communist Party took much credit for organizing the steel and the automobile workers, and in applying a directive part in the strikes which followed.

In connection with the evidence indicating Communist activities within the C. I. O., it must be said, in all fairness to the majority of the membership, that they are not Communists, and that they are

opposed to communism. In many local instances these members of the C. I. O. have arisen in revolt against the Communist leadership which had secured control.

The C. I. O. is not yet a Communist organization, so far as the great majority of the rank and file is concerned. The fact seems to be that the C. I. O. membership unwittingly became a carrier for the virus of communism because of the attitude of its leadership.

Before I proceed further, let me remove one herring from the path. It is the practice of Communists to refer to every opponent and critic as a "red baiter." Introduction of the words "red baiter" into a conflict between communism and democracy constitutes one of the best publicity efforts undertaken by anyone. The words definitely are a Communist product, and they have spread their use to such good purpose that every opponent and critic is so described. I am called a "red baiter."

To describe a person as a "red baiter" is to imply that he speaks out of prejudice, that he is a sort of argumentative gadfly, without logic or facts; perhaps a professional opponent of impure motive.

There is a broad and clear distinction between communism and democracy, and we who defend democracy must be prepared for the "red baiter" epithet in return. But it seems to me high time that the public became aware of the origin of the term and the reason for its use. It is used to cloud the issue, to serve in the absence of facts, and to impugn the motives of those who cannot be dragged into the Communist net.

We could say that the Communists are democracy baiters, or America baiters. But I have no such purpose. My case is a fact case. It is factual to the hilt, and it will require something more than cunningly contrived and misplaced adjectives in answer.

I would now like to present to the committee a statement which will give you the names of Communists who are presidents or other prominent officers of C. I. O. organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, Mr. Frey, what evidence do you have that that is true?

Mr. FREY. I have some of it right here.

The CHAIRMAN. Generally, you have evidence to support that statement, have you?

Mr. FREY. I will make no statement to this committee which I have not evidence to support.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FREY. After presenting this statement of fact, I will give to the committee photostats of Harry Bridges' Communist book. I will give them photostats of Joe Curran's receipts for payment of dues in the Communist Party.

I will present to the committee the names of some 280 organizers in C. I. O. unions, under salary, who are members of the Communist Party.

I will present a somewhat briefer list of those who are prominent and active in the National Maritime Union. And I will give the committee the record of William Sentner, who was in charge of the Maytag strike in Newton, Iowa, until he was taken out a few days ago, only to be replaced by another Communist, by his national union.

I will give you the names of 185 of the leading Communists in our country, and I will give the committee the names of the new national committee of the Communist Party in the United States which takes the place of the old central committee of the Communist Party. And in presenting them, I shall want to make brief comment as I come to certain names.

The first one I want to refer to is Mr. John Brophy. He is the director of the C. I. O. He is the gentleman who was expelled from the United Mine Workers some years ago by Mr. John L. Lewis for disloyal activities inside of the union. Mr. Brophy, so far as I know, is not a member of the Communist Party, but he consorts with Communists continually; and in the dual movement he launched in the Mine Workers' Union, he was assisted by such a well-known Communist as Pat Touhy, now active in the Communist Party; Tom Myerscough, now active in the Communist Party, and others.

Mr. Brophy was the leader in the "The Save the Union Committee" organized within the United Mine Workers of America, several years ago. This organization was dual to the United Mine Workers and was intended to super-sede it. The May 1, 1928, issue of the United Mine Workers' Journal, the official organ of the United Mine Workers of America, said:

For months past "The Save the Union Committee" under the leadership of John Brophy, Powers Hapgood, and a few others has been doing its dirtiest to capture the United Mine Workers and to transfer that splendid union into a Communist organization. In carrying out this campaign "The Save the Union Committee" has had the full and complete support and assistance of the entire Communist element in America and foreign countries, including Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of that?

Mr. FREY. That was May 1, 1928, 10 years ago.

Sometimes afterward Brophy was a member of a delegation to Russia, which was sponsored by the Communist Party of the United States, and approved by Moscow. After his return to the United States the United Mine Workers' Journal accused him of being a paid agent of the Soviet Government, saying editorially:

"The Save the Union Committee" became extremely busy in its efforts to wreck the United Mine Workers shortly after John Brophy returned from Russia—the very minute he came back—it seemed to have plenty of money. It should not be difficult to guess where part of the money came from to finance the campaign of destruction.

Shortly after his return, Brophy, attending a meeting in New York City, is quoted as having said that:

The conditions of the workers in Russia ought to shame us. The general situation in the Soviet Union should be a source of inspiration to the workers of America, and the whole world.

In his efforts to organize union miners into "The Save the Union Committee" Brophy had the active assistance of one Pat Touhy, widely known as an active member of the Communist Party.

We know the reasons which led John L. Lewis to expel Mr. Brophy and some of his associates from membership in the United Mine Workers' Union, for these are matters of record in the convention proceedings of the United Mine Workers' Union.

We cannot know the motives which afterward led John L. Lewis to appoint Mr. Brophy as his director for the C. I. O., but from the

record it is evident that if Mr. Lewis wanted someone as a director who could maintain the necessary contact with the Communist Party in this country, and its membership, he could not have made a better selection.

I will now take up the United Textile Workers. May I say, before I read this, that I prepared this statement a couple of days after Mr. Gorman had resigned as president of the Textile Workers Union. He is no longer the president. He informed the press that he would have a statement to make as to the reasons for his resignation. That statement has not yet been made.

Francis Gorman is the international president of this C. I. O. affiliate. Gorman is a close associate of Louis Budenz, formerly organizer for the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers Union, an affiliate of the C. I. O. Budenz is now the editor of the *Midwest Daily Record*, published in Chicago, Ill., which is the official Communist Party journal in that area. Gorman, it is reported, a few months ago married a Communist and for the past 3 years he has associated himself with Communist activities to such an extent that most of his friends believe that he is a member of the party. A short time ago, at Woonsocket, R. I., the Communist Party under the leadership of Anna Burlak (known as the "red flame"), held a secret meeting which the police raided and arrested three of the leaders, including Anna Burlak. They were later heavily fined and one of the first persons to go to the defense of these Communists was Francis Gorman, who protested to Gov. Robert Quinn, of Rhode Island.

Gorman also made a visit to Spain and while there addressed the Loyalist troops known as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. This brigade is composed of American boys who were recruited by the Communist Party and sent to Spain.

The next C. I. O. organization is the United Furniture Workers of America.

This organization, which is a C. I. O. affiliate, has as its president, Morris Muster. Muster in New York City is known as a Communist and participates in Communist events. At the writing of these notes he is one of the leaders on the special committee for the August 6 peace parade in New York City, which is being sponsored by the Communist groups. Other members on this committee are James Lustig, an organizer in District No. 4, which comprises New York City for the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America. Another Communist on the Committee is Sam Sorkin, general manager of Local No. 1, State, County and Municipal Workers of America, a C. I. O. organization.

Passing from the manuscript for the moment, you may recall that I just read the name of James Lustig. James Lustig is the Communist who was sent to Newton, Iowa, when the other Communist had to be taken out, by this Radio Workers' Union.

Mr. STARNES. Was that in connection with the Maytag affair?

Mr. FREY. Yes. I will go into that in more detail this morning.

The secretary of the United Furniture Workers of America is Emil Costello, of Kenosha, Wis., who was expelled from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor because of his communistic activities.

I will later on read you the statement of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, not only relative to Costello, but the whole effort

of the Communist Party to gain control of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Another individual high in the ranks of this union is Max Perlow, of New York City, who has been a member of the district committee, district No. 2, of the Communist Party in New York City. Both Muster and Perlow were the leaders of the Furniture Workers Industrial Union when it was one of the groups working under the jurisdiction of the Trade Union Unity League, which was formed by the Communist Party headed by William Z. Foster.

Fish and Cannery Workers International Union, another C. I. O. affiliate. This C. I. O. affiliate maintains its headquarters at Seattle and it is active in the salmon industry.

The president of this union is one George Woolf, who is one of the chief lieutenants of Harry Bridges on the west coast. Woolf is a prominent Communist.

International Wood Workers of America, another C. I. O. affiliate. The president of this organization is Harold Pritchett, a Canadian Communist. This man, who has been before the United States Department of Labor, Immigration Division, on charges, is now in this country on a permit. He acknowledged that he was a member of the Communist Party, and consequently, efforts have been made to have him deported.

On the east coast this organization maintains several locals and one especially is No. 105. The general organizer for the east coast and particularly this local is Sam Nesin, who is one of the well-known Communist leaders in New York City. Nesin is one of the charter members of the party, also one of the founders of the Trade Union Unity League. He headed the special department of that organization on trade-union strategy and tactics. He was a member of the National Committee for the International Labor Defense, 1930 and 1931, and a member of the executive committee of the Communist controlled unemployed councils of New York City, which has since affiliated with the Workers' Alliance. The council leader, a prominent Communist, Herbert Benjamin, is now general organizer for the alliance.

United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America. This C. I. O. affiliated organization is one of the most outstanding Communist-controlled organizations. The Communist-controlled Agricultural Workers Industrial Union and the Share Croppers Union of the South, as well as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, which is also radical, were bunched together with the Communist-controlled groups in the Imperial Valley section of California. This organization is so impregnated with Communists that one can almost say that it is 100-percent controlled. Its president is Prof. Donald Henderson, who was discharged for radical activities from Columbia University at New York. Henderson is also a member of the national agrarian committee of the Communist Party of the United States. He has been associated with the American Committee to Welcome Soviet Flyers, American Committee for Struggle Against War, United States Congress Against War, American League Against War and Fascism, and a member of the Friends of Soviet Union.

This union had their first national convention in Denver, July 9 to 12, 1937. They maintain their international headquarters, room 50, Rust Building, 1001 Fifteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The international vice president of this organization elected at that time was George Woolf, also at the head of the Alaskan Fish and Cannery C. I. O. Union.

In checking over the list of delegates at this convention one almost was led to believe that the Communist Party had simply moved in, bag and baggage. Some of the leading Communists in Colorado, California, Florida, and New Jersey are tied up with this organization.

On July 20, 1938, a big strike was called on the employees of the King Farms Co., which is in southern New Jersey. The C. I. O. council, through its organizer, Leif Dahl, the regional director for the Agricultural Workers, moved in and formed a council. This man Dahl is the chief lieutenant for Donald Henderson. Dahl, a member of the Communist Party in southern New Jersey, has on several occasions appeared at Federal milk hearings in up-State New York, and, after being sworn in, testified that he was representing the Communist Party in giving testimony.

United Office and Professional Workers of America, another C. I. O. affiliate. This organization has as its basic background the Office Workers' Union, which was started and kept going by the Trade Union Unity League of the Communist Party. Its president is Lewis Merrill, a member of the Communist Party in New York City. He has attended numerous conventions of the A. F. of L. as a delegate from one of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Office Workers Local of the A. F. of L. At the Federation of Labor conventions he associated with and voted with the known Communists. Ever since then he has been giving aid and comfort to Communist comrades wherever he possibly could. The headquarters of this union, which is a C. I. O. affiliate, is in New York City. It is also active in Chicago and St. Louis, and in the latter district members of the union have associated with the following persons, who are connected with the C. I. O. groups and who are also members of the Communist Party:

Prof. Lucien Koch, formerly head of the Commonwealth College at Mena, Ark., now educational director, or was in February, for the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, a C. I. O. affiliate. In the fall of 1937 Koch acted as organizer for the Independent Shipyard Workers in the Boston and Quincy area. At that time, in one of the meetings, he was accused of being a Communist and he said, "I am proud of it."

Other C. I. O. leaders and organizers in St. Louis who are affiliated with the Communist Party are: John Doherty, regional director, S. W. O. C.; Robert Logsdon, secretary-organizer, United Radio and Electrical Workers; Julius H. Klyman, vice president, Newspaper Guild; Ralph Shaw, S. W. O. C. organizer; Christ Menikoph, S. W. O. C. organizer; William Sentner, regional director, United Radio and Electrical Workers; Max Michelson, regional director, Clothing Workers; Richard Brazier, organizer, Clothing Workers; Norman Smith, organizer, Auto Workers.

In a moment we will get to the record of Sentner. I referred to him before.

Department Store Employees, affiliated with C. I. O.

This organization, now carrying on an intensive campaign in New York City, has as its general organizer one Clarina Michelson, a Communist, and she has been connected with the Communist move-

ment for the past 13 years. During that time she was a member of the National Committee of the Workers International Relief, member of National Committee of the Emergency Strike Relief group in 1928, and acted as executive in 1927. For a time she was a director of the Garland fund and also connected with the prisoners' relief fund of the International Labor Defense, and later on a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense. She is now a C. I. O. organizer.

Fur Workers International Union, headquarters New York City.

This organization, affiliated with the C. I. O., is one of the outstanding Communist groups. For years everyone connected with the labor movement has been aware that a majority of the officials connected with this organization have been in the Communist movement. The president of the organization is Ben Gold, one of the best-known Communists in the United States. Gold for a number of years was a member of the central committee of the Communist Party and we find that the general manager of the joint board, Irving Potash, is also a well-known Communist. Other Communists connected in an official capacity with the union are Harry Begoon, Julius Berger, Jack Bernstein, Frank Brownstein, Maurice H. Cohen, Nathan Fishkoff, Julius Fleiss, Gus Hopman, Max Kochinsky, Jack Schneider, Maurice Bracher, Sol Charkin, Leo Hyman, Syman Kass, and at least 30 others.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union is a union of metalliferous miners affiliated with the C. I. O. This organization was formerly known as the Western Federation of Miners and has been more or less tied up with radicals for quite some time.

At the present, William Dunn, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party and now in charge of party work in district No. 30, Montana, is located at Butte and among those close to the organization the claim is that Dunn just about controls the union. However, Reid Robinson is the president of the union, and some declare that Robinson is more or less opposed to communism; but there are many of the organizers who are members of the Communist Party, one of the leading organizers, Jess Gonzales, who carries C. I. O. credentials, has been a prominent member of the Communist Party for a number of years.

Another Communist connected with this organization is Paul Peterson, of Park City, Utah. In the past he was the contact man between the Communists and the mine workers.

Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians.

This C. I. O. organization was created by a group of Communists in New York City. The actual leader of the group is Marcel Scheer, who maintains an office at 116 East Sixteenth Street, New York City. He has been one of the leaders of the Communist Party in this country. For a number of years he was the national secretary of the Friends of Soviet Russia, and his scope of activities extended through many branches of the party movement.

There will be read into the record later on some letters which this gentleman has written.

Transport workers: The Transport Workers Union is headed by four leading members of the Communist Party, who are working under orders of Moscow to sovietize the American transit industry.

This statement may appear extreme. It is no exaggeration, however, and is supported by affidavits and indisputable facts.

In recent weeks the transport workers have secured a stranglehold on New York city traction and taxicab companies. They are at the present time affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization. Here are the four communistic heads of the Transport Workers' Union:

Michael J. Quill, president of the T. W. U., who assumed this office at the dictation of the Communist Party of the United States, succeeding Thomas O'Shea, who was ordered by the Communist Party late in 1934 to relinquish the office in favor of Quill.

Austin Dilloughery, alias Hogan, secretary of the T. W. U.

John Santo—an assumed name—general manager of the T. W. U.

Thomas McMahan, Brooklyn organizer for the T. W. U.

O'Shea, the former president of the transport workers, who since has renounced communism, has signed an affidavit naming these men and their connections with the "red" party of Russia.

Referring to Quill, Hogan, Santo, and McMahan, O'Shea declares:

During all this time I was well acquainted with every one of these men, and I was a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America (section of the Communist Internationale with headquarters in Moscow), district 2, section 24, city of New York, State of New York, and each and every one of the above mentioned was also a member of the same Communist organization.

Santo at the time was the organizer of section 15 of the Communist Party of the New York district in the Mid-Bronx County.

O'Shea, in his affidavit, then goes on to describe how the Communists made Quill head of the Transport Workers Union.

Just previous to 1935—

He declares—

orders were issued to me by the Communist Party that I must relinquish my office as president of the Transport Workers Union to Michael J. Quill. This I did, and Quill became president of the Transport Workers Union in January 1935, and all the others above mentioned retained their positions along with him as members of the "leading fraction" of the Communist Party in the Transport Workers Union.

"Leading fraction," by the way, is a Communist term. They are divided into various groups, and one of the groups is called a fraction.

The term "leading fraction" refers to Communist undercover men and espionage agents. The "leading fractionists" are those who carry out Moscow's instructions to "bore from within" the American labor movement. They are the spies, the disrupters, the agents provocateur, who pave the way for the "reds" to take over organizations. They are the "secret service" of the Communist Party.

They have special dispensation to join anticommunistic and non-communistic groups or unions. They are picked for their ability to attain leadership and key positions in these organizations singled out for attack or to further the "revolution." When they attain their objective, control of the organizations, they then are ready to turn them to the ends of the Communist Party.

According to Communist rules, those who constitute the "leading fraction" must be careful to abide by the following:

1. They must be sure not to admit any connection with the Communist Party. In other words, they must act under cover.

2. They must gain control of important positions in various unions.
3. Each union must be examined for weak points and openings, so that the workings of the Communists will fit the situation.

PLOT TO CONTROL TRACTION WORKERS

The Transport Workers Union was established by Communists to control the destinies of American traction workers.

Proof of this is contained in the May 26 issue of a Communist organ known as the Party Builder. The Party Builder is published for the benefit of Communist leaders and for members of the "leading fraction."

"Traction is one of the industries chosen by the district of our party for concentration," the article in the Party Builder declares. "To build the Transport Workers Union and root the party in this industry is, therefore, no ordinary task. Building the [Communist] party in traction is basic. Let's do it."

United Retail Employees of America: Sam Nesin is acting as organizer for the eastern group of the woodworkers' union. However, it is quite evident that Nesin has some spare time on his hands, because he is acting as chief organizer of one of the largest locals of this group in New York City.

United Automobile Workers of America: The present internal fight that Homer Martin, president of this organization, has with the Communists is in itself enough information without going into detail. However, there is one angle which we want to dwell on, and that has to do with Wyndham Mortimer who is—he is not now—a vice president of this union and now under charges by Martin. Mortimer was elected as a member of the central committee of the Communist Party at the recent convention held in New York City. During the convention he used the name of George Baker as the party name.

I depart for a moment from my prepared statement to say that for some reason Communists like to have a party name. Lenin's name was not Lenin. Trotsky's name was not Trotsky. And that goes for the leaders of the Communist Party in Russia. It is the popular method in this country, so that a large number of active Communists have their party name and are known by their party name, inside of the party and for records in the party's books, carry their party name and not their real name. Some are even more ambitious than that and have five or six aliases as well.

National Marine Workers Union: Joseph Curran is its president. Find attached photostat copies of his receipts for money paid to the Communist Party as a member. I will give those to the committee in a moment.

This organization is the rebirth of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, which was formerly presided over by Roy Hudson—of whom the committee will hear much more before I finish submitting evidence—and George Mink, both Communist Party leaders. Mink served 2 years' sentence in Sweden as a Communist spy and is now reported to be in Mexico trying to figure a plan whereby they can assassinate Leon Trotsky.

Roy Hudson is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, and he directs the activities of this organization. It

is definitely known that practically every day Roy Hudson and Joe Curran meet at the Welcome Inn on Sixth Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets in New York City.

Others in leadership along with Curran who are Communists are Freddy Myers, known as "Blackie" Meyers, and Thomas Ray.

Following is a copy of an application card that was distributed at the various seaports which indicate how closely allied these two organizations are—that is, the Maritime Workers and the Communist Party. And I have set forth a copy of this application. It is as follows:

I, _____ (book No. ____), desire to become a member of the Communist Party.

We, the membership of the National Maritime Union, have pledged our fullest support to the cause of communism for the purpose of recruiting new members throughout the United States of America and its possessions.

Approved, executive committee.

FREDERICK MEYERS.
THOMAS RAY.
ROY HUDSON.

Kindly fill in this card and forward to above address.

Following is an extract taken from the Massachusetts Communist investigation conducted in 1937 and 1938. The following article appears on pages 337 and 338 and it reads as follows:

The Communist leadership of the National Maritime Union maintains "goon squads." These are strong-arm and gun men. Known in party circles by the more refined name of "Direct Action and Disciplinary Squad," its national headquarters has been at 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City, separate from those of the union. In June of 1937, when the American Federation of Labor leadership attempted to recover control of the International Seamen's Union, which the Communist leadership had taken over, one of the "goon squads" was sent into Boston to resist any such attempt. In some instances local union officials have wired to Communist Party representatives in other parts that certain crews were "hot," which meant that they were to be "dumped." The goon squad's duty of "dumping" was to beat or intimidate members of the crew so that new crews, more to N. M. U. liking, could be put aboard.

A school for sabotage conducted outside the Commonwealth, but attended by certain Communist seamen from the port of Boston, was organized by the secretary of the Communist Party.

Curriculum:

1. The kind of foreign matter which, if dropped in paint, will cause it to peel and create corrosion.
2. The effect of dropping phonograph needles in dynamos.
3. How steel dust placed in oil damages bearings.
4. Burning out bearings by failure of oil supply.
5. The best way to burn out boiler tubes.
6. How to disable the steering gear.

Maritime Union of the Pacific: Controlled by Harry Bridges, party name Harry Dorgan. Photostat of his Communist card accompanies the list.

With regard to American Communications Association, a few days ago, Richard D. Hallett, chairman on the Washington local of the American Communications Association, resigned because he declared that the organization has too much of a tie-up with the Communist Party.

The president of this organization is Mervyn Rathborne, a Communist. There has been considerable argument in regard to the status of this man, but so much information has come in in the past 6 months in regard to his communistic connections that one cannot be in doubt as to how he stands.

This union just completed their annual convention, and the two persons who sat behind the screen and directed the activities were Harry Bridges, of San Francisco, and Mike Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union.

Now, referring to the United Shoe Workers of America, this C. I. O. organization is headed by Powers Hapgood, who is a combination of a radical, possibly a Communist, and everything else that composes someone who likes to make trouble in the labor world.

The main facts, however, are that this organization when it became affiliated with the C. I. O., took into membership all of the members of the United Shoe Workers, the membership of which was largely communistic.

Among them are Jean A. Bellefenile, who is a vice president, and also an official of the International Workers Order at Boston. In 1937 he was one of the instructors in the summer district school organized by the Communists of Boston. Another Communist connected with the organization is Sidney Jonas, who is quite prominent in the Boston area.

Powers Hapgood was one of the organizers of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Miners Relief Committee, which later formed itself into the National Miners Union. It was with this union and this group that Hapgood and John Brophy were connected.

With regard to the United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers Union, C. I. O. affiliate, this organization has on its pay roll a number of Communist leaders.

A preliminary check up of this union, lists some of the Communists who are officially connected with this organization. James Matles, New York City, national organization director; James Lustig, Brooklyn, N. Y., organizer; Charlie Rivers, Brooklyn, N. Y., organizer; Neil Brant, Newark, N. J., organizer; Mike Petanavitch, New Britain, Conn., organizer; Coleman Taylor, Cleveland, Ohio, organizer.

NOTE.—Taylor, whose real name is M. Szabo, is one of the officials of the Cleveland C. I. O. Industrial Council. He has just finished a training course in the Communist Workers School at New York City. Taylor has on several occasions acted as a delegate representing Federal unions of Cleveland at A. F. of L. conventions. During the time that he was present at the A. F. of L. conventions, he was one of the Communist Party spokesmen on the floor and the officials of the A. F. of L. had him tagged for what he actually was. Information has also reached us that Taylor has been in constant communication with investigators of the La Follette committee, who are now in Cleveland and he is supposed to be rendering them valuable aid.

MR. THOMAS. Do you have proof of that statement?

MR. FREY. I will submit proof to the committee.

Information has also reached us that Jack Statchel, who is one of the leaders in the central committee in the Communist Party, has been in Cleveland for the past several weeks in contact with Taylor and other Communist leaders and part of the time spent was in instructing Communists as to their future work.

On that point, I will go into the matter later. Here [indicating] is a photograph of one of the men. It is a newspaper photograph.

THE CHAIRMAN. In order to identify this—

MR. FREY (interposing). I will make a statement about it now:

Vincent Favorito, of Cleveland, was a witness before the La Follette committee, and this is the picture [indicating]. He was one of

the star witnesses who appeared before the La Follette committee during the week of July 25, 1938.

There have been numerous reports of close contacts between investigators for this committee and members of the Communist Party, especially in Cleveland. However, the deal involving Favorito exposed him at the start of their investigations as an undercover operative, or, in plain words, "a labor spy," for the McGuffin Detective Agency, with headquarters at Youngstown, Ohio. Favorito was working in Cleveland at the time and a check of the La Follette committee records will reveal his name among the list of operatives on the pay roll of McGuffin.

Shortly after this expose the Steel Workers Organizing Committee placed him on their pay roll and at the same time he was a member of the Communist Party.

Now we find that this gentleman testified before the La Follette committee last week and his testimony was given as an organizer of the S. W. O. C.

In our estimation, this is one of the most rotten angles of the La Follette committee that has ever been brought to the public's attention.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, let me state that we will run until 1 o'clock, and then stop for the rest of the day, to meet Monday morning at 10:30.

Mr. FREY. If it is agreeable to the committee, I will go on with the material I have here until 12 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. The material you have now concerns just what?

Mr. FREY. This [indicating] is a list of some 280 members of the Communist Party who are now or have been on the pay roll of the C. I. O. organizations as organizers.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that, it is only fair that we should find out how authentic or how reliable this data is.

Mr. FREY. First of all, it is impossible to get at the books of the Communist Party. These names are the result of more than one careful check-up. Many of them are verified by reference to files of the Daily Worker, which is the official organ of the Communist Party, and other sources.

The CHAIRMAN. It is probable that photostatic cards of a large number of members of the Communist Party in the United States will be available in the future, and they can be checked against this information.

Mr. FREY. That depends on what the committee is willing or able to do.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is going to be available in photostatic form, showing the membership throughout the United States, and we will be able to check this information against those membership cards.

Mr. FREY. We have the name of Harry Dorgan, a Communist leader, but Harry Dorgan is the party name for Harry Bridges.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some notations here. I think we can bring this out. Does it contain fingerprints?

Mr. FREY. I cannot tell whether those are fingerprints or not.

The CHAIRMAN. These are copies of the same thing [indicating]?

Mr. FREY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This may go into the record. It bears the numbers 137 and 54793; the name is Harry Dorgan, State of California, county of San Francisco. It may be marked as an exhibit and inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the lower section purport to be?

Mr. FREY. I do not know. It says, "The Communist International Party."

Here are photostats of receipts for dues paid by Joe Curran, who is president of the maritime union I referred to. This is the party name. His party name is not Joe Curran, but it is Jose Narruc. "Jose" is Spanish for Joseph, and if you read Curran backward, it will give Narruc.

The CHAIRMAN. Just for the sake of the record, in connection with Harry Bridges; Harry Bridges is not a citizen of the United States, is he?

Mr. FREY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any effort to deport him, so far as you know?

Mr. FREY. The necessary papers for deportation were made out some 3 years ago, and are now in the hands of the Labor Department, and have been ever since.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know why he has not been deported?

Mr. FREY. I cannot answer that question.

Mr. STARNES. It has been brought to the attention of the Labor Department and is in their hands at the present time. The Senate took such an interest in it last year that they had the Secretary of Labor come before the committee to testify with reference to the matter.

Mr. FREY. I have this list.

Mr. THOMAS. If that testimony was given by the Secretary of Labor and a record was made of it, I think we ought to get a copy of the record for the committee to at least look at it.

Mr. STARNES. That is possible.

Mr. FREY. The Solicitor of the Labor Department has the complete evidence that has been given to the Department.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that the entire file in connection with the whole matter will be submitted to the committee by the Labor Department. In addition to that, I think the committee will have access to many other letters in connection with the whole matter.

Mr. FREY. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have here some 10 pages containing the names of Communists who are members of the National Maritime Union, either members of the Waterfront Section, the Young Communist League, or members of other units or factions of the Seamen's Union. Some of these men are organizers and some of them are keymen on board ships. There is a little brief statement relative to most of them. I can read all of it, but it is a long list of names. If it is agreeable to the committee, I will read it, or put it in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You might put it in the record. You might state briefly for the record what it contains.

Mr. FREY. This list contains the names of Communist Party members within the National Maritime Union, either members of the Waterfront Section, the Young Communist League, or members of other units or factions, and active in one way or another on the water front.

The CHAIRMAN. Now that particular union is one from which certain members have recently withdrawn on the ground that Communists were in control.

Mr. FREY. No, sir; that is the union where in a recent election the membership got rid of a number of officers who were Communists. Joe Curran had no opposition, so he was elected.

There has been an internal struggle in that union for the last 6 months or so, because of resentment against the Communist control that had been secured, and they have been trying, through this recent election, to purge their organization of Communist officers.

The CHAIRMAN. For your benefit and the benefit of others. I may say that the names of each man that you submit to us as a Communist will be checked against photostatic copies of membership cards in the possession of police departments throughout the country, which will be made available to this committee.

Mr. FREY. Yes, sir. Might I call the committee's attention to the fact that in submitting this list of names I cannot tell whether it is the party name or the Christian name. I have been unable—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). In the police records—

Mr. FREY (interposing). They will have them all.

The CHAIRMAN. The police records have fingerprints, by means of which they can identify definitely a man, regardless of what name he is under in the party.

Mr. FREY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Those records have been kept over a long period of time, especially by certain police headquarters that I happen to know something about, and will furnish an accurate means of checking the authenticity of every statement that you are making here.

Mr. FREY. I will just turn that list over.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

Known Communist Party members within the N. M. U., either members of the waterfront section, the Young Communist League, or members of other units or factions, and active in one way or another on the waterfront

Name	Department on ship and union book	Other known data
Ray Kirby.....	?	
John MacIntosh.....	E 5410.....	
J. Repac.....	Electrician 7503.....	
— Martin.....	S ?	
James Rush.....	D?	
Elmer Hallbeck.....	D?	Organizer for Young Communist League, New York City.
Irving Gold.....	D?	
Patsy Pelina.....	E.....	
E. Bruin.....	D.....	Water-front organizer for Waterfront Section 28, of the Communist Party of New York City.
— Lawrence.....	E.....	(Not Jack Lawrenson of District Committee.)
— Krustangle.....	E.....	Formerly on board S. S. <i>Western World</i> .
— Campbell.....	D.....	Known as "Forty Fathoms"; a rewrite man on staff of National Maritime Union pilot.
Eugene Williams.....	E.....	Returned veteran of the International Brigade with Spanish Loyalists and a political commissar to his company while in Spain.

Known Communist Party members within the N. M. U., either members of the waterfront section, the Young Communist League, or members of other units of factions, and active in one way or another on the waterfront—Continued

Name	Department on ship and union book	Other known data
"Beevo" Miller	E	Formerly organizer, engine fraction New York; waterfront section.
— Kenneally	D	
Richard Watterson	S	Did time in Atlanta, Federal charge of counterfeiting.
Frank Jones	S	Joined party during last strike in order to insure his job in the National Maritime Union.
Robert Mills	D	Formerly agent, Deck Department at Boston.
— Phillips		Young fellow, Daily Worker salesman in front of National Maritime Union Hall, New York.
Alexander Bell	E	Suspected on water front of being illegal entry and of being under an alias; either Scotch or Irish descent.
— Flaherty	E	Alias Lambert; of Irish or Scotch descent; criminal record in Massachusetts; present secretary, waterfront section; was engine delegate after strike until fall of 1937.
Al Rothbart	S	Formerly business manager National Maritime Union; pilot; has only 13 months and 27 days sea service before joining S. S. <i>President Roosevelt</i> .
Ed. Braun	S	Was in Pilot mailing room until June 1938.
Jes. Merrill	D	Somewhere in Gulf.
Lester C. Ames	D	Reasonable doubt as to this man's present membership in the party.
Denver Campbell		
Scotty Henderson	D	A. B. on S. S. <i>American Banker</i> .
Red Spencer		
Harold Johnson	D	C. I. O. longshoremen's organizer under Albert Lannon.
— Coe	E	Agent for engine department in Philadelphia after last strike for few months.
George Anderson	?	
F. Conway	F	Was kicked off S. S. <i>Susan Luckenbach</i> by crew for attempting to force crew to donate to various party causes.
George Mercer	E	Former engine department delegate, S. S. <i>Santa Rosa</i> .
— Morrissey	D	Has hammer and sickle tattooed on right arm; is on S. S. <i>Scandinavian States</i> .
Terra Sutka	E	Patrolman in port of Baltimore.
Eddy Gordon	S	Do.
— Murphy	S	Agent in port of Baltimore.
Angelo Salze	E	Patrolman in port of Baltimore.
— Ogden	S	Daily Worker salesman.
— Blackwell	(E. V. or E. S.)	
Otto Kallas	D	Former International Seamen's Union official; finked during winter strike, joined party, and now backed by party on union ballot.
Charles Geers	D	Chief boatswain on S. S. <i>Washington</i> ; immigrant wife in jail in Germany as a Communist.
— Melton	D	Was on S. S. <i>Washington</i> ; fired for aiding a stowaway going to Spain.
Van der Gugten	D	On S. S. <i>Washington</i> .
Whitney Meyers	D	Do.
L. Goode	S	Do.
— Hoffman	S	Was on S. S. <i>Washington</i> , fired same as Melton.
Robert McElroy	D	These 4 men were on the S. S. <i>Western World</i> together until vessel tied up and were entirely responsible for the attempts to checkerboard the crew on that ship.
— O'Day	D	
— Southwick	D	
Fin Fineberg	E	National Maritime Union organizer on Great Lakes.
George Rodway		
Jesus Arenas		
Frank Mertens, Chas. Anderson, Jules Jeau-		Very little known in New York about these men; they are presumably in the Gulf.
man, Howard Pinn.		
— Carabedian		Organizer for Inland Boatmen Division on the Mississippi River.
— Pichert		
John Fonge		
Richard E. Keefe		
J. L. Thompson		
John McDonald		
Roy Rotter		
Leo Ruberio		
Al Geigu		
Joe Fox		
M. Brelowsly		
Leo Barrett		
Isaac Jacobson		
Murrey Wino		
— Colin	E	Now on S. S. <i>President Harding</i> .
J. Conway	E 5626	

Known Communist Party members within the N. M. U., either members of the waterfront section, the Young Communist League, or members of other units of factions, and active in one way or another on the waterfront—Continued

Name	Department on ship and union hook	Other known data
Al Burkhardt.....	.....	Alias Al Burke; National Maritime Union pilot photographer.
Charles P. Mertz.....	.....	Alias Harold Sergeant.
D. James Gavin.....	D.....	Alias Dominique Quinn, alias Joseph D. Quinn; at present agent for National Maritime Union in Savannah, Ga.
Chas. Rubin.....	D.....	Alias Charles Robin, alias Chas. Rubenstein, alias Chas. Robbins, alias Chas. Robiner; active for many years for Communist Party on east and Gulf coasts; was editor for mimeo, International Seamen's Union Pilot and later agent for port of Philadelphia.
— Sanborn.....	.....
— Christy.....	.....
"Whitey" Bowen.....	.....
— Lopez.....	.....
— Fitzsimmons.....	D.....	Lately boatswain S. S. <i>Santa Rosa</i> .
John Martin.....	S.....	
— Forhan.....	S.....	On S. S. <i>Manhattan</i> .
— Howard.....	E.....	
Albert Lannon.....	D.....	Alias Vetteri; presently chairman I. L. A. Organizing Committee, C. I. O. at 10 Bridge St., New York City; was sent to Russia some years ago to study in workers school.
Robert A. Alcoa.....	D.....	Patrolman in New York; is Jamaican or Barbadian.
Harold Refkus.....	D.....	Sails A. B.
Robert Bergen.....	D.....	Not much of a sailor; has been fired from most companies in New York.
Jesse Brooks.....	D.....	American Negro.
H. G. Harvey.....	D.....	American-born lad.
S. R. Havens.....	D.....	Reputedly a degenerate.
Pat Lawrenson.....	D.....	Sailed some time in Standard Oil of New York; is brother of Jack Lawrenson; some doubt as to Pat's legal entry; purportedly in Irish Guards in 1915 and 1916 and rumored to have been in Black and Tans in Ireland though he claims to have been active in Irish Republican army; rumored to have been born in London under name of Finly or Finley.
Roland Peery.....	D.....	Son of very famous painter; joined party to get a job in the National Maritime Union.
J. R. White.....	D.....	Was killed on steamship by falling in hold.
Oliver Boutte.....	1431 S.....	Stewards' delegate in New York; a part-blood Negro.
Joseph Chaves.....	S.....	Philippine.
E. Gonzales.....	112 S.....	Spaniard; claims to be born in San Francisco, Calif., Pre. 1906, but is known to have been born in Spain; legality of entry in doubt.
Jack Noone.....	2059 S.....	Irish Catholic; reasonable doubt as to his membership in party, but is strong sympathizer.
Chas. Williams.....	4777 S.....	
Howard McKenzie.....	113 E.....	Formerly gambler on tankers; was blackballed from many oil companies for his gambling; is now strong party worker.
Robert Meers.....	120 E.....	Was agent in New Orleans until recently suspended by rank and file of seamen; has an alias but alias is not known in New York; is thought to be Russian by birth.
Reginald Atwell.....	997 E.....	Patrolman in New York; common-law wife is strong party worker, using her questionable sex appeal to recruit members for party; she works as waitress and stewardess under name of —.
Conrad Jones.....	119 E.....	Was engine department delegate for months after strike; lately has been chairman of Seamen's Relief Committee for union in New York.
M. Hedley Stone.....	D.....	Organizer for National Maritime Union on Great Lakes; alias H. Murrey Stein.
Richard "Red" Graham.....	D.....	Alias "Red" Moser; agent for National Maritime Union in port of Norfolk, Va.
Thomas Ray.....	D.....	Chairman of so-called Maritime Council in the port of New York; is the real brains of the Communist Party in the National Maritime Union and is next to Roy Hudson in importance on water front.
Felix Siren.....	D.....	Inland Boatmen's Union organizer in New Orleans; recently in jail over current taxi strike in New Orleans; was also mixed up in shooting scrape at 70 South St., New York City, last fall with a man named Harris.
Corby Paxton.....	.....	Business manager for National Maritime Union pilot; formerly editor of Voice of Labor in Honolulu in 1935 or 1936.
Arthur Lynn.....	E.....	Formerly organizer on water-front section.
Pappa George.....	E.....	Greek descent.
Matt Ryan.....	.....	Night watchman at National Maritime Hall in New York.

Known Communist Party members within the N. M. U., either members of the waterfront section, the Young Communist League, or members of other units of factions, and active in one way or another on the waterfront—Continued

Name	Department on ship and union book	Other known data
John Raftner.....		Member United Office and Professional Workers Union; C. I. O. bookkeeper in National Maritime Union at New York; Jewish descent.
John O. Robinson.....	E.....	Section organizer for C. P. No. 28.
Stanley Lebosky.....		
Frank Martens.....		Is in Baltimore.
Thomas Lenos.....		In charge of National Maritime Union Hall in San Pedro, Calif.
George Kuck.....	D.....	
Ralph Rogers.....	D.....	Formerly delegate for Seamen's Union Party until kicked out; then was organizer for National Maritime Union on Great Lakes; now in charge National Maritime Union Hall in San Francisco, Calif.
Rudie Ward.....		Organizer for Young Communist League.
"Whitey" Boehm.....	D.....	Was stabbed in union fight on a Luckenbach ship last summer; now in New Orleans.
Ben Jones.....		International Labor Workers' Union organizer for Harry Bridges in New York.
—— Halling.....		Do.
—— Wardell.....		National Maritime Union member in Boston.
—— Scotty Hall.....		Do.
Chas. P. Mertz.....		Previously listed.
Cyril Lynott.....	D.....	Formerly stewards' joiner on S. S. <i>Southern Cross</i> ; now ship's carpenter on S. S. <i>American</i> , Republic Line.
Cecil Meade.....		In the Inland Boatmen's Union.
John Kitson.....	D.....	Alias John Madden; has long record in American Export Line, including assault with gun on a chief officer; sailed on S. S. <i>Manhattan</i> in 1935 and 1936; has been international despatch carrier for Communist Party for 8 years; now claims to be expelled, but recently made trip on <i>Ercambian</i> carrying despatches to Alexandria.
—— McCabe.....		Organizer on Great Lakes.
John Sheehan.....		Was longshore organizer for International Labor Workers' Union.
—— MacClean.....	S.....	
Tony Traumeni.....	E.....	
Phil Curran.....	S.....	
Scotty Edwards.....	D.....	Sails only carpenter; last ship, S. S. <i>Sagebrush</i> ; now charged with mutiny on that ship.
Chas. Walker.....	E.....	Was National Maritime Union delegate in New York.
Marcus Siler.....		Janitor in Communist Party Hall at 230 7th Ave., New York City.
Sam Waddell.....		Was longshore organizer for International Labor Workers' Union; now has National Maritime Union book and is sailing.
Sam Kay.....	E.....	Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders, and Wipers' Union of Pacific Coast.
Al Yates.....	E.....	Do.
"Rifraf" Rolfe.....	S.....	Is now on S. S. <i>Washington</i> ; is college lad and is a known degenerate.
Chas. McCarthy.....	S.....	Is not actual party member, but openly pledges his support to the party; is known as mentally unbalanced; old employee of International Mercantile Marine.
Gethyn Lyons.....	S.....	Formerly trustee of steward's division of National Maritime Union; is Welshman, or English by birth; very little known of his past before the last strike.
—— Clemmons.....		Formerly Houston agent for National Maritime Union.
Angelo Leto.....	E.....	
Ferdinand Smith.....	101 S.....	American Negro; many years chief steward in Luckenbach Line; sailed all during 1934 strike on west coast; is strong party man running unopposed for vice president.
Jack Lawrenson.....	104 E.....	Brother of Pat; one time editor of antiunion paper; put out by Seamen's Church Institute in New York; secured citizenship in summer 1937 in New York.
Frederick Meyers.....	103 D.....	Chairman, district committee, National Maritime Union; now doing 30 days in New Orleans; formerly did time under an alias in Ohio State Prison at Columbus during time of big fire; has a record in Puerto Rico, and was deported from Republic of Colombia in 1933 on board the S. S. <i>Santa Paula</i> .
Ted Lewis.....	104 S.....	Has record as speakeasy operator during prohibition; English born; secured citizenship about January or February 1938 in New York.
Moe Byne.....	102 E.....	Treasurer, engine division, National Maritime Union; has a record in Michigan State Prison.
Smith Hopkins.....	4516 E.....	Organizer for gulf district; arrested for violation of Mann Act, 1937, in gulf.

Known Communist Party members within the N. M. U., either members of the waterfront section, the Young Communist League, or members of other units of factions, and active in one way or another on the waterfront—Continued

Name	Department on ship and union book	Other known data
Thomas McGowan.....	107 D.....	Agent in Boston for National Maritime Union.
Charles DeGress.....	102 D.....	Trustee, deck division; mentally unbalanced.
Robert Hawkes.....	1632 S.....	Was delegate in Boston; now in New York.
Jack Moutal.....	2251 E.....	Delegate in Boston.
Wallace M. Walker.....	2201 E.....	Do.
Sidney Stern.....	2292 E.....	
Amos Viosnet.....	3406 E.....	A degenerate.
James Edwards.....	128 D.....	
Maurice Burnstine.....	621 S.....	Philadelphia.
Neal M. Hanley.....	1727 E.....	Marcus Hook.
Raye Young.....	550 S.....	
John Rogers.....	109 D.....	Brother to Ralph Rogers.
Patrick B. Whalen.....	125 E.....	Agent in Baltimore for National Maritime Union; is out on bond for gun charge in New Jersey.
Chas. Booth.....	8086 E.....	
Harry Alexander.....	6236 E.....	Agent in Mobile; a well-known Communist worker for many years on the United States water fronts.
James Drury.....	3710 D.....	
Ed. A. Irizarry.....	2311 D.....	Porto Rican.
Jas. X. Jackson.....	8477 E.....	
John Caldes.....	10205 D.....	
Maurice Ferragut.....	1867 D.....	
Mack Lee.....	1867 B.....	
Joseph Rose.....	6522 E.....	
K. K. Owen.....	3300 E.....	Former agent at Mobile.
Fred Halestrap.....	2307 S.....	
Lloyd Phillips.....	1035 D.....	Organizer in the Gulf for the National Maritime Union.
Virgil McRae.....	2853 D.....	
Louis Stein.....	2440 E.....	
Roosevelt Vest.....	2625 E.....	
Lester C. Amos.....	1401 D.....	
Adrisn Duffy.....	141 D.....	
A. Peterson.....	7630 E.....	
John Morrison.....	3801 E.....	
H. Van Arsdale.....	6130 E.....	
John Seiro.....	7012 E.....	
Santos Morales.....	D.....	With Halbeck & Simpson (Lawrence Simpson) was on S. S. <i>Pan America</i> .
Theodore Payne.....	S.....	
— McDermott.....	D.....	Was in Commy Beef Squad with Tony Licio around Chelsea district rolling drunks.
Tony Licio.....	D.....	For some reason cannot sail A. B.; is supposed to be tough guy and knife artist.
J. L. Regan.....	2755 E.....	S. S. <i>Santa Rosa</i> .
— Davis.....	D.....	O. S. on S. S. <i>Santa Rosa</i> .
Sigmund Pegalis.....	D.....	<i>Santa Rosa</i> .
Guy Oglesby.....	D.....	
Harry Weinstack.....		
Clement Cubae.....		
John Manuel.....		
Juan Lester.....	D.....	Was master at arms and boatswain on Munson Line.
Ray Kirby.....		
James Bush.....	D.....	
I. R. Magee.....	I. L. W. U.....	Lives at 1370 Bayshore Blvd., San Francisco.
Ted R. Laurimore.....		National Maritime Union and confidant of Magee.
Archie Brown.....		An American seaman now in Spain in the I. B.
Frank Carlson.....		California president of the Young Communist League; now city organizational secretary of Communist Party for San Francisco.
James Branch.....		Party member who is now in London, England.

MR. FREY. These are the two-hundred-and-eighty-odd members of the Communist Party who are now or have been on C. I. O. organization pay rolls. There are one or two who have not been on the pay roll, but I will call attention to them.

If it is the committee's desire, I will read all these names and turn them over. They are all numbered "1," "2," "3," "4," "5," and so forth; and I will comment on those which are of a more interesting or important character.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the witness read those that he wishes to comment on and file the others for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Starnes has suggested that you read those that you wish to comment on and file the others for the record. But before you do that let me ask you this: Before you secured this information did you make very careful investigation to determine whether, as a matter of fact, there was reliable evidence that these individuals were Communists?

Mr. FREY. Two individuals, who, I think, are as expert in keeping a record of Communist activities and Communists, have checked and rechecked all of these.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they compared that with police records?

Mr. FREY. I know in some instances they have because I have the police record here.

The CHAIRMAN. You have some of the police records?

Mr. FREY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I say that is because that is definite proof. If you have a photostatic copy of a membership card, fingerprinted, that has been checked by the police, that is definite proof that a man is a Communist; or if you have testimony of witnesses who know that he was in Communist meetings, or admitted that he was a Communist. Otherwise, of course, it becomes a conclusion merely to say that some one is a Communist.

Mr. FREY. I have been exceedingly careful, and I will be, in using the term "Communist" to refer to a person who is a member of the Communist Party; not to a sympathizer; not one who believes in communism without, perhaps, thoroughly knowing what it is; but when I use the term "Communist," it will mean to the committee a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. An active member?

Mr. FREY. An active member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HEALEY. I am sure Mr. Frey has been around here long enough not to make accusations unless he can back them up.

The CHAIRMAN. I have no doubt of that; but, of course, the committee wants to have full and complete authorization and evidence.

Mr. FREY. I do not stand before the committee in making these statements unaware of my personal responsibility. I have been compelled to assume responsibility for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not question that at all, Mr. Frey.

Mr. FREY. And some of the statements which I have made here I have made in conventions of the American Federation of Labor. At our convention in Denver last year I made the definite statement that I then had the names of 165 members of the Communist Party who were on C. I. O. pay rolls; that I had the names of 230 Communists who were serving as volunteer organizers with those getting a salary; that I made that statement upon my responsibility; that I had the names with me, and no one challenged me, although there were members of the central committee of the Communist Party in convention hall.

The CHAIRMAN. The American Federation of Labor has for years been fighting the Communists, has it not; from its inception?

Mr. FREY. From the very beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. And, of course, in that long period of time you have naturally collected information that perhaps no other organization in America has; that is true, is it not?

Mr. FREY. I should think we have some that is not generally known.

Mr. STARNES. That is true of communistic activities in labor organizations?

Mr. FREY. Yes, sir. The material that I have, which will come to you in time, will give you something on communistic activities that has never been brought to the surface at all.

Shall I take this list now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FREY. 1. William Gebert, Pittsburgh, Pa. He is not on the C. I. O. pay roll. He is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party. He is the chairman of the Communist Party's steel organizing campaign, and chairman of the fraternal group assisting in the campaign. This fraternal group is composed of the non-English-speaking fraternal organizations among the steel workers which Gebert brought together for the purpose of building up the steel organizing campaign.

Gebert has had the use of office space used by Phillip Murray in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee's headquarters in Pittsburgh, and all expenses involved in the fraternal conferences are borne by the S. W. O. C.

Gebert is now stationed in Detroit, replacing William Weinstone, concerning whom the committee will hear something later, in that area.

2. Jack Johnstone, Chicago, Ill., member of the central committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., directs all S. W. O. C. activities in Chicago and Gary area where Communist organizers are involved.

3. Ben Carruthers, Pittsburgh Pa., section organizer for the Communist Party, district No. 5, Pittsburgh; now on the pay roll of the S. W. O. C. as organizer among the colored groups. This man has been in Russia and was the American delegate to the 1935 Communist Congress held in Moscow.

4. Maude White, Cleveland, Ohio (colored). She is now in charge of agitation work among the Negroes in the Cleveland area. She works under the guidance of Art Landy, who has charge of all agitation work in district No. 6 of the Communist Party, which comprises all of the State of Ohio. White is a close associate of William Z. Foster, and she was one of the original founders of the Trade Union Unity League. She has visited Russia twice, and in New York was a member of the district committee of district No. 2, Communist Party. She also acted as organizer for the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union. Has also assisted Ben Gold in the Fur Workers Industrial Union.

5. William E. Hill, Pittsburgh, Pa., section organizer for Communist Party, colored organizer for S. W. O. C.

6. Henry J. Johnston, Gary, Ind.; close associate of William Z. Foster; S. W. O. C. organizer for the Gary district.

Mr. STARNES. These that you are reading now are on the pay roll of the C. I. O.?

Mr. FREY. No; I made the statement that they are or were. I have no way of knowing what the books of the C. I. O. look like. For the

information of the committee, it is an interesting condition. The C. I. O. has been in existence almost 3 years. They have had one conference but have never had a convention. They have no constitution. The officers were elected by the little group in the beginning, so that the membership has never had a vote in electing those who now control the C. I. O., and in the 3 years they have made no financial report to their membership.

Mr. STARNES. Have they made any other financial reports that you know of?

Mr. FREY. Well, we know the financial reports of some of the affiliated unions. For instance, the United Mine Workers make reports, or representatives of the United Mine Workers make reports. For instance, there is the report, or the filing of the expenses, of Tom Kennedy, who was candidate for Governor in Pennsylvania. We find there that Mr. Kennedy reported expenses of some \$483,000; and the Labor Nonpartisan League, which is the political party for the C. I. O., reported an expense of some \$23,000—all told, an expenditure in that primary campaign of \$503,750. And perhaps the most painful part of it all is that the heaviest vote against Mr. Kennedy came from the two largest mining counties in the State.

Here is one of an interesting character:

9. Maurice Sugar, Detroit, Mich.: He is an attorney for the United Automobile Workers Union. He has been a member of the Communist Party for many years and has been the legal adviser for practically every Communist group in the Detroit area, known as district No. 7. He has been a candidate for recorder judge in Detroit, in 1936, on the Communist ticket.

Now, that may not be proof that he is a Communist, but he was a candidate on the Communist ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. If he was not a Communist, they were satisfied that his ideas were all right, were they not?

Mr. FREY. Probably. I know the gentleman personally.

14. George Powers, of whom the committee will hear more in detail later on, is one of the district directors for the S. W. O. C.

25. Tom Meyerscough, Pittsburgh, Pa.: A member—or was—of the United Mine Workers Union; formerly president of the National Miners Union. That was the dual union which he helped to organize, along with Pat Touhy, Powers Hapgood, and John Brophy.

Has been—or was—on the S. W. O. C. pay roll. He is famous, or notorious, among some groups for an alleged biography that he wrote of Mr. John J. Lewis, which was intended to be uncomplimentary.

At present I know that he is not on the S. W. O. C. pay roll, because he was looking for a job and sold a gold brick, until it was found out, and last week he lost that job. They didn't know who they had picked up. He was going to do some trade-union work.

It seems that the C. I. O. organizations have a number of attorneys who are members of the Communist Party. Here is one:

65. Michael Evanoff, of Flint, Mich., represents the C. I. O., and several of the leading Communists in Michigan declare he is a member of the Communist Party.

81. John Schmies, formerly assistant to William Foster, is the Detroit representative of the Fraternal Orders Committee, organized by William Gebert and the C. I. O. to line up the various radical

fraternal organizations to throw their support to the C. I. O. and its affiliated organizations.

100. Emil Costello, State chairman of the Wisconsin C. I. O., expelled from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor because of his communistic activities. Judge Padway, general counsel for the American Federation of Labor, can furnish the committee with a detailed history of this man's activities if the committee wants it.

135. Walter Reuther, Detroit, Mich.: He is one of the leaders of the Automobile Workers Union, and President Martin has preferred charges against him. He has been to Russia several times and made reports as a result.

151. J. Lovestone, New York City and Detroit, who is said to be influential in the Automobile Workers Union: J. Lovestone at one time was national secretary of the Communist Party. He had a falling out with Moscow, and he lost his job, and it was taken by the present secretary, Earl Browder.

Now, it happens that the Communists are divided among themselves. There are the so-called regulars. They are the Stalinites; they recognize the authority of Moscow and of Stalin. Then there are the Trotskyites, who believe that the Stalinites have sold communism down the river; and then there are the Lovestoneites; and in the Automobile Workers Union all three groups add to the very unfortunate conditions that exists in that organization.

The membership of the Automobile Workers Union are almost wholly American in their attitude toward our institutions, but they are cut up not only with Communist control, but they are cut up with a bitter fight between Communist groups to oust the other.

172. J. Montall, alias Montell, alias Jack Moutall, Boston, Mass.: Member of the Communist Party; gave much of his time to organizing the Marine Workers Union in Boston, and even tried to get a job working for A. F. of L. organizations.

189. Edward Norman, Tampa, Fla., secretary and treasurer, District No. 6, of the Agricultural Workers Union, a C. I. O. affiliate. He had something to do, I believe, in pulling off a little humorous stunt at the convention of the A. F. of L. held in Tampa in 1937.

I think I might as well show this to the committee now.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FREY. The seal of the American Federation of Labor is clasped hands—two hands clasped together. The sign of the Communist is the raised fist. Now, when conventions of the A. F. of L. are held, the local committee gets out cards of welcome and puts them in the windows. I happened to reach Tampa before most of the delegates, and I saw one of the welcoming cards, and I stopped, and as a result of my activity they were all taken up.

Now, Tampa has a number of Communists, and someone, some of the Communists, secured an artist to paint the two closed fists over the seal of the A. F. of L. and these were posted in the windows [exhibiting a poster]. Now, copies of these, so I learned afterward, were sent to Moscow to show the control that the Communist Party was getting over the A. F. of L. That is a part of the way they perhaps get some money from America, showing they are doing a good job. I would like that back.

I think that I will merely turn these over, without reading any more, to the recorder, because I want to get into some of these communications that I spoke of.

The CHAIRMAN. And in that connection, again, I want to make clear, Mr. Frey, that that list and those names will be checked against accurate and definite information from records that this committee is going to have.

Mr. FREY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And, of course, the committee's findings will be based upon definite facts and proof in connection with them.

(Further records submitted by Mr. Frey are as follows:)

7. Joseph Howard, Birmingham, Ala. (Negro), paid organizer, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, organizer for Communist Party at Birmingham, Ala., District No. 17, attended 1934 convention Communist Party as a delegate from Alabama. Police record, Cincinnati, Ohio.

8. Lloyd Brown, Pittsburgh, Pa., part-time organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee, connected with Communist Party as organizer for past 2 years.

9. Jack Russak, Gary, Ind. (white), paid Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer, member Communist Party; member of district committee, Communist Party.

11. Joe Weber, South Chicago, Ill., member Communist Party, paid Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer. This man is now chief organizer for the Farm Implements Organization Committee which has just been created by the C. I. O., under the direction of Van Bittner.

C. I. O. SETS UP FARM MACHINE CAMPAIGN

[From C.I.O. News, July 30, 1938]

CHICAGO.—Plans for an organizing drive among the 250,000 workers in the farm equipment industry were made at a conference in Chicago, called to set up the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee of the C. I. O.

Van A. Bittner, western director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, opened the conference with a speech in which he gave C. I. O. authorization for the establishment of the new organizing committee, as a step in the direction of an international union for all farm equipment workers.

He wished the delegates all success in conducting their own affairs and spreading union organization throughout the industry.

59 DELEGATES PRESENT

The conference was attended by 59 delegates representing some 50,000 workers in plants where the Steel Workers Organizing Committee has established organization. The delegates came from the International Harvester and other big plants in Chacigo, from Milwaukee, Peoria, Rock Island, East Moline, Waterloo, and Des Moines, Ia., and from other centers of the industry.

Fraternal delegates were also present from some locals of farm-equipment workers organized in the United Automobile Workers.

C. I. O. authorization for setting up the committee was expressed in a wire from Director John Brophy to Bittner.

"Acting upon the petition of various C. I. O. locals and lodges in the farm-equipment industry and with the approval of the executive officers of the S. W. O. C., the Committee for Industrial Organization herewith authorizes the establishment of a Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee," Brophy said.

"Farm-equipment lodges affiliated at present with S. W. O. C. will constitute the initial group. Transfer of farm-equipment locals from other national unions will have to be a matter of conference and agreement between the parties affected before they can affiliate with the Farm Equipment Organizing Committee."

OAKES IS CHAIRMAN

Grant Oakes was elected chairman of the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee; Frank Miller, vice chairman; and Gerald Fielde, secretary-treasurer.

Frank Sliva was elected director, after Joseph Weber had declined the nomination, and the conference voted to ask Director Bittner for the release of Weber, of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, organizing to serve the committee. George Kitka and Georke Skinner were elected to the office of publicity and educational director.

Resolutions were passed commending the assistance given by Director Bittner and other officers of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizing the farm-equipment workers; in support of President Roosevelt's recovery program; and backing the C. I. O. 100 percent in its fight against wage cuts.

12. Ethel Stevens, Gary, Ind., secretary, Communist Party, being paid part time by Steel Workers Organizing Committee to do organizing work among the women.

13. Jack Tayback, Chicago, Ill., Communist, working among younger steel workers, paid part time Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer.

15. Jess Gonzales, Donora, Pa., Mexican, member of the Communist Party, formerly active as organizer in district No. 19, Denver, Colo., now paid organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee, working among Mexicans in Pittsburgh area.

16. Eleanor Rye, Chicago, Ill., woman organizer for National Negro Congress, now doing organizational work among Negroes in the steel industry and being paid part time by Van Bitner of Chicago.

17. Clarence Irwin, Pittsburgh and Farrell, Pa. This man set up the rank-and-file committee that fought Mike Tighe of amalgamated for 2 years. He was financially assisted by the Communist Party in New York, and on March 4, 1937, at Pittsburgh acted as chairman of the secret meeting of the National Communist Faction in Steel, combined with the district bureau of the Communist Party. This meeting was held at 1800 Center Avenue, and Irwin, who is now a paid organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, is acting as adviser to Martin Young, district organizer of the Communist Party, district No. 5, Pittsburgh.

18. Louis Majors, New Castle, Pa., Communist, paid organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee; attended the same meeting on March 4 at Pittsburgh which Irwin did, and Majors spoke at length on the present situation in steel.

NOTE.—George Powers also spoke at this meeting.

19. Tom Shane, Homestead, Pa., member of Communist Party, spoke at the same meeting as Majors did; is a paid organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

(NOTE.—Jack Johnston, from Chicago, who is heading the Communist committee, spoke at this same meeting.)

20. — Staver, Calumet region, Chicago, part-time organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

21. Blain Owen (alias Boris Israel), and his right name is Israel Berenstein. Berenstein's father is the representative of the Amtorg Co. on the Pacific coast. The central committee of the Communist Party sent Owen to Pittsburgh to work with B. K. Gebert, and through him an effort is being made to have Owen appointed on the Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer's staff, working under Clinton Golden. This information is 3 weeks old, and it is not known for a certainty that he is as yet on the pay roll.

22. Doyle Glormer, Pennsylvania, reporter for the Peoples Press; this man is a member of the Communist Party and is doing part-time work for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

23. John Schesov'sk, McKeesport, Pa., member of the Communist Party, part-time organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

24. John Dutchman, Lordsville, Pa., member of the Communist Party, part-time organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

35. Charles Henry, South Chicago (colored), member of the Communist Party, receiving pay from Steel Workers Organizing Committee for part-time work.

34. — Hansen, Chicago Heights, Ill. This man has attended several closed meetings of the Communist group and is listed as a comrade. Reports have it that he is a full-time organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

33. Alfredo Abilla, South Chicago, Ill., member of the Communist Party, on the pay roll of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, doing work among the Mexicans.
32. John Steuben, Youngstown, Ohio, section organizer for the Communist Party in this district, and in open meeting he stated that he has received pay for doing Steel Workers Organizing Committee work.
31. Joe Mankin, Pittsburgh, Pa.: This man is the official representative of the I. W. O., which is the Communist Party fraternal insurance group. He is speaking at meetings for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and reports have it that they are paying him part-time salary.
30. Mayor Lowery, Homestead, Pa.: This man is a Communist Party member, and is a part-time paid organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
29. Ruth Chapa, Chicago, Ill.: This is the wife of Peter Chapa, and she is being paid by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and doing work among the Spanish women whose husbands and brothers are employed in the steel plants.
28. Peter Chapa, Gary, Ind., district, for years has acted as a Communist organizer, and now is a full-time Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer working among the Spanish steel workers. According to information secured he reports direct to Van Bitner.
25. ——— Orhotos, Johnstown, Pa., member of the Communist Party and paid Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer.
36. Helen Anderson, Indiana Harbor: This woman has been secretary of several Communist Party units, and was and is supposed to be at present a clerk in the office of Regional Director Nick Fantacchio, who is in charge of the Gary district for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
37. Norman Ross, Buffalo, N. Y.: This man has too many contacts with the Communist Party membership over a period that he has been a paid organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Ross is permitted to go into Canada and organize in that country for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
38. Sally Winters, Youngstown, Ohio: This woman worked as secretary in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee office, is a member of the Communist Party, but it is not known if she is doing this type of work just at present, but she is very active.
39. Mike Ostroski, Chicago and Gary district: This man is a good active member of the Communist Party, and is on the pay roll of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
40. George A. Patterson, South Chicago, Ill.: This is one of the most active Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizers and he is one of the Communist Party members who contacts directly with members of the central committee of the Communist Party.
41. Joe Cook, South Chicago, Ill., Communist Party member receiving pay from the Steel Workers Organizing Committee as organizer.
42. Ralph Shaw, Granite City, Ill., member of the State committee, Communist Party, district No. 8. He is on the pay roll of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and very recently attended a Communist Party meeting which was held by the members of the central committee for the purpose of furthering the work in the steel organization campaign. This meeting was held February 20 in Chicago.
43. Mrs. Mineola Ingersoll, South Chicago: This woman is doing work for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Is a member of the Communist Party, and her husband, Jerry Ingersoll, is also known by the name of Craig. He is working in some plant in South Chicago and is handling the Steel Workers Organizing Committee situation from inside the plant.
44. Dave Doran, Pittsburgh, Pa.: This man is a district organizer for the Young Communist League, and is doing special work among the younger steel workers. He often meets personally with Phillip Murray in the Grant Building, Pittsburgh.
45. ——— McKinnie, Youngstown, Ohio: Member of the Communist Party and a special paid organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee who is working among the colored steel workers. This man is colored himself.
46. Tom Shane, Pittsburgh, Pa., a trusted member of the Communist Party and a trusted paid organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

47. Jack Thompson, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Member of the Communist Party, part-time organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

48. John Chorey, Braddock, Pa.: Member of the Communist Party and the International Workers Order. Is doing part-time work for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

A NEW COMMUNIST C. I. O. UNION

49. And now the farming-implement industry is passing into "red" labor control through the organization of the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee of the C. I. O. on Sunday, July 24, at a meeting in Chicago. National officers elected were Grant Oakes, chairman; Frank Miller, vice chairman; Frank Silva, temporary director; Gerald Fielde, secretary-treasurer; Stanley Kitka, publicity director; and George Skinner, educational director. None of these are known to us as Communist Party members and all claim to be working in the implement industry. The actual organizer of the new union, however, is Communist Joe Weber, of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

50. Sam Abbott, Chicago, Ill.: This man is a member of the Communist Party, secretary of the Workers Alliance. Is one of the leaders who is trying to bring about the joining of the alliance with the C. I. O.

51. Alfredo Abillo, Chicago: This man is a member of the Communist Party and an organizer for the steel workers (C. I. O.) among the Mexicans in Chicago.

52. Vance Ambrose, Chicago: This man is a Communist and is now chairman of the strike committee of Agricultural Workers Union, No. 20221, at Stockton, Calif.

53. Arthur Anderson, Communist, employed as Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer at Gary, Ind.

54. Helen Anderson, Communist, worked in Steel Workers Organizing Committee office at Gary, Ind., and also acted as organizer.

W. C. Calvin, secretary of metal trades department, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., had quite an experience with this woman on Labor Day 2 years ago.

55. John W. Anderson, C. I. O. organizer, candidate on Communist Party ticket in Michigan, 1934. Elected president of Local No. 155, Auto Workers Union, February 23, 1938.

56. Robert Brown, Chicago, Communist, Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer at Chicago.

57. James Burns, Indiana Communist, part-time Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer in northern Indiana section.

58. Tony Candreva, Indiana Communist, part-time Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer, Gary, Ind.

59. Ruth Chapa, Chicago and Indiana Communist: This woman, the wife of Peter Chapa, has been paid by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee on numerous occasions to do missionary work in homes of Spanish steel workers.

60. Robert Cling, Chicago Communist: Has been on the pay roll of Steel Workers Organizing Committee as organizer at Chicago.

61. Harry Connor, Indiana Communist: On pay roll of Steel Workers Organizing Committee, northern Indiana.

62. Robert L. Crudden, Michigan and Indiana: This man is a Communist. Has written numerous articles for Daily Worker and also acted as correspondent for the Federated Press. He has received compensation on numerous occasions from the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

63. Fred P. Danielson, alias Donaldson, Communist, financial secretary, Lodge No. 1008, A. A. I. S. T. W. at Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., in South Chicago. Chairman of strike strategy committee.

64. Herman Enkuist, Indiana Communist, part-time organizer at Gary, Ind.

65. Michael Evanoff, attorney at Flint, Mich.: This man represents the C. I. O. and several of the leading Communists in Michigan declare he is a member of the Communist Party.

66. Abraham Feinglass, Chicago Communist: Manager of Chicago branch of International Fur Workers Union, C. I. O.

67. Paul Glaser, Chicago, Communist: This man is one of the high-ranking Communists of Chicago, and acts as attorney for C. I. O. He is a full-salaried member of Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and spends much time with Van Bittner in Chicago.

68. Ben Green, Chicago Communist, part-time Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer at Chicago.

69. Robert Hall, Birmingham, Ala.: This man is the district organizer for district No. 17, Communist Party in Alabama and Mississippi, as well as Georgia. He is doing everything he possibly can to boost the C. I. O. and reports from Alabama state definitely that he has received funds acting as a Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer in Birmingham area.

70. R. W. Hanson: This man is a Communist and acts as Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer and also for the C. I. O. at Chicago Heights, Ill.

71. Frank Herron, Gary, Ind., Communist: Acts as part-time organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

72. Dladimer Janawicz, Chicago Communist, on pay roll of Steel Workers Organizing Committee as organizer.

73. Sarraine Loewe, Chicago Communist, organizer for United Rubber Workers at Chicago; vice chairman Illinois Labor Party; first vice president in labor party in Chicago and Cooke County.

74. Leonides McDonald, Negro Communist, Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer at Monroe, Mich.; Warren, Ohio; and Indiana Harbor, Ind.

75. John Marsh, Chicago Communist: Part-time organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

76. Dave Mates, one of the leading Chicago Communists; was also in Spain. Has been a part-time organizer for C. I. O. and Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

77. Miles Morton, alias Zaliski, Chicago Communist, has been on pay roll of Steel Workers Organizing Committee as organizer.

78. Frank P. O'Brien, Chicago Communist, has been on pay roll of Steel Workers Organizing Committee as organizer

79. Michael Ostroski, Chicago Communist, Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer, Gary, Ind., and North Chicago, Ill.

80. Tom Perry, alias Parrot, Detroit Communist, active in Local No. 174, United Auto Workers of America.

82. Ralph Shaw, Illinois Communist: This man, well known throughout State as Communist section organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the Calumet district, Chicago.

83. Hilliard Smith, Minneapolis Communist and C. I. O. organizer in that district.

84. Jack Stachel, one of the leading Communists of United States, a member of Central Committee and has supervision over all Communists in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and part of Indiana, who are on the C. I. O. and Steel Workers Organizing Committee pay roll.

85. Sam Stone: This man, a Communist, is playing a prominent part in Local No 212 of the United Auto Workers of America.

86. Mary Heaton Vorse, directing organization of C. I. O. women's auxiliaries. At one time was alleged to be the secretary of William Z. Foster. She wrote her red memoirs while publicity agent in the Indian Bureau in United States Department of the Interior. "Reported on leave from Department of Interior while operating for C. I. O." She has just published a book which is strictly C. I. O. in character and she was one of the active "red" leaders at the 1936 Tampa A. F. L. convention.

87. Robert Washington, Negro Communist, Birmingham, Ala.: Has been on the pay roll of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Washington has been educated in the Lenin School at Moscow.

88. Maria Correa, San Francisco, Communist, organizer for Cannery Workers Union, San Francisco area: This woman is a close associate of Donald Henderson and Lem Harris and she has been mixed up in radical activities for the past 5 years.

89. John Lopez, Greeley, Colo., Communist: This man is committee chairman of the United Cannery and Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers. This is a C. I. O. outfit.

PEA PICKERS WIN STRIKE, GET PACT

Greeley, Colo.: Pea pickers, members of Local 158, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers, won union recognition and a closed-shop contract following a strike against Glen Hubbell, Idaho contractor and processor.

Hubbell, who hired his pea pickers from the Colorado State Employment Service, at first refused to bargain with the local committee, calling the sheriff to drive the committee members away when they tried to confer with him.

LEADER JAILED

Later he had John Lopez, committee chairman, thrown in jail, where he was held without charges until J. Austin Beasley, district president of the C. I. O. cannery union and Wendell Phillips, special organizer, secured his release.

Picketing was broken up by the sheriff, and 16 workers were arrested. The local filed charges against Hubbell with the Labor Board, and the Board sent in a representative, who, after conferences with the union attorney and Hubbell, arranged for negotiations resulting in the signed agreement.

90. Herman Suyvellar, San Francisco, secretary San Francisco Industrial Union Council: Sometime ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

On June 28, 1938, at San Francisco, this member of the central committee was given a party on his fiftieth birthday. Personal greetings were sent to him by William Z. Foster and at the party a number of well-known C. I. O. leaders on the west coast were present and extended personal greetings to him. Among these were Herman Suyvellar, secretary, San Francisco Industrial Union Council.

(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

91. Louis Goldblatt, northern California director for C. I. O.: Some time ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

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(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

92. Frank Drumm, vice president of Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Lodge 1684: Some time ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

On June 28, 1938, at San Francisco, this member of the central committee was given a party on his fiftieth birthday. Personal greetings were sent to him by William Z. Foster and at the party a number of well-known C. I. O. leaders on the west coast were present and extended personal greetings to him. Among these were Frank Drumm, vice president of Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Lodge 1684.

(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

93. William Gratton, San Francisco, editor, C. I. O. Labor Herald: Some time ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

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(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

94. Clifford Daggett, San Francisco, acting secretary of New England Boatmen's Union: Some time ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

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William Z. Foster, and at the party a number of well-known C. I. O. leaders on the west coast were present and extended personal greetings to him. Among these were Clifford Daggett, San Francisco, acting secretary of New England Boatmen's Union.

(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

95. Henry Schmidt, San Francisco, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 1-10; Some time ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

On June 28, 1938, at San Francisco, this member of the central committee was given a party on his fiftieth birthday. Personal greetings were sent to him by William Z. Foster, and at the party a number of well-known C. I. O. leaders on the west coast were present and extended personal greetings to him. Among these were Henry Schmidt, San Francisco, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 1-10.

(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

96. Germain Bulcke, San Francisco, vice president, Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 1-10.

Some time ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

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(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

97. John Shoemaker, San Francisco, business agent, Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 1-10.

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(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

98. Eugene Patton, San Francisco, president, Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 1-6.

Some time ago the central committee of the Communist Party sent Harrison George, a well-known member of the central committee, to San Francisco to act as editor of the People's World, which is the official Communist organ for the western part of the United States.

On June 28, 1938, at San Francisco, this member of the central committee was given a party on his fiftieth birthday. Personal greetings were sent to him by William Z. Foster, and at the party a number of well-known C. I. O. leaders on the west coast were present and extended personal greetings to him. Among these were Eugene Patton, San Francisco, president, Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 1-6.

(NOTE.—See issue of People's World for June 30, 1938, for confirmation of this story.)

99. Gunnar Michelsen, Milwaukee, Wis., State C. I. O. director. This man has been listed as a Communist for the past 10 years.

NOTE.—See attached clipping.

250 MEET TOMORROW AT STEEL WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE CONVENTION

MILWAUKEE, WIS., July 29.—Over 250 Steel Workers Organizing Committee delegates of northern Illinois and Wisconsin will meet here Sunday, July 31, for the fifth convention of officers of lodges affiliated with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The convention will open at 9 a. m. at Bonk's Hall, 1835 South Sixth Street, when Emil Costello, State chairman of the Wisconsin C. I. O., will welcome the delegates. Gunnar Mickelsen, State C. I. O. director, will discuss the needs for a labor press and the role of the C. I. O. News in the job of organizing the unorganized.

The convention will concern itself with developing a program for strengthening unions, developing the responsibility of officers, maintaining wages, and the administration of contracts and grievance procedure.

According to latest advices, Harold Christoffel, militant leader of Allis Chalmers Local 248, United Automobile Workers of America, and chairman of the Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council, will explain the program of coordinating C. I. O. union activity and will greet the delegates in the name of the council.

LADIES AUXILIARY

The Wisconsin-Illinois Ladies Auxiliary of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is taking a major part in the program by preparing a noon lunch for "conventioners." Van A. Bittner, regional director of the Midwest district of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, has made arrangements to be present and will be on the speaker's program.

Nathaniel S. Clark, director of the twelfth regional office of the National Labor Relations Board, will explain the purposes and administration of the National Labor Relations Act in the functions of the Board and its officers. Student and apprentice problems will be discussed by Prof. W. J. Hibbard, director of industrial relations at Marquette University, and a national authority on the problems of student and apprentice training.

CALLED BY ADELMAN

The convention was called by Meyer Adelman, district director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, who will outline a program for consolidation, coordination, and responsibility. W. O. Sonnemaun, Steel Workers Organizing Committee counsel and field representative, will speak on the Menace of Union Incorporation and general legal problems affecting unions and union members.

The last month field representatives, Oakley Mills, Walter Burke, and Mike Ostrowski, have been busy organizing the convention and its program at the subdistrict headquarters at Waukegan, Ill., Fond du Lac, Wis., and Sterling, Ill.

101. Leif Dahl, Trenton and Vineland, N. J., district president of the Agricultural Workers Union (C. I. O. affiliate). This party was section organizer for the Communists in southern New Jersey, and with Lem Harris, Hal Ware, Donald Henderson, and others, formed the Farmers Committee of Action, which created so much trouble in the Philadelphia milkshed and in the New York State milkshed. At the Federal hearing on a proposed milk order, held in Syracuse, N. Y., February 1935, Dahl appeared as an appointed representative of the Communist Party of United States and read a brief protesting against the proposed milk order.

Nos. 102 to 132, inclusive.

In regard to the National Maritime Union, national headquarters in New York City, this C. I. O. affiliated group is controlled by the Communist Party of the United States.

The president of the organization is one Joseph Curran, who is a member of the Communist Party, and we have presented receipts to show his payments to said party.

Other leaders, organizers, delegates, field men, and office men associated with Curran in the National Maritime Union, and who are absolutely members of the Communist Party, are as follows: Thomas Raye, Hayes Jones, Ferdinand D. Smith, Jack Lorenson (Frederick M. (Blackie) Meyers (this man was recently arrested in a C. I. O. riot at New Orleans, La.), Ted Lewis, Moe Byne, Smith Hopkins, Charles DeGraffe, James Gavin, Charles Reuben, Patrick Whalen, Baltimore, Harry Alexander, K. K. Owens, Adrian Duffy, Frank Jones, Felix

Siren, Albert Lannon, Philadelphia, Howard McKenzie, Robert (Killer) Meers, New Orleans, Conrad Jones, Roland A. Perry, Joseph Chavez, Pat Lawrenson, Alex Bell, Al Rothard, L. Chamberlain (see attached Communist Party receipts for Chamberlain and McKenzie), Corby Talton, James Edwards.

133. George Woolf, San Francisco and Seattle: This is one of the Communists who, on the west coast, is considered a right-hand lieutenant of Harry Bridges. Woolf is one of the leaders of the C. I. O. Cannery Workers Union and played a very prominent part in the communistic activities at the Tampa, Fla., convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1936.

134. Walter Reuther, Detroit, Mich.: This fellow is one of the leaders of the Auto Workers Union and President Martin has preferred charges against him. He visited Soviet Russia and sent back a letter to this country which included the following paragraph:

"Carry on the fight for a Soviet America."

135. Nat Ganley, alias Nat Kaplan, Detroit, Mich.: Has for years been a national figure in the Communist organization. He once held the important position as district organizer in Boston, and was such an effective agitator that he was made national organizer of the National Textile Workers' Union, a Communist affiliate. Then William Z. Foster appointed him general organizer for the Trade Union Unity League and sent him to Detroit to build the "'red' industrial union" movement. Among the organizations he formed were the Chicken Pickers' Union, the Fur Workers' Industrial Union, and the Sausage Workers' Union. Even now he is an instructor at the Red People's School in Detroit.

He has been active in practically all of the C. I. O. strikes around Detroit and, officially, is recording secretary of Anderson's United Automobile Workers Local 155.

137. Saul C. Waldbaum, attorney, Philadelphia, Pa.: This Communist, who is closely associated with Pat Toohy, district organizer for district No. 3, Philadelphia, was employed as strike counsel by the United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers at their strike on the Radio Corporation of America works at Camden, N. J.

138. Abraham J. Isserman, Newark, N. J., communist attorney: This man has acted as attorney for Communist Party, district No. 14, New Jersey, and also has handled cases for the International Labor Defense and the American Civil Liberties Union. He is employed by the Radio and Electrical Workers Union, as well as for the C. I. O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League unit in New Jersey.

This man is one of the leaders of the radical forces in stirring up trouble in Jersey City for the so-called freedom of speech.

139. — Cebel, Detroit, Mich.: This Communist was sent from New York City to Detroit to assist in the automobile strike carried on by the Auto Workers Union of Michigan.

140. J. Woolfson, Detroit, Mich.: A Communist organizer who also acted as organizer for the Auto Workers Union in the Detroit area.

141. Lucien Koch, Boston and St. Louis, Mo.: This man, who proudly claimed that he was a Communist at a meeting in Boston, acted as organizer for the United Ship Yard Workers in the Boston and Quincy, Mass., area. This is a C. I. O. affiliated group. Later on he acted as organizer for the Radio and Electrical Workers and also acted as part-time educational director.

Koch at one time was president of the radical Commonwealth College located at Mena, Ark.

142-149. Re George Bundas, Arthur Scott, John Borawiac, Arba Halberg alias Gus Hall, Charles Byers, Andrew Marsh, Joe Orawiec, and Sidney Watkins.

These are the Communists who were employed by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee officials and led by Halberg as the dynamite crew in and about Warren, Ohio. The local police at Warren, Ohio, can give full details as to their activities and history.

150. Joseph A. Salerno, Boston, Mass.: Representative of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C. I. O., New England leader. This man has been associated with Communist groups, giving his aid, time, and funds.

The Massachusetts Communist was investigated by a State committee and he is mentioned on page 212 of that report.

155. Tom Johnson, Los Angeles, Calif.: Publisher of the C. I. O. labor paper. Tom Johnson has been one of the leading Communists in the United States, is frequently mentioned in the Fish committee report; was formerly district organizer, District No. 17, Alabama, and is also an ex-convict, serving a sentence at Columbus, Ohio, after being convicted in Blair County for criminal syndicalism.

156. Joseph Costello, Haverhill, Mass.: This man is section organizer for the Communist Party in that area and is also organizer for the United Shoe Workers Union, which is a C. I. O. outfit.

157. Charlotte Sugar, Rocksbury, Mass., 128 Humbolt Avenue: This woman is a member of the Communist Party, District No. 1, Boston, and is also an organizer in the Rubber Workers Union. She was formerly instructor in the Trade Union Unity School at Boston. (See p. 313, Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)

158. Florence Luscomb, Boston, Mass.: Organizer and official for Office and Professional Workers of America. She is a member of the Communist Party, Friends of Soviet Union, and American League for Peace and Freedom. At one time she was connected with the Bookkeepers, Office Workers, and Stenographers, which is an A. F. L. federation, and later on transferred to C. I. O. (See p. 318 of Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)

159. Paul Salagai, Boston: This member of the Communist Party is acting as an organizer for the C. I. O. United Shoe Workers Union. (Boston committee, see p. 319, Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)

160. Sam Sandburg, Boston, Mass.: This member of the Communist Party is also on the pay roll of the C. I. O. through the Toy and Novelty Workers Union. (See p. 319 of Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)

161 to 170. The following Communists in district No. 1, Boston, are on the pay roll of the National Maritime Union in Boston as agents and delegates: Thomas McGowan, Robert Mills, Clarence Wardell, Paul Emerson, Frank Gaffney, Ramos Santos, — — — Fishman, — — — Mairigo, John Palmer.

171. Justine O'Connor, 265 Bolton Street, South Boston: This Communist is employed in the office of the National Maritime Union at Boston. (See p. 329 of Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)

173. J. Walsh, New Bedford and Boston, Mass.: This Communist organizer was sent first to Boston by Roy Hudson to work the maritime union, and now he is located at New Bedford and a paid organizer for the C. I. O. and National Maritime Union. (See p. 332, Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)

174. Sidney Stern, 294 Norwell Street, Norchester, Mass.: This Communist is very active in agitation and also acting as organizer for the National Maritime Union in the Boston area. He later was sent to Fall River, Mass., then to New Bedford, and from there to Providence. (See p. 335, Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)

175. Joe Alberts, 412 Borden Street, Fall River, Mass.: Communist Party member, working under directions of Phil Frankfeld and Roy Hudson, as well as Joe Curran, of New York City. Alberts works in Fall River, New Bedford, and Providence, and last year was assigned to work as paid organizer in the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, which is a C. I. O. outfit controlled by Harry Bridges.

176. Mrs. Coburn, alias Miss Lee, Fall River, Mass.: This active Communist worker is employed in the office of the National Maritime Union at Fall River as bookkeeper. (See p. 337 of Massachusetts State Committee to Investigate Communism.)

177, 178, 179. Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, Miles Horton: These three people have been in the past, and probably now are, paid organizers for the Textile Workers Organization Committee. They have been active in radical work in the South and a few years ago attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South.

In connection with this we might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., was mixed up in this secret convention, in which these three C. I. O. organizers took a very prominent part.

180. Joe Wright, State of Texas: Organizer for the oil workers' union and reported to be a member of the executive board. This man is a member of the Communist Party in good standing and at the same time on the pay roll of the C. I. O. union.

181. Robert Warren, New London, Tex.: This man is active in the oil workers' union, special writer for the Communist Daily Worker, New York City, and also prepares articles for the Communist Party proper.

182. Harry Scher, New York City: This man has been an instructor in the Communist Workers' School, 50 East Thirteenth Street, it is reported. He is also connected with the transport workers' union, which is a C. I. O. outfit.

183. Robert Sivert, Lorain, Ohio: This man now acts as organizer and contact man for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and C. I. O. He has been a Communist for a number of years and hails from down in the coal country around Bridgeport, Ohio. He is one of the original founders and leaders of the National Miners' Union, which was set up by the Trade Union Unity League, which in turn was controlled by the Communist Party of the United States.

184. Seymour Siporin, Chicago, Ill.: This chap formerly belonged to the Young Communist League and was one of its Chicago leaders. He later was transferred to the parent body of the Communist Party and is now organizer for the C. I. O. outfit known as the United Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union.

He has also done a limited amount of work in connection with the C. I. O. controlled packinghouse workers organization committee in Chicago.

186. Mel Pitzie, New York City and Boston: This prominent Communist has been on the pay roll of the C. I. O. as organizer in shoe workers and furniture workers.

187. Thomas Pate, Birmingham, Ala.: Pate, acting as organizer for Steel Workers Organizing Committee and C. I. O., has associated himself with the Communist groups. We cannot definitely say that he is a party member, but his actions certainly would indicate same.

In 1938 we received a letter from Alabama which claimed that Pate was secretly acting as an organizer for the Communist Party as well.

188. William O'Donald, Camden, N. J.: Several years ago a member of the New Jersey State police, left the services of that body and became associated with the Communist-controlled Farmers Committee of Action. This organization is now known in part as the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, a C. I. O. outfit.

However, one William O'Donald appeared on the scene as a paid organizer for the Independent Ship Builders Union, which is also a C. I. O. outfit. This organizer moved into Jersey City when the situation became tense at that point, and practically his whole time was spent with radicals who were trying to stir up trouble in that city. One can draw his own conclusion as to this party and just exactly the type of work he has been doing for the past few months.

190. John Mayo, Youngstown and Pittsburgh area: This man has been acting as a general organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and C. I. O. He is a Communist, and has been one for quite some time.

191. James Lustig, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Organizer for district No. 4, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union, which is the C. I. O. outfit.

Lustig was a former national officer of the Steel and Metal Workers Independent Union, an affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League, which was organized and controlled by the Communist Party under William Z. Foster. Left New York August 6 to take charge of Maytag strike.

192. Jim Casper, Cleveland, Ohio: This man is a member of the Communist Party and an accredited delegate from the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in Cleveland, Ohio.

193. Sam Cantor, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Member of the Communist Party, Brooklyn section. Organizer for Local No. 1225 of United Radio and Electrical Workers. Arrested July 2, 1938, sentenced for 5 days for disturbing the peace.

194. A. Q. Johnson, Birmingham, Ala.: This man, a Negro, is a paid organizer for the C. I. O. and Steel Workers Organizing Committee. He is also a member of Communist Party, working under directions of Robert Hall, the district organizer.

195. Clarence Irwin, New Castle and Farrell, Pa.: In the first place, this man is a Communist, and was paid large sums of money by New York Communists at the time he, along with other radicals, broke up the Amalgamated Steel Workers and formed a rank-and-file committee.

Since the inception of the C. I. O. he has been on the pay roll of the Communist Party as well as the C. I. O.

193. Jose Hernandez, Riverside, Calif.: This man is the vice president of Agricultural Workers Union, receives pay as organizer, and is a member of the Communist Party, United States of America.

197. Paul Green, New York City: Business agent for United Furniture Workers Union, which is a C. I. O. affiliate.

This man was a member of the Communist Party and suspended for infraction of the party program.

198. Harry Glazer, New Orleans, La.: This man, a C. I. O. organizer, is one of the leaders of the New Orleans riot. It is reported that he was arrested June 1938 and deported from New Orleans for his radical activities.

199. James Eagen, Pittsburgh, Pa.: This man is the State chairman of the Communist Party of Pennsylvania. He was only recently elected to that position at their convention held in Harrisburg. He has been continually working for the success of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and C. I. O., and at times has been on the pay roll.

200. Vivian Dahl, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Trenton, and Vineland, N. J.: This woman is the wife of Leif Dahl, and she is on the pay roll of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers, C. I. O. union.

201. Ida Dales, State of Texas: This woman has been connected with Communist work for past 6 years.

She is a paid organizer working in the State of Texas for C. I. O. and Agricultural Workers.

202. John L. Donovan, Denver, Colo.: Donovan operates out of post-office box 1491 at Denver and edits a Spanish-speaking radical paper.

It is not known for sure that he is a member of the party, but he has continually associated with people that are 100-percent Communist.

203. Elmer Cope, State of Pennsylvania: This fellow hails from Warren, Ohio, and has been mixed up with the radical movement for the past 11 years. He graduated from a right-wing Socialist to a left-wing Socialist and now into the Communist Party. He has been one of the mainstays of the C. I. O. and Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and has been continually on the pay roll of those organizations.

204. Robert Burke, Youngstown, Ohio: This Columbia University student was dismissed for his radical activities. He went to Youngstown, joined the Young Communist League and was soon an organizer for the C. I. O. groups. He was convicted September 29, 1937, of rioting on June 10 of same year during the steel strike.

205. Fred Beidenkapp, Boston, Lynn, New Bedford, Mass.: Here is one of the best known Communists in the United States and he was one of the leaders in the famous New Bedford strike in the textiles a number of years ago. He has occupied numerous offices in the Communist Party from the central committee on down and has been acting as a paid C. I. O. organizer in the United Shoe Workers Unions, and the Textile Workers Organization Committee.

206. Gregory Bardeke, Herkimer, N. Y.: This man is an organizer for the Lady Garment Workers, which is a C. I. O. affiliate. He was a student at Syracuse University and was known as one of the radical leaders in that school. He was also mixed up in the activities in the Students Union, which is a Communist outfit.

207. Wm. T. Bousor, San Francisco, Calif., 165 Kenwood Way: This man is a Trotskyite Communist and has been connected with the Office & Professional Workers Union, which is C. I. O.

208. Sue Adams, alias Sue Evans, Denver, Colo.: This woman is one of the officials of the Federal Employees Union of the C. I. O. Her husband is also a Communist employed by the Reclamation Division of the United States Department of Commerce.

Both are 100-percent Communists, and we know of secret meetings she attended in East Denver, at which time it is said that John Brophy was in attendance at one of these meetings. This was at the time that the first national convention of the Agricultural Workers was held in Denver and the Communist elements in that outfit met in East Denver at the conclusion of one of the sessions.

209. Ben Shanberg, Springfield, Mass.: Active in behalf of Communist Party candidates in 1936 elections in Massachusetts. Has worked as a paid organizer for the International Lady Garment Workers and with headquarters in Springfield, Mass., office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. In 1937 he was detailed to organizing the clerks.

NOTE.—This man is listed as a Communist in the Massachusetts report of the State committee investigating Communism.

210. Don West, Louisville, Ky.: This man, formerly in charge of Atlanta, Ga., for Communist Party, is a preacher and a graduate of Vanderbilt University. He sneaked out of Atlanta on a truck, under a load of gunny sacks, when Assistant Solicitor General Hutson swore out warrants for his arrest. After a short period in New York City, he was sent to Kentucky and there made organizer.

It has been reported on numerous occasions that he was a part-time employee of the Textile Workers Union, a C. I. O. affiliate and at the same time was district organizer of district No. 23, Communist Party.

211. Francis J. Gorman: This man is president of United Textile Workers Union and in partial charge of the present campaign. Gorman for the past 3 years has been associating with Communists. It is reported that he has spoken at Communist meetings and a few months ago he made a trip to Loyalist Spain and it is reported that he addressed the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which was recruited by the Communists in the United States.

In a copy of Dairy Worker, August 1937, Gorman in a lengthy article praised the Loyalists and he said: "Spain fights for world's workers." This interview was given just following his return to this country.

212 and 213. Re Oil Workers Union, C. I. O. affiliate, State of Texas. Down at Houston, Tex., at 1009¹/₂ Congress Street is the headquarters of Homer Brooks, the district organizer for district No. 20 of the Communist Party.

Located at El Paso, is Milton O'Rourke, and confidential information that is undisputed, states that both of them had been closely connected with the C. I. O. in the Oil Workers organization movement.

215 and 216. Al Nygren and John Eldemar, Juneau, Alaska: Both of these men, who in 1935 were chairman and secretary of local No. 203 of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, went out and collected money for the defense of Anglo Herndon, the Communist, and later on caused resolutions to be drawn up in behalf of Herndon and these resolutions were sent to Governor Talmadge of Georgia.

217, 218, 219, and 220. The Transport Workers Union is one of the strong C. I. O. units, and among the officials is Michael J. Quill, president; Austin Dilloughery, alias Hogan, secretary; John Santo (an assumed name), general manager of the union; and Thomas McMahon, of Brooklyn, an organizer for this union.

All of these men have been named in affidavits by the former president, O'Shea of the Transport Workers Union, as being Communist and under control of the Communist Party. These accusations appear in the August 1937 issue of the Motorman, Conductor and Motor-Coach Operator, which is published at Detroit, Mich., by the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor-Coach Employees of America. This is an A. F. L. outfit and they carefully made a check-up of this situation.

We are attaching a copy of this story which appeared in October issue 1937 of The Carpenter, which is the official journal of the carpenters' union, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

221. Clarina Michelson, New York City: This Communist woman agitator, who has been in the forefront in Communist Party work for years is now a paid organizer of the United Retail Employees of America. She is located in New York City and mixes Communism in with C. I. O.'ism.

222. James Matles, New York City: This man is national organizational director of United Radio and Electrical Workers, and he is one of the leading Communists of New York City. He was formerly a national officer of the Radio and Electrical Workers Industrial Union, which is controlled by the Trade Union Unity League and the Communist Party.

223. Neil Brandt, New York and New Jersey: Here is a Communist that's on the pay roll of the United Electric and Radio Workers and is classified as an intellectual Communist. He is a graduate of Cornell University, is an architect, and has written movie scenarios. Brandt has been quite active in various radical activities in New York City.

224. Coleman Taylor, alias Sazbo, Cleveland, Ohio: This man is district secretary for United Radio and Electrical Workers of C. I. O.

He has been a Communist for years, is a Communist now, and only recently completed the Communist Party training school course at New York City.

225, 226, 227, and 228. On December 18, 1937, in the Communist Party office at East Pittsburgh, at 11 a. m., the leading members of the Communist faction of the Westinghouse workers met in session. Those present were:

Fred Gardner, Fred Hough, and Tom Malloy. These men were C. I. O. organizers. In addition, Logan Burkhart, international vice president of the Electrical and Radio Workers Union; Theodore Wright, vice president of Westinghouse Air-Brake local; and Carl Close, section organizer for Communist

Party, along with Martin Young, the district organizer for Communist Party in Pittsburgh, known as district No. 5, met and outlined future plans for active work in this C. I. O. organization.

229, 230, and 231. The Westinghouse workers executive board, C. I. O., Radio and Electrical Workers, in February 1938 consisted of Jones, Cole, Lord, Senter, Holmes, Provinic, Nick Storko, Pat Fallon, Catherine Beech, John Martello, and Theodore Wright. Wright, Storko, and Provinic are Communist Party members. Holmes, Lord, Cole, and Jones are Communist Party sympathizers.

232. Charles Rivers, Brooklyn, N. Y.: This man has been a Communist for years and has done organizational work in all types of organizations. He is now the paid organizer for the United Radio and Electrical Workers in the Brooklyn district.

233. Mike Petanavitch, New Britain, Conn.: This man is a member of the Communist Party and also a paid organizer for the United Radio and Electrical Workers Union.

234. Harry Kehner, Philadelphia and New York: This man is a Communist leader among the shipyard workers and he has received part-time work from the Independent Union from Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, which is a C. I. O. outfit.

Very recently a bad squabble was had at Philadelphia and Kehner played a prominent part.

235. Louis Basis, New York City: This man is manager of Local No. 165, International Woodworkers of America, a C. I. O. affiliate, located in New York City. It is reported that he is a Communist and he works very close with Sam Nessin, who is general organizer of the same local. Nessin is one of the Communist leaders and a member of the district committee of the Communist Party, New York, district No. 2.

236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, and 243. The following C. I. O. leaders and organizers in the St. Louis district have been vouched for from three separate individuals as being definitely connected with the Communist Party in St. Louis:

John Doherty, regional director, Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

Robert Logsdon, secretary and organizer for United Electrical and Radio Workers.

Julius H. Klyman, vice president, Newspaper Guild, C. I. O. outfit.

Christ Meinkoph, Steel Workers' Organizing Committee organizer.

Max Michelson, regional director, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Richard Brazier, organizer for Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Norman Smith, organizer for United Auto Workers.

Miss Clara Wernich: This woman is the district organizer of the Young Communist League, and her husband is the business agent of the C. I. O. Radio and Electrical Workers.

There is another man by the name of Fering, who is a leader in the Young Communist League and is connected on a salary with the C. I. O. Electrical Workers' Union of St. Louis.

244. — Jacoby, Pittsburgh, Pa.: This man is a paid organizer for the Architects, Engineers, and Draftsmen's Union of the C. I. O. He is a member of the Communist Party of Pittsburgh.

245. Abraham Flaxer, New York City, president, State, County, and Municipal Workers of America: This man, the head of a powerful C. I. O. union, is suspected of being a Communist, and he had continuously associated himself with the Communist groups, and on several committee tasks he lined up with Communist groups.

246. — McKinney, Negro, Youngstown, Ohio: This man is a prominent Communist in that city, and at times has been on the pay rolls of C. I. O., organizing among Negroes in that area.

247. Joe Cook, South Chicago, Ill.: This is another Communist Party member, who at times has been able to be placed on the pay roll of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee and get some C. I. O. money.

248. Louis Majors, New Castle, Pa.: Another prominent Communist in Pittsburgh area, who has been associated with Tom Meyerscough and others and is now one of the leaders in the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee.

249. Bruce Osborne, Chicago: This member of the Communist Party has managed from time to time to secure funds from the C. I. O. and Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, acting as a part-time organizer.

250. Fred West, California and Oregon: This prominent Communist is one of the leaders in the Alaska Cannery Workers' Union, which is now a C. I. O. outfit. It formerly was Federal Local 21095 of the A. F. of L.

251. Marcella Ryan, California: This woman is State secretary of the State Cannery Workers' Union; she is also a prominent member of the Communist Party in California.

252. Matt Savola, Ironwood, Mich.: This man is president of the Timber Workers' Union of upper Michigan. He has just been elected as president of the Labor Non-Partisan Political League, which is a C. I. O. stooge. Reports from upper Michigan state that Matt is supposed to be a prominent Communist also.

253. Merrill Jackson, U. S. A.: This party is an organizer for the Agricultural Workers' Union and is a prominent Communist of long standing.

254, 255, 256, and 257. James J. (Scottie) Mitchel, New York City; Fredo Casso, New York City; Frank Farrell, New York City; H. Levin, Philadelphia: These men are reported to be on the pay roll regularly for the United Shoe Workers' Union, which is a C. I. O. outfit. Sometime ago they were candidates on the Communist rank-and-file ticket of the Shoe Workers, New York district.

258, 259, and 260. George Carter, U. S. A.; Agapito Vigil, U. S. A.; J. T. Hardee, U. S. A.: These men are Communists and are on the pay roll as part-time organizers for the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, the C. I. O. unit that is Communist controlled.

261. Angie Gonzales, Tampa, Fla.: This woman is president of the Tampa Cannery Workers local and the Tampa, Fla., police department can verify the fact that she is a Communist.

263, 264, and 265. Pete Zenara, Cleveland; Al Balint, Cleveland; Pete Saline, Cleveland: These men, until a short time ago, were on the pay roll of the C. I. O. and Steel Workers Organizing Committee as organizers. They worked under Danich, the C. I. O. leader, at Cleveland. They are Communist Party members, and Balint is one of the leaders in Cleveland.

266. Matt Meehan, home, Portland, Oreg.: This man is secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. This is a C. I. O. outfit, and there are those in the Northwest who claim that Meehan is a Communist. This we cannot state definitely, but on June 22, 1938, quite an article appeared in the Communist People's World praising him. Before getting into the waterfront work he was mixed up in some radical work in connection with New England textile industry.

267, 268, and 269. George Stafford, New York City: Organizer, Local 80, Agricultural Workers.

Paul Arias, Colorado, editor, Spanish paper: Organizer for Agricultural Workers.

Henry B. Garcia, Fort Morgan, Colo.: Organizer, Agricultural Workers.

All three of these men at one time or another have admitted in public gatherings that they are members of the Communist Party.

270. Warren G. Denton, San Francisco, Calif.: Prominent in Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, C. I. O. outfit.

This man has just been elected president of the California group of the International Workers Order, which is the Communist insurance group. This election occurred July 24, 1938.

271. Harry Wohl, Chicago, Ill.: President Chicago Chapter, Newspaper Guild. Reports from Chicago have it that he is a member of the intellectual group of Communists.

272. Irving Meyers, Chicago, Ill.: Chicago representative Locals 24 and 78 of United Office and Professional Workers of America. This is a C. I. O. outfit and Meyers has attended secret Communist Party meetings.

273. Meyer Cohen, Chicago and San Francisco: This man is a Communist and has been a member of the instructor's staff of the Summer School for Office Workers, in San Francisco. Is on the staff of the School of Social Studies.

274. Irwin Elber, Chicago: This man is Communist Party member. During the latter part of July he attended a Communist Party gathering relative to social topics.

275. Abe Corman, Chicago, Ill.: Here is a man who will probably deny he is a Communist, but reports from Chicago are such that it is said that he is a Communist. Corman is president of the Chicago Public Library Employees Union, Local 188, State, County and Municipal Workers of America, C. I. O. outfit.

276. John Steuben, Youngstown, Ohio: One of the leading minor Communists of the United States. Has been on the Steel Workers Organizing Committee pay roll on several occasions.

Recently testified before the La Follette committee.

276. Walter Stack, San Francisco: Official of Marine Firemen and Engineers. Prominent member Communist Party.

277. Pat Callahan, California: Acting C. I. O. regional director of agriculture, northern California district. This man is a prominent party member. Delegate to Communist Party State convention, May 14-15, 1938, San Francisco.

278. Marie Gagnon, San Francisco, Calif.: Communist Party member. Representative of Cannery and Preserve Union, of San Francisco, Calif.

279. Roy Nollz, Oakland, Calif.: Member Communist Party. Handles Agricultural workers' press.

280. Sonia Baltrum, San Francisco, Calif.: Member Communist Party. Official in Textile Workers Union, C. I. O., San Francisco, Calif.

281. Jack Beralla, San Francisco, Calif.: Member Communist Party. Organizer, Cannery Workers, C. I. O.

282. William Sessions, Nanning, Calif.: Member Communist Party. Violated party rules; expelled December 1937. Organizer for Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, C. I. O. outfit.

288. Joseph Magliacano, New York City. This man is a member of the Communist Party of District No. 2, New York City, and he is also business agent of Local No. 149 of the Furniture Workers of America, which is the C. I. O. outfit.

Mr. FREY. I spoke to the committee, when I was reading over the list of C. I. O. organizations with Communist officers, of a man named Scherer. I want to read two letters, one to Scherer and one which he wrote.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those original letters, or copies?

Mr. FREY. These are not the original letters. These are copies, but I have seen the originals.

The CHAIRMAN. And you can state that those are true and correct copies of the original letters?

Mr. FREY. The originals are in the building of the American Federation of Labor, in the safe, at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FREY. Now, Mr. Scherer wrote this letter on the letterhead of the national office, Friends of the Soviet Union, October 14, 1931:

NATIONAL OFFICE FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION

(UNITED STATES SECTION)

Room 335, 80 East 11th Street

New York City

OCTOBER 14, 1931.

DEAR FRIEND: We received your letter of October 9 and were glad to learn that the central labor union appointed a committee to secure additional information about the proposed lecture.

It will be possible for me to speak at such a meeting. I returned several months ago from the Soviet Union and took pictures during my tour. I will be able to speak on the five-year plan, working conditions, living conditions and

will be glad to answer all questions raised. If the lecture is arranged, I have a small projector machine which I will take with me. No booth or operator is needed. All that I want is that you provide a curtain—any white sheet will do.

There is no charge for the lecture outside of the fare from New York. This can be taken up through a collection or provided for in advance, or any other way that you may suggest. I believe this can be worked out.

As to myself: I am at present the national secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union. In 1929 I was organizer for the Union of Technical Men, a union of engineers, draftsmen, etc., organized under the A. F. of L.

We are especially interested in arranging a talk in Newport because we have been asked by the Russian trades unions that when sending our delegation to secure a delegate elected by the workers of Newport. We were not able to arrange this for the delegation that has just left to be at the celebration of the fourteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution, but we will certainly try to arrange a campaign for the May 1 delegation. In this way a delegate will be elected by the workers of Newport to tour the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Russian trade unions and then to come back and report on the conditions that he found. This meeting can be a start for such a campaign.

Will you please take this up and let us know if you can arrange this meeting. The money matter is not the most important.

If you will work with your committee to popularize the meeting through leaflets, publicity in the press and announcements at union meetings, we may be able to take care of the fare.

Please let me hear from you.

Fraternally yours,

FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION,
MARCEL SCHERER, *Secretary*.

NOTE.—Letter sent to Newport, R. I. arranging for lecture to proselyte in the interest of Soviet Russia.

MR. THOMAS. Mr. Frey, who was that letter sent to?

MR. FREY. The name is not here.

MR. THOMAS. Who was it signed by?

MR. FREY. By Mr. Scherer. There are some cases, members of the committee, in which I should not give the name, because I am not going to put in the name of anybody who is leaving the Communist Party or who is not now a member of the Communist Party, to be placed in jeopardy by revealing their name either to the public or to their secret police, and they have a small but mighty OGPU in this country.

Here is a letter which Mr. Scherer received, and the original of this letter is also at the A. F. of L. headquarters. It was written by Helen Allison, of whom I will make no comments. It says:

JUNE 6, 1936.

M. SCHERER,

DEAR MARCEL: In regards to the A. F. of L. Engineers Union in Cincinnati, Levinson is okay to communicate with, and he should be able to give you full details about everything. He is with us and a member of the leading p. committee there. If you want an official report from the party on the Cincinnati outfit, I would suggest that you write to Phil Bart, 549 Main Street, No. 2, Cincinnati, Ohio, and ask him to forward answer through us. I think you should do this also because Levinson, while one of our leading people, does not always respond to such requests quickly enough. I have been unable to get the name and address of the post-office fellow as yet. They are hesitant to give this information and, therefore, have to work out with them some way that they can receive the mail properly.

HELEN ALLISON.

I have also here two letters which make it quite evident that Mr. Scherer was a very active man. In connection with the American

Communications Association, it is important because the policy of the Third International in infiltrating into a trade-union movement is to get control of the key industries. They believe that if they can control communications and the radio, suddenly they will close that fist of theirs and we will be unable to communicate with each other. They want transportation and they want the key industries.

Their first effort to organize another key industry was to get control of the United Mine Workers Union, of which Mr. John L. Lewis was president at the time.

He realized the danger and he made a terrific fight. He was able to have the constitution of the organization amended so that a member of the Communist Party cannot be a member of the United Mine Workers Union, and that provision is still in the constitution.

Perhaps no one made a more thorough study of Communist activities than Mr. Lewis did at that time, from 1920 to 1924, when he saw what it meant to the United Mine Workers. Some of that will be brought to the committee's attention on Monday.

The American Communications Association is not made up of a Communist membership, although they have Communist members. The trouble is that the control—that is, of ship radio—has come under the Communist group.

In this city there is a man named Hallett, Richard D. Hallett. When he discovered what this organization was, he resigned; and I want to put into the record Mr. Hallett's letter of resignation, which is addressed to Mr. Rathborne, the president of the association, whom I am informed, so far as the evidence indicates, outside of the Communist records themselves, is a member of the party.

When Mr. Hallett gave this letter to the press, the press did not reproduce all of it, and I want to put all of it into this record. I want the committee to have the full letter. It reads:

AN OPEN LETTER TO—

MR. MERVYN RATHBORNE,

*President, American Communications Association, C. I. O.,
New York, N. Y.*

DEAR SIR: Kindly consider this my resignation, not only as chairman but also as member of the American Communications Association, effective immediately.

Since I have been most active in the interest of A. C. A. since the very beginning of its organizing campaign in Washington, D. C., and since I was the second Western Union man in the entire country to join A. C. A., this action calls for some explanation.

When I signed my application for membership in A. C. A. on April 23, 1937, I bargained for unionism and unionism only. I definitely did not bargain to aid or comfort, or to support in any way, financially or otherwise, communism or any communistic agencies. However, during the 14 months of my chairmanship of Local 35-b, A. C. A., I have not only received communications from numerous pseudo-patriotic organizations asking support but have been strongly urged by numerous representatives of national office of A. C. A. to support these organizations. These aforementioned representatives of A. C. A. include Messrs. John Austin, William Pomerance, Ted Zittel, Joseph Kehce, and Dan Driesen.

The "pseudo-patriotic organizations" previously referred to include the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, which organization, by its very name, which conspicuously omits communism, appears to be of necessity, communistic. Moreover, among the national officers of this organization, are prominently mentioned the names of Earl Browder, presidential candidate of the Communist Party of America, and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party of America.

Another organization with which we are urged to closely cooperate is the Workers' Alliance of America, whose president and secretary are David Lasser and Herbert Benjamin, both well-known Communists.

Commenting on this, I think Mr. Hallett is mistaken. I have no evidence that David Lasser, the president of the Workers' Alliance, is a Communist. I have no proof that he is a Communist, but Herbert Benjamin, the secretary, is a well-known Communist.

MR. THOMAS. In regard to that, are you going to submit evidence in any detail at a later time in regard to the activities of the Workers' Alliance?

MR. FREY. I will give you the material on that bye-and-bye. Mr. Hallett's letter goes on to say:

Yet another group with which we are urged to be friendly, is the International Labor Defense, the president of which, is Vito Marcantonio, former Democratic (?) Congressman from New York, who has contributed much material to the Daily Worker, and who is the author of Labor's Martyrs, a booklet which undertakes to extoll the virtues of the notorious Sacco and Vanzetti, Communists, who were executed some years ago. The introduction to Labor's Martyrs, is written by William Z. Foster, former Communist Party candidate for President of the United States.

Still other organizations, which I place in the same category as the aforementioned Communist-led groups include, The Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy, the New Theater Group, and others, all of which would have us support what they quaintly choose to call "Spanish Democracy," as exemplified by Loyalist Spain.

Any informed person, knows full well, that the current war in Spain is nothing more or less than a struggle between communism and fascism and I consider communism much the greater of the two evils.

Communism, as you are probably well aware, Mr. Rathborne, is built around the program of Karl Marx, its founder, which program sets forth as one of its major objectives, government control of communications, which corresponds to the letter with the ultimate program of American Communications Association, and, in view of the above-mentioned communistic tendencies of American Communications Association, I hardly feel that it can be termed a "mere coincidence."

It is incorrect to assume that I have only recently become aware of these tendencies toward communism on the part of American Communications Association. I have opposed them from the very inception of the organizing campaign, and have on numerous occasions been taken to task by American Communications Association organizers for doing so.

One particular occasion which comes to mind in connection with my being taken to task because of my anticommunistic attitude is that occasion some months ago, when I stayed until 5 o'clock in the morning, in the room in the Ambassador Hotel, of Mr. Ted Zittel, former editor and whistle blower of the American Communications Association, editor of Peoples Press, arguing on the subject of communism—he in favor of it, and myself against it. During the discussion he warmly defended every communistic point brought up by me, but concluded the discussion by advising me that I was not to think of him as a Communist, but only as a "student" of communism. My own opinion is that he is not only a "student" but a "graduate cum laude" of communism, and I wish to state that although I cannot agree with any Communist, I have infinitely greater respect for a real honest to goodness arm-waving capitalist-hating Communist who proudly admits his identity, than I can possibly maintain for a left-wing radical, who to all intents and purposes, is a Communist, but who, because of his ulterior motives doesn't dare to sail under his true colors.

As I have previously stated, I have known these things for some time, but have not disclosed them, simply because I felt that if I ignored the attempts of the aforementioned organizations to sow the seeds of radicalism in local 35-B, and stuck strictly to unionism, along really democratic lines, then we in local 35-B could make progress and radicalism could not take root.

However, I have found that my beliefs with regard to holding radicalism in check were erroneous, as witness the case of Mr. C. W. Gravely, financial secretary of local 35-B, who has been the object of the rabble-raising abilities of

Mr. Dan Driesen, legislative representatives of American Communications Association, to such an extent that I now believe him to be a fanatic on the subject of unionism of the American Communications Association brand.

Mr. Gravely has for months been conducting a whispering campaign within local 35-B against me, and making statements inspired by Mr. Driesen to the effect that I am too conservative to be chairman of the American Communications Association, local 35-B, and has opposed me and my policies to such an extent that I am convinced he tried to "fix" our recent election of delegates to the American Communications Association convention which will open in New York July 18, 1938. The circumstances are as follows:

After we decided to hold the election at a meeting to be held on June 24, Mr. Gravely, prior to the meeting, actively campaigned for another member to run against me, for the delegateship. I do not quarrel over his right to campaign for the election of any member whom he sees fit to support, but I most certainly do question his tactics, in canvassing the membership as to how they intended voting, and, having discovered that many members intended to vote for me, in opposition to his wishes, seeing to it that these members did not receive a notice advising them when and where the meeting was to be held, thereby denying them their right to vote.

It is significant to note, that of our entire membership only eight people attended the meeting. I was defeated in the election by a vote of 5 to 3. When the results of the election became known, many of the members who had not been notified of the meeting registered complaints, both verbal and written.

Being at a loss as to what procedure to follow in ordering a new election held, I wrote to Mr. Dan Driesen, explaining the situation in full.

His answer of July 5, condones Mr. Gravely's tactics, and describes them as "An old American custom." Mr. Driesen's letter also states, and I quote him verbatim, "According to these same (national office) records, you have not paid your dues for November, December, January, February, March, May, and June. You have only paid dues for the month of April of this year. Your own standing therefore is deficient and I do not see how, under these circumstances you could have been a candidate. The rules governing this are very strict and the credentials committee at the convention certainly would not have seated you as an accredited delegate."

One quick glance at my union card reveals that I am in good standing, and that I have actually paid up six of the seven dollars which national office records show that I still owe. For your information, should you desire to check this statement, my membership card for 1937 shows me as paid up for November and December, and carries stamps Nos. 2358 and 2359 for these months. My 1938 card shows me as paid up for January, February, March, and April, and carries stamps Nos. 7065, 7860, 9824, and 9854.

Briefly then, Mr. Gravely's tactics and Mr. Driesen's letter were the final straws that broke the camel's back, and I feel that I can no longer continue either as local chairman or member of the American Communications Association, hence my action.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wanted to show you some posters of an antireligious character which come from Russia before the noon adjournment.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you take the first one that is posted on this board and explain it to the committee, and then proceed to explain the remainder?

Mr. FREY. This poster [indicating poster] was prepared at Moscow and was widely circulated in oriental countries. It was designed to stir up a Communist spirit.

This one [indicating] was used and was the most successful one in the campaign that led to the organization of so many Chinese in the Communist Party.

This one [indicating] speaks for itself. I cannot read Russian but I have had it translated. It is the Red Army, showing the saving of the world from the foes of communism and the Roman Catholic Church. Russian cartoonists for some reason seem to stress special

interest in showing His Highness the Pope, and you see him there. This one is a combination of the Russian idea of humor. There is a screen which screens the head of catholicism, sticking out its head, and with the military on which it depends for help, then you see these figures on the top of the screen [indicating]. The figure here [indicating] is the Virgin Mary and this is the Infant Christ, with two of the Wise Men bringing gifts, and here you see the hand of that figure moving them to capitalism, that figure meaning capitalism.

There is a Catholic priest swinging a censor.

There is also a cleric [indicating], who does not appear to be very happy, and that might indicate the Russian idea of a New England psalm singer.

This one [indicating] represents the Bolshevnik liberation of women. They claim they are the ones who liberated women.

Here [indicating] is a woman enslaved by the Greek Church, by the Roman Catholic Church, and by other churches, and the man who designed that probably saw the frescoes hang in the chapel of the cathedral in Padua.

This one [indicating] shows the Easter egg. The Easter egg also was a great feature in the Greek Church. Here is the Bolshevnik breaking the Easter egg [indicating]. Out of it flies His Holiness the Pope and capitalism and militarism. I do not know who the other figures are.

The smaller posters are much worse. As a matter of fact, I hesitate to show these to anyone, especially these two [indicating].

This shows [indicating] the consternation caused in heaven by the progress of the Red Army.

This [indicating] is the 5-year plan. This is the effect it had on Jehovah or on God [indicating].

The next one is the most frightful thing I have ever seen. The mind which could conceive such a horrible thing as that is a diseased mind [indicating]. That is one trouble with the Communists; they have become mentally diseased. I want you to look at that. This, in my opinion, is the most horrible thing that has ever been put on paper in connection with the Disciples [indicating], and yet the people who produced that, since their last convention, have extended the right hand of fellowship to Christian denominations in this country, claiming that as both the Communists and Christians have certain principles in common they should now solidify their ranks.

This shows the incident where Christ turned water into wine at the wedding feast at Cana. Not satisfied with wine apparently they have put a little still there. The translation of this language shows that it says the worst and wickedest man is Jesus Christ, that his name is Jesus Christ, the drunkard maker.

This one is not so much [indicating]. It is simply one dealing with mechanized Russia.

Here is one [indicating] showing God Almighty flying out in terror. Here is one [indicating] showing His Holiness the Pope, with the triple crown falling off of his head. There is capital and there is God [indicating].

This one is rather striking [indicating]. This shows modern Russian industry, and they are sweeping out God.

This one pattern here [indicating] was designed by the same artist and has the same general idea.

The committee has been wondering whether I had any evidence, and I am just beginning to show you what you will get before I get through.

There is the one showing the Red Army [indicating] clearing the world of God and of His Holiness the Pope.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to touch on the subject of communism and religion.

The sacrilegious and blasphemous posters of Russian origin just shown the committee justify brief reference to official statements made by Communists in Russia and in this country relative to morals and ethics and to religion.

In 1920 Lenin defined communistic ethics in a speech before the Young Communist League. His speech is reported in Religion (International Publishers). On page 44 we quote from Lenin's statement:

But is there such a thing as Communist ethics? Is there such a thing as Communist morality? * * * In what sense do we deny ethics, morals? In the sense in which they are preached by the bourgeoisie, which deduces those morals from God's commandments. * * * We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. We deduce our morality from the facts and needs of the class struggle.

And again we quote from Lenin:

Everything is moral which can serve the Communist Party. We hate Christianity and Christians. Even the best of them must be regarded as our worst enemies.

This conception of morals and ethics holds that the end justifies the means; that in communistic activities deception becomes a virtue.

It is not our purpose to discuss at any length the antireligious character of communism; but as the Communist Party is cooperating with the C. I. O. in every possible manner, and as the Communist Party has recently made a bid for Christian support, there is justification in calling attention to the record.

During the tenth national convention of the Communist Party of the United States, held in New York City, May 1938, it was decided to increase the membership by the enrollment of the members of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly those of the working class. Earl Browder said, in part:

Within the camp of democracy are included the great majority of the members of the Catholic Church. We Communists extend the hand of "brotherly cooperation" to them and express our pleasure of finding ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with them for the same economic and social aims.

He then referred to conditions in Spain and declared that—

The Communists are not against the Catholics of Spain. On the contrary, they are with them in their opposition to their disloyal shepherds and exploiters.

The people who issue that type of antireligious material now have the hardihood to extend the right hand of fellowship to Christian clergyman in this country on the ground that because they now believe that democracy, and the church does, and so on and so forth, there is a common bond of interest.

Mr. STARNES. They are also professors and lovers of peace in this country, are they not?

Mr. FREY. Well, in our experiences, as American Federation of Labor Trades Unions, we know just what their peaceful methods are.

To continue: Does Earl Browder forget the statement made in a recent issue of the Russian Communist newspaper "Pravada." In part Yaroslavsky, leader of the World Union of the Godless wrote:

An international antireligious center must be created with a view to assist the Communist Parties of each country in their increasing class struggle against religion and the priests—this struggle is a class struggle and is absolutely necessary.

Stalin has said:

Communism will bring about the natural death of religion. Religion is the opium of the people. Christianity and socialism have nothing in common.

Again Stalin says:

We carry on and will continue to carry on our propaganda against religious prejudices. The Communist Party can not be neutral toward religion and does conduct antireligious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice because it stands for science, while religious prejudices run counter to science, because all religion is something opposite to science. The party cannot be neutral toward the bearers of religious prejudices, toward the reactionary clergy who poison the minds of the toiling masses. Have we suppressed the reactionary clergy? Yes, we have. The unfortunate thing is that it has not been completely liquidated. Antireligious propaganda is the means by which the complete liquidation of the reactionary clergy must be brought about.

Bukharin, leader of the Communist International and editor of Pravada, in his book *The A. B. C. of Communism* says, in part:

All religions are one and the same poison, intoxicating and deadening the mind, the will, the conscience.

A fight to the death must be declared upon religion.

Our task is not to reform, but to destroy all kinds of religion, all kinds of morality.

There are some soft-hearted Communists who say that their religion does not prevent them from being Communists. They say that they believe both in God and in communism. Such a view is fundamentally wrong. Religion and communism do not go together either in theory or in practice. Between the precepts of communism and those of the Christian religion there is an impossible barrier.

In a booklet on religion recently issued from the Communist headquarters, New York City, it is said that—

The priests of every cult have their own way of deluding the masses; the Jewish rabbi, the Roman Catholic priest, the Russian Orthodox priest, the Mohammedan mullah, the Evangelist, the Baptist, and other ministers of religion, each has his own way of fooling the people. We must therefore convince the masses that communism and religion cannot go together, that it is not possible to be a Communist and at the same time believe in devils, or gods, in heavenly creatures, in the saints. It is impossible to be a Communist and at the same time go to church and listen to the lies of the priests and take part in the performance of religious rites, that is, give support to this religious hokus-pokus.

In the face of all this, Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, now offers to Roman Catholics the hand of fellowship and cooperation, and tells them there is nothing in communism contrary to Catholic teachings. In the same manner Mr. Browder and his official associates are endeavoring to sell communism to the clergymen of Protestant denominations.

It seems impossible that clergymen of any religious denominations could be deceived by any cunning Communist blandishments. The great moral precepts which have been taught by all Christian denominations, and by the Jewish Church, their beneficial influence in building up and strengthening personal character and in establishing ethical standards: the freedom for religious worship in the United States, as compared with religious liberty in Russia, are all so important to civilization, even-handed justice between men, and the maintenance of free democratic institutions that the purpose of communism must be understood clearly and definitely.

In bringing this reference to communism and religion to a close I want to place before the committee evidence that the purpose and machinations of communism as they relate to religion and religious institutions are well understood by those in responsible authority.

I desire to quote briefly from two outstanding authorities, one a great scholar, a teacher, and an administrator, and the other the venerable head of a great Christian denomination.

In an address at the University of Detroit, delivered June 7, 1938, by the Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., vice president of Georgetown University, this profound student of communism said in part:

The final objectives—overthrow of the American democracy in favor a minority dictatorship of one class and the gradual abolition of all religious belief—are to remain unchanged but masked behind copious olive branches heaped like a perfumed camouflage before the implacable visages of the concealed shock-troops. Entrance having thus been obtained into the inner citadel of confidence, the defenders thereof are to be intellectually disarmed by warmly commending their activities for the reform of acknowledged abuses. They are then to be cautiously enrolled to the banners of disguised collectivism by invoking the menace of fascism, and so persuaded to advance shoulder to shoulder with the exulting Marxists. Thus, the 65,000 members of the Communist Party of America hope to sway the emotions, organize the resentments and profit by the momentum of the millions of discontented and unemployed in the United States who normally would have small sympathy with the communist manifesto. But your experienced propagandist knows that an empty stomach has no ears—only a gnawing hunger for bread.

All this is in perfect keeping with Lenin's strategy. Did he not hate both democracy and Christianity, and so express himself unequivocally in many passages of those cherished instructions to his followers, deviation from which means disaster, even execution, for the dissenter? But, realist as he was, he foresaw that conquest of the world to his messianic vision of a despiritualized and mechanized humanity was impossible without the help of dupes and credulous liberals among his opponents. Therefore, in his *Collected Works*, volume XVIII, section 2, pages 44-45, he outlined the steps to be taken:

"To build a Communist society by the hands of Communists—this is a childish idea. The Communists are a drop in the ocean, a drop in the ocean of the people. They will only be able to lead the people along their path if they correctly define the path in the sense of a world historical direction. We shall be in a position to direct economic development if the Communists are able to build up this economic system by other hands, while they themselves will learn of this bourgeoisie and direct it along the path which they wish it to go."

Communist tactics have for years received the Vatican's attention. In his encyclical letter (*Divini Redemptoris*), His Holiness Pope Pius XI, in discussing the methods applied by Communists to win over the unthinking, under the subhead, "Distrust of Communist Workers," said:

On this point we have already insisted in our allocution of May 12 of last year, but we believe it to be a duty of special urgency, venerable brethren, to call your attention to it once again. In the beginning communism showed itself for what it was in all its perversity; but very soon it realized that it was thus

alienating the people. It has, therefore, changed its tactics and strives to entice the multitudes by trickery of various forms, hiding its real designs behind ideas that in themselves are good and attractive. Thus, aware of the universal desire for peace, the leaders of communism pretend to be the most zealous promoters and propagandists in the movement for world amity. Yet at the same time they stir up a class warfare which causes rivers of blood to flow, and realizing that their system offers no internal guarantee of peace, they have recourse to unlimited armaments.

Under various names which do not suggest communism they establish organizations and periodicals with the sole purpose of carrying their ideas into quarters otherwise inaccessible. They try perfidiously to worm their way even into professedly Catholic and religious organizations. Again, without receding an inch from their subversive principles, they invite Catholics to collaborate with them in the realm of so-called humanitarianism and charity; and at times even make proposals that are in perfect harmony with the Christian spirit and the doctrine of the church. Elsewhere they carry their hypocrisy so far as to encourage the belief that communism, in countries where faith and culture are more strongly entrenched, will assume another and much milder form. It will not interfere with the practice of religion. It will respect liberty of conscience. There are some even who refer to certain changes recently introduced into soviet legislation as proof that communism is about to abandon its program of war against God.

See to it, venerable brethren, that the faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived. Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid toward the triumph of communism in their own country will be the first to fall victims of their error; and the greater the antiquity and the grandeur of the Christian civilization in the regions where communism successfully penetrates, so much more devastating will be the hatred displayed by the goddess.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read there from one of the Russian leaders, Bukharin?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether it is a fact that he was one of the principal defendants in the last big Moscow purge or trial and was subsequently shot?

Mr. FREY. That is the record.

Now, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this brings one part of the matter that I desire to bring to your attention almost to a close. I have not completed reading a number of other letters having a bearing on that. It seemed to me that the subject that I desire to bring before the committee divides itself naturally into four divisions or four portions.

One, with the American Federation of Labor the reasons for its objection to the growth of communism—its activities to overcome communism.

Second, with the official policy of the Third International, so far as trade unionism is concerned and political action.

Third, the activities of the Communist Party in this country in their efforts to put the program of the Third International into effect.

And, fourthly, the extent to which the records will show that they have made progress.

Now, I would like, if I am to come before the committee Monday morning—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; at 10:30 o'clock.

Mr. FREY. To complete the matter that should have followed that first presentation.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Frey, will you be prepared to give us any data on the program of communism with reference to education and

government? You have given it to us briefly on the question of labor policies, or trade-unionism, and upon religion. I, as a member of this committee, am particularly interested in getting some information on their educational program in this country, on their attitude toward education, and on some of their activities in that field, in schools and colleges.

Mr. FREY. I have given attention to their educational activities, principally as a trades-unionist and a former president of a board of education. I shall bring before the committee the record of Communist control of the teachers' union in New York City, and name the names.

Mr. STARNES. We want that, and also their methods followed here in obtaining a foothold in the educational system in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, Mr. Thomas of this committee has had charge of considerable investigation of the committee in the New York area, and some time after your testimony, there will be given very specific information on that whole question, the question of the schools, to which you have referred.

Mr. THOMAS. It will also show the progress that Communists have made in the lower schools and in the colleges in and about New York City.

Mr. FREY. Because of my interest in some of these subjects, I occasionally go around to universities and even discuss economics with the students.

I have sat with members of the Communist cells in those universities. I know something about the extent to which the Communists have succeeded in winning the most loyal support of the young Americans who are going through our American educational institutions.

Mr. STARNES. Therein lies the greatest danger, the greatest menace, in my judgment.

There is another phase of communism which I wish to bring to the attention of the committee, and that is their attitude toward peace and war. On the one hand they preach peace, and league themselves with peace societies in this country, and yet they maintain in Russia the greatest army in the history of the world.

Mr. FREY. That evidence is not in Communist records. That evidence is more in foreign offices; it comes more from special writers. The Communists are probably as clever, if not more clever, propagandists than any who existed in the past. They have organized or helped to organize a large number of associations in this country. Just as Pope Pius XI calls attention to it, the purpose of the association seems to be a laudable one. They get in and build themselves up and gradually instill their own purpose into the association.

Mr. STARNES. That is the point that we want to develop.

They preach peace in this country and actively support these societies in this country because it is a laudable ambition of mankind to live in peace. Yet at the same time, in Russia, they maintain the largest and most powerful army probably in the history of the world.

Mr. FREY. Yes. They have preached unity from the beginning in the labor movement, and their idea of unity was to split the trade-union movement.

Mr. STARNES. With reference to their effect in government, is it not true that by the propaganda that they preach and the practices that they follow, in many instances they lay the groundwork for fascism and nazism as an antithesis to communism?

Mr. FREY. In my opening statement I called attention to the fact that it was the seizure of the manufacturing plants, particularly in the Milan region, by the Communists, which gave Mussolini the opportunity—

Mr. STARNES. Of the excuse.

Mr. FREY. Of saying, "I am the one who will save Italy from what followed in Russia as a result of the revolution."

It was the Communists who gave Mussolini his opportunity and enabled him to maintain, more than any other power, the hold he has.

The same thing is true in Germany. It was the infiltration of Communists among the German workers that led the large industrialists and the bankers to create Hitler, because Hitler did not create himself. It was all this fear of communism. So that the reaction to the international efforts of Communists has been dictatorship and the totalitarian state in other countries.

Mr. STARNES. And therein lies one menace to this democracy of ours.

Mr. FREY. And a very real menace. The Communist Party has acquired more power in the last 3 years—a thousandfold compared with what it had until it was able to use the C. I. O. The C. I. O. is not a Communist organization. Its chairman, John L. Lewis, is opposed to communism. But they hold a controlling part—not the majority—but they hold a very definite control over the policies and the methods and the tactics of the C. I. O. organizations at the present time, all of which will be submitted to you in the form of evidence.

Mr. STARNES. And that leads to a movement of our people in this country toward a strong-man government, or a stronger centralized government, or the placing of power in the hands of one person in order to combat the inroads of communism, thereby menacing constitutional representative democracy.

Mr. FREY. It menaces the structure and the form of our Government as we have become familiar with it, as I see it.

Mr. Chairman, if there is nothing more this morning, I shall return on Monday.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess until Monday morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until 10:30 a. m. Monday, August 15, 1938.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Honorable Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair wishes to state that at the conclusion of the testimony of Mr. Frey the other witnesses who will appear for organizations will have to understand that this committee has 25 or 30 witnesses under subpoena on the way here. Those witnesses will come from a long distance to testify with reference to specific facts, and after the conclusion of Mr. Frey's testimony the representatives of other organizations who have requested an opportunity to appear will have to give way to those other witnesses that will appear in order that we may dispose of them so that they may return to their homes as promptly as possible. There will be no definite order of procedure as to that in view of the fact that we do not know when the witnesses will arrive, but we will have to take them up when they do appear.

The Chair wishes to state that he has an important engagement at 11 o'clock and will have to leave at that time. However, Mr. Frey may go ahead with his testimony before the other members of the committee.

Mr. Frey, you may resume your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. FREY, PRESIDENT OF THE METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR— Resumed

Mr. FREY. Mr. Chairman, on Saturday I did not complete the introductory statement I had. I desired to discuss the question of communism and religion with the committee, and I would like now to complete what I had begun on Saturday afternoon, and then go into the major argument I desire to present.

I have here a letter written by Anthony C. Uccello, of New Britain, Conn., which was published in the National Republic. It was sent to the editor of that publication. I would like the oppor-

tunity to read it into the record as supplementary to the evidence I submitted here Saturday. The letter is as follows:

NEW BRITAIN, CONN., *October 11, 1937.*

NATIONAL REPUBLIC,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In resigning the presidency of Local 232, C. I. O., American Hardware Corporation, I felt it was my duty as an American citizen to stop being part of this Communist movement in New Britain.

In the beginning it was my belief that I had joined a bona fide American labor organization, but I have since awakened to the fact that the C. I. O. has on its pay roll Soviet agents hired to betray American laboring men and women.

The Communist Party of New Britain brought the C. I. O. here. I am convinced that it had some purpose in mind in doing so. For the first 6 weeks of the C. I. O. organization drive for members they expended money to start the movement until a member of the Communist Party was put on the pay roll as a full-fledged C. I. O. organizer. A week after I became president of Local 232 I was shocked to find that I was the recipient of the Communist Daily Worker. I received this paper for a period of 25 days, until I put an end to receiving it. This is further proof that the C. I. O. is working hand in hand with the Communist Party to betray the American people.

At one of our meetings a few weeks ago the speaker for the evening was none other than the great Connecticut agitator and Communist, Dr. Emily Pearson, of Cromwell. This is more proof that the Communists are trying to build a Soviet America.

At a State meeting I attended recently I had the misfortune to meet a C. I. O. organizer for office workers in New Haven, who tried to sell me the idea of holding a Communist school in my home. Up until that time we had been great friends, but when he proposed this plan our friendship ceased.

I want to say that there is an ulterior motive in the move to organize American labor under the C. I. O. I will never become a party to such a subversive force which is trying to destroy the labor movement in New Britain and our country, and I am going to fight this power as long as I have life in me. I know that any of you who are former members of the C. I. O. will aid me in my fight.

I heartily approve of Gov. Wilbur L. Cross in his endorsement of the move on the part of the American Federation of Labor in its stand against the C. I. O.

ANTHONY C. UCCELLO.

I might add that Mr. Uccello has not only resigned as president of the local union, but has also resigned as a member of the State committee of the C. I. O.'s Labor Nonpartisan League.

I also made the statement that William Sentner, who was the man who had charge of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America in the Maytag strike at Newton, Iowa, was a Communist. I have a little of his record here, but it will be enough for the purpose. He was ex-district organizer for the Communist Party, district No. 21, Missouri, and is now the organizer for the United Radio and Electrical Workers Union, affiliated with the C. I. O. His membership in the Communist Party dates back a number of years, and for a time he acted as section organizer in district No. 8 for the Communist Party. His activities covered Missouri and St. Louis in particular. He was organizer for the Food Workers Industrial Union, which was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, an organization formed by the Communist Party in this country a number of years ago with the object of burrowing from within and capturing the American trade-union movement. He has a police record because of his activities in connection with strikes. I am informed that he has just been taken out of Newton, Iowa, in charge of the Maytag strike, and that another Communist leader, James Lustig, has replaced him.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that, the committee is requesting the names of all known Communists in the United States, and we will have photostatic records of them obtained from police officers and other sources. Those photostatic records will be placed in the record so the public will have access to this information as to every known or definitely established Communist in the United States.

Mr. FREY. In connection with that statement, I have been asked why I did not submit a longer list of the members of the Communist Party who are serving as representatives of the C. I. O. organization. I did not submit the entire list. I have simply submitted up to this time the names of those I had best reason to believe were active members of the Communist Party.

I will now complete the first section of the introductory part of my statement by presenting the names of the new members of the national committee of the Communist Party in this country.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

Re New National Committee, Communist Party of United States of America.
Selected May 1938 at the National Convention of Communist Party, United States of America, held in New York City.

1. William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States of America.
2. Earl R. Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America.
3. Alexander Bittlemann.
4. Roy Hudson, in charge of organization among marine workers.
5. Jack Stachel, in charge of trade-union work.
6. James W. Ford, in charge of Negro work.
7. Charles Krumbein, State secretary for New York.
8. Israel Amter, State organizer for New York.
9. Clarence A. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker.
10. Max Bedacht, national secretary of the International Workers Order.
11. A. J. Berry, Negro organizer for Harlem.
12. Margaret Cowl, wife of Krumbein and head of the women's department at the national office.
13. Gene Dennis, formerly of Milwaukee but now head of the legislative committee of the national office.
14. Phil Frankfeld, State secretary for Massachusetts.
15. Rebecca Grecht, formerly New Jersey organizer but now working in the organization of the national office.
16. Anna Burlak, State secretary for Rhode Island and leader of textile workers. She is the daughter of a Ukrainian steel worker living in Bethlehem, Pa.
17. Robert Minor, well-known Communist correspondent.
18. Fred Brown.
19. Ella Reeve Bloor.
20. Patrick Toohey, organizer at Philadelphia.
21. Martin Young, organizer in Pittsburgh.
22. John Williamson, State secretary for Ohio.
23. Robert Hall, State secretary for Alabama.
24. Homer Brooks, State secretary for Texas.
25. W. J. Binkley, State secretary for Louisiana.
26. William W. Weinstein, State secretary for Michigan.
27. B. K. (Bill) Gebert, in charge of work among automobile workers for the national committee.
28. Wyndham Mortimer, vice president of the United Automobile Workers Union (C. I. O.), generally referred to during the convention sessions as Comrade Baker.
29. Morris Childs, State secretary for Illinois.
30. Jack Johnstone, of Chicago, in charge of organizational work in the steel industry.
31. Angelo Herndon, Negro who gained wide notoriety in the so-called Georgia Insurrection case.
32. Karl Ross, national secretary of the Young Communist League.

33. Sam Darcy, who is engaged on special work among farmers in Minnesota, as well as representative of the national committee in the Northwest.
34. Herbert Benjamin, national secretary of the Workers Alliance of America, who specializes on work among the unemployed.
35. V. J. Jerome, editor of the party monthly magazine *The Communist*.
36. William F. Dumm, State secretary for Montana.
37. Thomas Nabried, Negro of Philadelphia, now employed as an organizer by the C. I. O.
38. Ray Hansborough, former Chicago Negro preacher.
39. Morris Raport, district organizer for the States of Oregon and Washington.
40. William Schneidermann, State secretary for California.
41. Rose Wortis, a garment worker in charge of trade-union work in the New York district.
42. Steve Nelson, formerly section organizer in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and recently returned from service with the Loyalist forces in Spain.
43. Maude White, Chicago Negress, now doing party work in Cleveland.
44. Nat Ross, State secretary for Minnesota.
45. Harry Winston (Negro), executive secretary of the Young Communist League.
46. Gil Green, national chairman of the Young Communist League.
47. Joe Clark, State secretary for Oklahoma, who claims to be part Cherokee Indian.
48. Robert Wood, organizer for the State of Oklahoma.
49. Moissaye J. Olgin, editor of the New York Jewish Communist daily newspaper *Freiheit*.
50. Alfred Wagonknecht, State secretary for Missouri.
51. Jim Porter, State secretary for Iowa.
52. Max Saltzman, organizer, Kansas City, Mo.
53. Peter Cacchione, organizer for Brooklyn, N. Y.
54. Alex Markoff, director of the New York Workers School, a former dentist.
55. ——— Mindell, also a former dentist and a director of the Communist National Training School.
56. Earl A. Welch (Negro), State secretary for Tennessee.
57. Alexander W. Trainor, State secretary for Florida, a former war objector and General Electric Co. worker in Schenectady, N. Y.
58. Louise Thompson (Negress), former teacher in the Y. W. C. A. in New York City.
59. John Sloan, Carbondale, Ill., organizer among coal miners and in charge of the Carbondale Communist section.
60. Harrison George, brother-in-law of Earl R. Browder, and editor of the Communist daily newspaper, the *People's World*, of San Francisco.

In presenting these names, I wish to add a word of comment as to some of them.

First, William Z. Foster, the national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States of America: This William Z. Foster was once a representative of the American Federation of Labor. Twenty years or more ago he did some work for the federation in Chicago, and in 1919 he was made chairman of the steel-strike committee for the American Federation of Labor, which had organized the steel workers. There was a strike. The strike was lost. There were several contributing reasons, one of them being that William Z. Foster at that time made the strike headquarters of the steel workers a Communist center.

Earl R. Browder is the secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, and I will go into documentary evidence with reference to Browder later on.

The next is Roy Hudson, who has been in charge of the organization of the Marine Workers Union. He is a Communist, and they have had their way so far as organizing these maritime workers were concerned. Later I will quote from Mr. Hudson to some extent,

and I doubt whether any question will be raised as to the accuracy of the quotations, because they will come from the Daily Worker, which is the official organ of the Communist Party.

Jack Stachel, in charge of trade-union work for them, has been in Cleveland recently. He has been in contact there with members of the Communist Party who testified later on before the La Follette committee. He has also been present at meetings of the American Federation of Labor. He is a representative of the Communist Party doing trade-union work for them.

James W. Ford is in charge of Negro work, and was nominated for vice president by the Communists.

Charles Krumbein is the Communist Party's State secretary for New York, and Israel Amter is State organizer for New York.

Clarence A. Hathaway is the editor of the Daily Worker, and Max Bodacht is the national secretary of the International Workers Order. That organization has quite a large membership and carries on a part of the propaganda work of the Communist Party.

A. J. Berry is the Negro organizer of the Communist Party for Harlem.

Gene Dennis, formerly of Milwaukee, is now head of the legislative committee of the national office of the Communist Party.

Patrick Foohey is an organizer at Philadelphia. For some time he was actively associated with John Brophy during the time they were trying to build up the dual union of the United Mine Workers. Later on I will quote from a statement he made in Pennsylvania recently having marked political significance.

William W. Weinstone is the State secretary of the Communist Party for Michigan. He has never received or held any position that I know of with the United Automobile Workers Union, and he has never been on the pay roll of the C. I. O., but he was in charge of all the Communists who worked as organizers of the United Automobile Workers Union.

B. K. Gebert was also in charge of work among the automobile workers for the National Communist Committee, and later you will hear more concerning him.

Wyndham Mortimer became a member of the national committee of the Communist Party while still one of the vice presidents of the United Automobile Workers Union committee, and mentioned in press reports as having been expelled recently, among several others.

Morris Childs, a State secretary for Illinois at Chicago, was actively in charge of organizing steel workers, so far as the Communist group of organizers was concerned.

Angelo Herndon, as you may recall, figured in the famous case that arose in Georgia. He was found guilty of seditious activities.

Karl Ross is the national secretary of the Young Communist League.

Herbert Benjamin is the national secretary of the Workers Alliance of America, which specializes in work among the unemployed. Later on I will submit to the committee some detailed material concerning the Communist element that has apparently secured dominance of the Workers Alliance of America.

Moissaye J. Olgin is the editor of the New York Jewish Communist daily newspaper, the Freiheit, published at New York City.

Alex Markoff is the director of the New York Workers School, and was formerly a dentist.

The next one is Mr. Mindell. I do not have his first name. He is also a director of the Communist National Training School.

Alexander W. Trainor is the State secretary for Florida.

Harrison George, who is a brother-in-law of Earl R. Browder, is editor of the Communist daily newspaper called the People's World, published at San Francisco.

Referring to the secretariat of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States, three members of the national committee compose this special committee which is, without a doubt, the highest governing group in the party work. This committee is composed of Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, and Max Bedacht.

The political bureau of the general committee of the Communist Party is a group of 11 members of the general committee. This is the strongest large unit committee that handles party work. It is composed of the following: William Z. Foster, Earl R. Browder, Alexander Bittlemann, Roy Hudson, Jack Stachel, James W. Ford, Charles Krumbein, Israel Anter, Clarence A. Hathaway, Max Bedacht, and Arthur J. Berry.

The central control commission of the national committee of the Communist Party handles all of the discipline and matters pertaining to the same among the thousands of members of the party in this country. The new commission is composed of Charles Dirba, Alexander Trachtenberg, Abe Binba, William Weiner, and Sam Don.

Margaret Cowl is the head of the women's department of the national committee.

The American Federation of Labor recognized the menace of communism since it first showed itself in this country. It had long been familiar with the danger of socialism. When the Communists came, with their more active propaganda and much more thorough organization, the American Federation of Labor informed its membership as best it could as to what the Communist Party meant, what its purpose was, and what the result would be if it secured control.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I understand that two of the investigators for the La Follette committee are here, and, in view of the fact that the people in the back of the room cannot hear the testimony, it seems to me only proper that you should invite them to the front where they can get the full import of what is being given.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, they are welcome to sit in the front row if they desire.

Mr. FREY. Continuing my statement, those convictions were expressed by President Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor, through the American Federationist publication and through publications of the international unions. Perhaps the most complete statement which was submitted was prepared by the United Mine Workers of America, and it was printed as Senate Document No. 14 of the Sixty-eighth Congress. Because I find this statement as satisfactory as any which has come to my attention, I want to read excerpts from the statement contained in this Senate document [reading from the document]:

The United Mine Workers of America with this article begins an exposé of the Communist revolutionary movement in America, as promoted and fostered by the Communist International at Moscow, and dealing with it as it involves the

welfare of the miners' union, and other similar labor organizations, and the interests of the American people as a whole.

The purpose and object of the United Mine Workers of America in bringing to the attention of the American people the far-reaching and intensive activities of the Communist organization in this country is twofold. The United Mine Workers of America wants the public to know what this thing is. It wants the public to know something about the fight which the miners' union is waging to stamp it out. First, it desires to reveal and make known the sinister and destructive groups and elements attempting to "bore from within" its own ranks and membership and to seize possession of the organization, and through such seizure to later gain possession of all legitimate trade unions; second, to inform the American people of the scope and purport of the hostile and inimical movement being carried on within their midst. * * *

The major points in this revolutionary program of the Communists as aimed against the United Mine Workers of America and other legitimate trade-unions and the people of the United States and Canada are:

1. Overthrow and destruction of the Federal, State, and Provincial governments, with the elimination of existing constitutional forms and foundations.

2. Establishment of a Soviet dictatorship, absolute in its exercise of power, owing allegiance to and conceding the authority only of the Communist or Third International at Moscow as a "governmental" substitute.

3. Destruction of all social, economic, and political institutions as they exist at this time.

4. Seizure of all labor unions through a process of boring from within them, and utilizing them as a strategic instrument in fulfillment of their revolutionary designs upon organized and constitutional government.

5. Invasion of the United Mine Workers of America, with the ouster of its present officials and leaders and the substitution of a leadership of Communists, that it may be used as an instrumentality for seizing the other labor unions of America, and for eventually taking possession of the country.

6. A well-organized movement is being promoted within the 4 railroad brotherhoods and 16 railroad trade-unions to amalgamate all railroad workers into "one departmentalized industrial union" controlled by a single leader of Communist principles and affiliation and owing allegiance to the Communist organization.

7. Seizure of the American Federation of Labor, with the ouster of its officials, and through such seizure gaining control of all its affiliated units and trade-unions.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Frey, is it because of the ease with which Communists can bore from within in industrial unions that it attempts to sabotage industrial unions and substitute another form of union for them?

Mr. FREY. Not all together. There are various reasons, one being the fact that in the mass-production industries, a majority of the workers being the so-called semiskilled and common-labor class, if they can be gathered in a convention, with a majority, the skilled workers would be forced to go along with them, willy-nilly.

The eighth point in this report is prophetic. It was written in 1924, as follows:

8. Conversion of all craft trade-unions into single units of workers within an industry known as "industrial unions," with coordination under a super-Soviet union owing allegiance to, and accepting the mandates of, the Communist International and its subsidiary, the Red Trade Union International, at Moscow.

At that time the N. R. A. had not invented the term "vertical" as applied to the industrial form of union. That "vertical" and this industrial union are the same.

Now, reading further from the report:

Immediately before the start of the miners' strike on April 1, 1922, the sum of \$1,110,000 was sent into the United States, by way of Canada, from Moscow for the purpose of enabling the Communist agents to participate in the strike. Behind this move was the scheme to overthrow the leadership of the union and

then convert the strike into an "armed insurrection" against the Government of the United States.

The massacre of the strikebreakers at Herrin, Ill., was engineered by these Communist agents "firing from within" the miners' union. According to their own statements, they were engaged for 7 weeks beforehand in their preparations for a tragic occurrence of this kind at some point in southern Illinois as a means to "arousing the workers to revolutionary action." Details of this incident will be disclosed in a subsequent article of this series.

In the coal fields of southwestern Pennsylvania, where the strike started by orderly process, mine plants, tunnels, and power-transmission lines were blown up, the homes of miners were wrecked, and men were beaten or injured by these Communist agents in an effort, under the instructions of Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Communist International, to arouse "The revolutionary spirit of the workers and prepare them for the coming revolution in America." All of these things show what American employers would have to deal and contend with if the Communist plans were to succeed and the present legitimate American labor movement were weakened or destroyed.

Three times in 3 years the Bolshevik leaders at Moscow have attempted armed insurrection and revolution in the United States. The first instance was in connection with the steel strike in 1919; the second was in the "out-law" switchmen's strike in 1920; and the third was in the railroad and coal strikes in 1922. In the strikes of 1922 these Communist agents were arrayed as much against the leaders and officials of the miners' and railroad unions as they were against other loyal citizens of the Nation.

In each of these strikes the Communist agents, working under instruction which originated at Moscow, have sought to turn them into revolutionary uprisings that would accomplish the overthrow of government in America and establish in its place a proletarian dictatorship that recognized and accepted only the mandates of the Communist International.

The "thesis of tactics," adopted by the Third World Congress of the Communist International, at Moscow, says:

"From the very first day of its establishment, the Communist International has distinctly and unambiguously devoted itself to the purpose of participating in the trade-unions and in the struggles of the laboring masses, and of conducting this struggle on a Communist basis, and of erecting during the struggle great revolutionary Communist mass parties, waiving the idea of the formation of small Communist sects for the attainment of influence upon the working class solely by agitation and propaganda." * * *

They have been particularly active in trying to "bore from within" the United Mine Workers of America for the reasons that it is the largest single-labor organization in the country, includes a larger number of races and nationalities among its members, and is the nearest approach, in their opinion, to a one big union, which is their ideal conception of a labor union, and their objective for all labor unions.

Mr. MASON. The part you have just read is the answer to the question I propounded a while ago, as to the reason for Communists seizing upon United Mine Workers of America and taking that as their first major objective.

Mr. FREY. Yes, sir. [Reading further:]

In this attempt these Communists have met with the determined opposition of President Lewis and other strong leaders of the miners' union, who are determined that the union shall not be converted into a Bolshevik institution. * * *

In these unions they have recognized an opportunity to get in close contact with the labor masses, establish relations and connections with them, and imbue them with hatred and hostility toward the existing orders of things. For this reason, the Communist Party of America, with its allies—the Workers Party of America, the Trade Union Educational League, and the Friends of Soviet Russia, under the instructions of the Communist International and its subsidiary, the Red Trade Labor Union International—is using all of its industrial contacts to segregate and restrict the control and management of the trade-unions in the hands of its leaders and official groups. * * *

The program of action of the United Communist Party, which was accepted and affirmed in slightly diluted form by the Communist Party of America

in the convention at Woodstock, N. Y., in 1921, and later accepted with slight variations by the Workers Party of America known as the "legal branch" says:

"The United Communist Party considers as one of the most serious and immediate problems the question of the best method of breaking up the bureaucratic control and transforming the union structure into a machine of revolutionary action. The United Communist Party confirms the present necessity of militant workers remaining with the large mass of organized workers, regardless of the reactionary aims of the unions, and, by determined and coordinated strength, turning these unions to the revolutionary cause. The United Communist Party, section of the Communist International, is the instrument or that coordination of the revolutionary work within the unions."

Compulsion and force is to be applied to industrial workers to move them to become Communists, according to the doctrines of the Communist Party of America. Its adherents are told:

"Obviously, many nonrevolutionary workers must be taken into the most revolutionary of unions, even compelled to join against their wills."

Conducting and promoting the revolutionary campaign in the United States is a secret party organization, directed and controlled by representatives of the Communist International. This is the Communist Party of America. It is purely a revolutionary organization, and makes no pretence at legality. It boldly proclaims to its members that it is the "illegal" party, and designates itself as such. Technically, it is known as the "underground" party. This party has at its head the supreme executive revolutionary committee in America, responsible only to Lenin, Zinoviev, and other officials of the Communist International. It does not recognize any superior power or agency in the United States. Its work is done secretly; the identities of its officials and leaders are concealed behind assumed names. Its letters and records are in code letters and numerals. Its members are accepted only after investigation and examination, and remain on probation for a period of 6 months before they are received into full membership. Its meetings are held secretly, with the participants gathering at a preliminary rendezvous and proceeding to an assembly room known in advance only to the leader.

On the surface, working partly in the open, is another revolutionary organization, known as the Workers Party of America, and created, under instructions from the Communist International, by the Communist Party of America. It is known as the "legal" party. Its primary purpose is to shield the "underground" or "illegal" party, and conceal the revolutionary activity of the real Soviet agents in America. The mission of this party is fundamentally the same as that of the Communist Party of America, i. e., to overthrow the Government of the United States, and establish a Bolshevik regime.

Joined with these two revolutionary parties, and assisting them as one of their direct subsidiaries, is an alleged labor-union movement, "boring from within" the American Federation of Labor and seeking to seize and destroy it, and enmesh the trade-unions of the United States in the Bolshevik movement, and conquest of the United States. This organization is the Trade Union Educational League, headed by William Z. Foster, with headquarters at Chicago.

This league is cultivated and promoted by the organizers and agents of the Communist and Workers Parties, and is the direct instrumentality of Lenin and Zinoviev, of the Communist International, and Losovsky, of the Subsidiary Red Trade Labor Union International, for amalgamating the labor unions into the world revolutionary movement of the Communists.

Through this organization the revolutionary leaders in America are making a Nation-wide attempt to obtain control of the American Federation of Labor, reorganize the craft unions on the basis of "one big union" in an industry, and weld them into the central revolutionary agency in America.

Working in conjunction with the two Communist parties is another politico-industrial instrumentality, the Friends of Soviet Russia, an organization whose aim is to give free lectures to disseminate and propagate communistic and disloyal doctrines, designed to undermine the American Government, destroy the confidence of the people in its principles and foundation, and prepare the way for a Soviet, or "proletarian" dictatorship.

The Friends of Soviet Russia is purely a communistic enterprise reorganized from the American Labor Alliance, and through the latter agency controlled and directed by the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America. It has been, and is, one of the effective agencies of the Communist

groups distributing disloyal and revolutionary doctrines and propaganda among the immigrant masses in America, promoting labor unrest and discord, and seeking to induct the foreign residents of the country into the Trade Union Educational League, the Workers Party of America, or other revolutionary agencies and instrumentalities under the control of the Communist Party of America.

Active among the "intellectual" classes of the country, and posing as a champion of the "liberties of speech, press, and assembly," is the American Civil Liberties Union at New York. This organization is working in harmony and unity with the Communist superstructure in America, engaged in the dissemination of radical utterances and propaganda, and conducting a Nation-wide campaign for the liberation of Bolshevik agents and disloyal agitators who have been convicted under the wartime laws, or the syndicalist laws of different States, for unpatriotic or revolutionary activities. It is the successor of the American Union Against Militarism, which consistently opposed the Military Draft Act during the war and gave comfort and assistance to the conscientious objectors who resisted military service.

While offering aid to scores of individuals who have been arrested or convicted for violation of national or State laws, it has not in any single instance come to the assistance of a man or woman who did not profess radical sentiments, or who was not allied with the Communist, the anarchist, the revolutionary, or the radical movements in America.

Fifty-two persons, holding a total of 325 directorates in 45 organizations, are in control of the radical and revolutionary campaigns now being waged in this country. A systematic examination of the directorates of these organizations reveals the fact that they interlock into almost a single whole. While the ultraradical and discreet "liberal" groups meet occasionally, there is no real gap or breaking point, and in their general aspects they are fused into a united effort, giving mutual support to each other in their numerous activities. It is in this interlocking arrangement and mutual cooperation that the most insidious and dangerous aspect of the Communist movement in America is found.

The key to the ultraradical movement in America, as promoted and fostered by the Communist leaders at Moscow, is found in this interlocking arrangement. Through this mechanism these Communist groups interlock also with the Communist International and the Red Trade Labor Union International at Moscow, so that the revolutionary movement in America is the direct offspring and agency of the Communist regime in Russia for the purpose of seizing and possessing themselves of the American Continent through the mediumship of revolution inspired and conducted from the stronghold of bolshevism on the other side of the Atlantic.

The details of this interlocking arrangement, together with the details of the Communist activities in this country as they relate to the United Mine Workers of America and to other labor organizations, will be set forth in the succeeding articles.

* * * * *

Officials of the miners' union had known for a long while that the time was approaching when the strength and cohesion of their organization would be sorely tried. It was recognized by them that if a condition arose before April 1, which made it seem reasonably likely that a strike would wreck the miners' union, it would not be unwelcome to some of the nonunion and other interests in the coal industry. In fact, if responsibility for the upheaval could be shifted to the shoulders of the union, they might quietly agitate matters so that a strike would result.

Some of the coal-producing interests were chafing under the existing agreement with the union, and it was manifest that they would welcome any move that promised to put them on an open-shop basis.

These facts were well known to the officials of the Communist International at Moscow, and to their American advisers and emissaries who were visiting them frequently for purposes of consultation about industrial and political matters in America.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Communist International, secretly instructing his American agents early in 1922 to foster and encourage the threatened breach between the operators and the mine workers. With the strategy of a field marshal Zinoviev sent the following instructions from Moscow to Communist agents in the United States a few weeks before the start of the miners' strike on April 1, 1922:

(Quoting now from Zinoviev:)

"The central executive committee of the Communist Party of America must direct its particular attention to the progress of the strike of the miners of America.

"Agitators and propagandists must be sent to the strike regions.

"It is necessary to arouse striking coal miners to the point of armed insurrection. Let them blow up and flood the shafts. Shower the strike regions with proclamations and appeals. This arouses the revolutionary spirit of the workers and prepares them for the coming revolution in America."

These brief instructions contain the whole Communist attitude toward the strike. They show that the prime purpose was to bring about disorder, violence, and riot which could be charged up against the United Mine Workers of America.

May I say that what I have just read of Zinoviev's instructions seems to apply foursquare with the activities of the Communist representative of the Radio Workers Union in connection with the Maytag strike in Newton, Iowa

Mr. MASON. And, Mr. Frey, may we also ask whether the prophecies and the policies as outlined in that Senate document, and prepared by the United Mine Workers of America, have not come true in the methods, in the manner, in the objectives of the C. I. O. in 1937 and 1938?

Mr. FREY. Very largely, where Communists were able to secure directive position.

I quote again:

Participation of the Communists in the strike started with their going quietly into the coal regions and pretending to cooperate with the officials of the union until it was manifest that the cessation of work was complete. Then they started broadcasting these regions with incendiary and inflammatory circulars, many of which were designed to breed distrust and suspicion of union officials among their followers. The more revolutionary of these documents originated at Cleveland, where the Communist organization had concentrated the sum of \$1,116,000, sent into the country by Zinoviev and his associates, for the purpose of financing the participation of their agents in the strike.

* * * * *

Late in 1920 the Communist coterie at Moscow decided to launch a new movement in America to capture the trade-unions. Their effort through their political branches to bring about an uprising in conjunction with the steel strike in 1919 and the "outlaw" switchmen's strike in 1920 had resulted in failure. Samuel Gompers, with stinging denunciation, had driven back the wave of communism in the unions. In only one industry, the so-called needle trades, had the Communist movement met with any degree of success, but these organizations were isolated from the rest of the labor movement.

It was therefore manifest that victory in America could not be achieved solely through the mediumship of the existing Communist political units. A readjustment was necessary, and it was made. A separate organization, fashioned as a national labor movement, intended to work within the unions as a part of them—employing the process of "boring from within"—was put into the field. Samuel Gompers, they hoped, would be overwhelmed by it, for it was apparent that with his unyielding opposition the American Federation of Labor could never be seized or controlled by them as long as he remained in it.

With these objects in view, Zinoviev, Losowsky, and Lenin proceeded during the next 12 months to organize the Trade Union Educational League. This project was put under the control of and made amenable, as far as its work was concerned, to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, and it remains so today. William Z. Foster was selected to lead this movement. In the spring of 1921 he went to Russia, and the understanding was that he went there to get his instructions for the organization of the Trade

Union Educational League, gather facts about the Communist work in Soviet Russia, the functioning of Communist ideas and theories, and learn how the officials of the Communist International wanted these ideas and theories applied in America through the Trade Union Educational League.

In Moscow, Foster was officially designated, according to Lenin's confidential messages to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, to lead the new "boring from within" movement in America. Their object was twofold. The Communist drive against the labor unions in America would be fortified and strengthened, and they would be put on a more practical and effective basis for taking advantage of a coal strike, if it took place in the spring, to bring about the armed insurrection than they had been in the steel and switchmen's strike.

Foster began to exploit the Trade Union Educational League immediately on his return in November 1921, saying that its purpose was to "assist in hastening the natural evolution of the labor movement from a craft to an industrial basis." He said that the purpose of his new venture was to lay the foundation for the reorganization of all labor unions into an industrial "one big union."

Foster called his first meeting of the Trade Union Educational League in Chicago on October 31, 1921, and there presented the mandate of the Red Trade Labor Union International, empowering him to form a strong political revolutionary union in the United States, promoted through the agency of the shop steward committees. This plan is diametrically opposed to the policy of the American labor movement. His activity, he said, would not be confined to general Communist propaganda but to special work in the formation of the activities of the American section of the Red Trade Labor Union International. He announced that he would launch a new revolutionary publication in the English language to aid him in his work.

Foster's first official announcement, a revolutionary document attacking the craft-union idea, and calling for the formation of a new movement to supplant existing craft unions with industrial unions, or a one big union, was issued on February 10, 1922. One week later Foster issued a second letter, with a "Call to action." He said that existing unionism is obsolete and backward, and that "militants must definitely and finally rid themselves of the dual union secessional movement that has negated their efforts for so long," and, further, that "they must thoroughly organize themselves within the trade unions for the effective application of their boundless energies and dynamic programs." He said that the Trade Union Educational League proposed to develop craft unions from "their present antiquated and stagnant condition into modern, powerful labor organizations capable of waging successful warfare against capital."

When the miners' strike started on April 1, 1922, Foster and his coterie were ready to inject themselves into the situation and start their militant campaign as it had been outlined in Moscow, and developed in detail by himself and the Communist organization in this country. Foster was now the great industrial organizer of the Communist movement in America, with direct connection and contacts with the Communist International and its field general in command of the campaign to capture the American unions.

Loyal assistance was forthcoming from the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America. Instructions sent out on the eve of the coal strike were—

And the Senate document now quotes the Communist instructions, which I read:

"In view of the threatened strike of the miners, the central executive committee has worked out the following plan of activity for the organization. The national industrial organizer has been placed in complete charge of all phases of the coal situation. He is to utilize to the fullest extent all his open connections in the union with the view of uniting all the left elements for co-ordinated support of the miners in the event of a strike. In this emergency the national industrial organizer has authority to appoint assistants without waiting for the confirmation of the C. E. C. (Central Executive Committee). All party channels are at the disposal of the industrial organizer for this purpose. All district organizers must carry out instructions without delay. Through our legal organ we will wage a campaign to win the railroad workers to the

idea of refusing to carry seab coal. Throughout the struggle all our papers in No. 1 (Communist Party) and No. 2 (Workers Party) will be kept fully informed of the activities and developments of the situation. The national industrial organizer is preparing a leaflet and a detailed plan of operation for all our nuclei.

* * * * *

The United Mine Workers of America in continuing the revelations of the Communist revolutionary movement in America as it relates to the miners' union and other labor organizations, presents here the facts in the conspiracy which caused the loss of the lives of 22 men at Herrin, Ill., on June 21, 1922.

The United Mine Workers of America, as an organization, has been mercilessly attacked and condemned for the Herrin massacre when, in fact, the miners' union was in no manner responsible for what took place. This revolting, inexcusable, terrible crime was fomented, promoted, and caused solely by Communists. It was a carefully planned affair, schemed with all of the diabolic cruelty and disregard for law that characterizes the activities of the Communist movement.

Participating in the events which led to the slaughter of these men were 67 members—virtually all of them of Lithuanian nationality—of the local chapter, in the town of Herrin, of the Communist Party of America, together with 19 other Communist agents and organizers who had been sent in from Chicago by the Communist organization for the purpose of arousing the local Communists, and precipitating an attack upon the strip mine of the Southern Illinois Coal Co.

All of the 67 local Communists, as well as the 19 imported agents, were members of what is known as the Bolshevik Lithuanian branch of the Communist Party of America. They accept the decisions of the Communist International, proclaim allegiance to the Communist Party of America, and adhere to its mandates and party principles.

For more than 7 weeks preparations had been in progress in Franklin and Williamson Counties, in southern Illinois, to bring about the attack upon the strike breakers and armed guards who were at the strip mine after the coal strike started on April 1. Violence, disorder, and trouble were rampant in southwestern Pennsylvania. Communist groups in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago were active in their efforts to cause the strike in southwestern Pennsylvania to expand and grow into a great revolutionary movement in which the original causes for the cessation of work in the mines would be lost sight of, and an armed insurrection, having for its purpose the establishment of a Bolshevik regime or dictatorship in this country, and enforced recognition of the Russian dictatorship and the Communist International, would be brought about.

The plan was to have simultaneous uprising in southern Illinois, and, if possible, in the vicinity of Bellaire, Ohio, which was also a hotbed of Communist agitation and propaganda, and in the region surrounding Uniontown, Pa.

A telegram sent to the local union officials at Herrin by President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, placing the workers of the strip mines in the category of "strike breakers," was shrewdly twisted and distorted, according to the boast of the Communist leaders at Chicago, into an "invitation" to attack the strip mines and the workmen employed there.

Officials of the United Mine Workers had no intimation that an attack upon the strip mines was contemplated, or that a conspiracy within the Communist Party of America existed at the time to precipitate a tragedy, such as took place on the day after the telegram of President Lewis was received.

Headquarters for the participation of the Communists in the miners' strike in Illinois, Indiana, and northern and central Ohio was at Chicago.

William Z. Foster was the dominating figure in the situation. Through the medium of the strike he proposed to gain a strong foothold in the miners' union for the recently organized Trade Union Educational League, and to convert the miners' union into a "one big union" center around which would gradually be mobilized the trade unions of America, reorganized in accordance with this idea.

* * * * *

Collection of money from the American people for the promotion of the revolutionary movement in this country has become an organized industry in the last 2 years.

The sum which is being annually derived in this manner runs into millions of dollars, with only an approximate idea as to its aggregate. In addition, millions of dollars are being sent over from Moscow and other Bolshevik centers in European capitals.

The United Mine Workers learns from an authoritative source that the money from abroad is coming in through the usual international banking channels, originating in Moscow, Berlin, or Stockholm, and that it is distributed to the accounts of various individuals in different banks after it reaches this country.

Part of the money with which the Communists have attempted to get control of the United Mine Workers has been collected from the miners themselves in the belief that it was to be used in the upbuilding and strengthening of their organization, and for entirely legitimate purposes.

One such collection agency as this is known as the Miners' Relief Conference, a Communist enterprise that has been operating in the Pittsburgh region since last August. The conference has been one of the most important channels through which money had filtered into the Communist organization for destructive work within the miners' union.

* * * * *

The scheme by which it was proposed to set this strike going was to induce President Lewis to reestablish the strike of 1922 in the coke-producing region of Pennsylvania. Under the agitation of the Communists it would be spread to the other coal fields by April 1. Behind this plan was a scheme of Foster's to spread the strike to other industries and bring about a general tie-up of industry during the summer.

Simultaneously with the conference at Pittsburgh the Communist publications started a campaign to discredit President Lewis among the miners of the union and to force him to reestablish the strike in the coke region as a means of protecting his influence with the miners there. J. Louis Engdahl, member of the central executive committee of the "legal" Communist Party and editor of the "legal" Communist organ, the Worker, said:

"Every militant trade unionist must stand aghast at the tyrannous measures used by the high officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America in driving the Fayette County strikers back under the slave whips of the Standard Oil Co. and of the United States Steel Corporation."

(End statement from the Communist Party.)

Nationalization of the mines was decided upon at the conference as the principal issue of the Communists in driving their wedge into the miners' union. In the official platform which was adopted there, nationalization was made the chief issue. On this question the platform says:

"To meet this situation of demoralization a radical change must be made in the coal industry. There is only one solution at this moment that is possible, and that is nationalization of coal mines.

"Against this plan will be marshalled all the forces and resources of plutocratic America. The capitalist press and its journalistic hirelings, together with an army of retainers composed of the intellectual and political prostitutes of Wall Street, are flooding the country with an avalanche of lies, slander, and misrepresentation against nationalization. Corrupt and reactionary labor leaders are also opposing this plan, and every honest trades-unionist who espouses the cause is marked for persecution.

In advocating nationalization of coal mines, the Progressive Coal Miners mean the operation of the coal mines under the direction of competent union miners, and not under a commission composed of the usual lawyers, bankers, and politicians. A political bureaucracy sitting at Washington as directors of the coal industry would be a monstrosity worse even than the abortion known as the Railroad Labor Board—

Mr. STARNES. From whom are you quoting now?

Mr. FREY. I am quoting now from the official platform adopted by the Communist Party in 1922 on the question of nationalization of the coal mines. [Continuing:]

and would never be tolerated by the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America.

Nationalization of coal mines, as a political program, will be a failure unless it includes genuine democratic management of the mines. Since the efficient operation of the coal mines is only possible by those who have had experience

in digging coal, we demand that the program of nationalization of coal mines shall provide for the operation of the mines entirely under the direction of union miners, who alone are possessed of the technical, mechanical, and manual skill necessary for the successful operation of the mines.

The Communist Party of America was created for the purpose of taking possession of the United Mine Workers of America, the American Federation of Labor, and the labor unions of the country, and, through them, overthrowing the Government of the United States.

This has been its continuing purpose since the days in May 1921, when it was brought in existence on the top of Overlook Mountain, in the Catskills, near Woodstock, N. Y.

The decision of the Communist International to organize a secret or "underground" party in America was due to the fact that its manifestos and communications to this country, as well as the program of action of its political units and groups, advocated the overthrow of the Government by force, violence, and armed insurrection, and made its members subject to prosecution in many of the States or to deportation at the hands of the Federal Government.

The courts of the country had judicially held that the purpose of the Communist International, on its own declarations, was to overthrow the Government, which made membership of an alien in the Communist Party grounds per se for deportation.

The United Mine Workers of America is in possession of original and authenticated copies of the manifestos and communications that were sent to America by the Communist International at the time the Communist Party of America was brought into existence. These documents establish clearly what the purpose of the party was. And the manifestos and communications that have been received from Moscow since that time show that its intent and purpose has continued to be the same that it was when it was organized.

Seventy Communist leaders, representing the two factions of the Communist Party, and the United Community Party, gathered in the ancient hotel on the top of Overlook Mountain on the morning of May 15, 1921, to compose their differences and unite in a single group, to be known as the Communist Party of America. This assembly was not only at the command of Lenin and Zinoviev, of the Communist International, but it was accompanied with the threat that if the factional differences were not put aside and a united front presented for invading the labor unions of the United States, no more money would be forthcoming from Moscow for financing the revolutionary movement in this country. Up to that time Moscow had contributed money to both of these factions, but had decided that their hostility to each other was neutralizing the results of their work.

Charles E. Scott, member of the Pan-American Bureau, or supreme Communist agency in the Western Hemisphere at that time, appeared at the convention as the personal emissary of Lenin and Zinoviev. Scott possessed the power to break deadlocks and force an amalgamation of the two factions.

Scott was essentially a fighter. He was a practical man, and a man of few words. There was nothing of the theory propounding radical about him. He wanted action in America rather than words, and his mission at Overlook Mountain was to see to it that the two Communist factions established themselves on a basis for aggressive action.

Scott had been a resident of the United States and Canada for more than 2 years. He was then making his home in Boston. The other members of his bureau were Sen Katayama, alias "Yavki," an elderly Japanese then living in Mexico City, and Louis C. Fraina, who was spending his time in Berlin as an agent for the American Communists.

Scott's real name was Jakor Davidovith Janson. He had formerly been a representative of the Communist commissariat for foreign affairs at Irkutsk. He saw military service on the Polish front in 1919, and fought with the Bolshevik forces in the Caucasus early in the same year. From August 1920 to the beginning of 1921 he was chief of the eastern department of the Soviet regime in Russia, and was sent to China early in 1921.

Silent and taciturn in his bearing, Scott met the 70 delegates in the vicinity of Kingston. They were conveyed to the foot of Overlook Mountain in automobiles. Guards saluted them as they passed along the road. For more than 2 weeks these guards had been stationed in the vicinity of Fort Montgomery, Tannersville, Saugerties, and Kingston. Trains arriving at these towns were observed by sentinels. A guard remained behind the delegates to watch the village

marshal in Woodstock. Other guards were scattered around the country as farm hands. There were guards also in the Grand Central Station in New York. Scott broke his silence to say that the prospective convention could only be raided by a squadron of cavalry, and that, with his guards on the alert, its presence would be known when 30 miles away.

Alighting from their automobiles, the delegates climbed in single file up the mountain. Other guards were encountered along the trail.

When they reached the Overlook Mountain Inn, on the top of the mountain, they were assigned two in a room. Two of the delegates were women. A steering committee forbade anyone to go beyond 200 feet from the hotel unless they were going to the meeting of a committee, or of the convention, in the woods. The delegates were all searched, and every scrap of paper or other evidence that would be incriminating if the place was raided was taken from them. They were forbidden to write letters or to make notes unless they were in the committee or convention room, and then only for the purpose of speaking on the question under discussion. These scraps of paper were to be given to the committee as soon as the delegate had finished his remarks. Twice each day the persons of the delegates were searched, as were their rooms.

As night approached, guards could be seen signaling each other with flashlights from the mountain tops that all was well.

I think that is all of the data that I will submit from this report. There is more of it, but it is in detail.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Frey, have you the names of these other delegates who were present?

Mr. FREY. At this meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. FREY. No; I only have the matter which is contained in Senate Document No. 14 of 1924, from which I am quoting. There are some names, however, which will come in now. This report goes on to say:

A few months after this convention was held the Workers Party was organized under the specific instructions of Lenin at a Communist convention in Brooklyn as the "legal" branch of the Communist Party of America.

The program of action adopted by the Overlook Mountain convention was, in its essential aspects, the same as had already been proclaimed by the United Communist Party. It called for mass action by the workers, seizure of labor unions, and converting them into "militant" enterprises, "boring from within" the American Federation of Labor, and, in particular, the seizure of the United Mine Workers of America.

The chief aim of the Communist Party of America, as developed in the Overlook Mountain convention, was to put the control of the revolutionary movement in America in the hands of a definite group of leaders, functioning as one committee, and exercising authority over all Communist activity in this country through a specific grant of authority from Lenin and the Communist International. It is interesting, therefore, to find that when the Workers Party was organized nine of the members of the central executive committee of the Communist Party were named as members of its central executive committee also.

These nine were Jay Lovestone, alias "Wheat"—

That was his party name at that time—

executive secretary of the Communist Party; Earl Browder, alias "Ward" and "Dixon," editor of the organ of the Trade Union Educational League; and James P. Cannon, alias "Cook," chairman of the Workers Party; Ludwig Lore, alias "Young," editor of a Communist organ in New York City; Robert Minor, alias "Ballister," representative of the Communist International in America; A. Bitelman, alias "Raphael," Communist organizer in New York; Alexander Trachtenberg, Communist writer and author in New York; William W. Weinstone, alias "Lewis," national official of the Workers Party; and C. E. Ruthenburg, alias "Damon," executive secretary of the Workers Party.

When Delegate Tyrosowsky, alias "Stepan," alias "Wallace," returned from the Congress of the Communist International early in 1922 he appeared before the central executive committee of the Communist Party and made a report

concerning the Workers Party and the work in America, which was quoted to the Communist leaders by the committee in the following language:

"During the congress the greatest leaders of the Comintern (Communist International) held an interview with the whole American delegation. In his opinion the American comrades do not utilize all of the opportunities of the struggle. Among other means of utilization of opportunities for legal communist work, Comrade L. (Lenin) advised us to take the necessary steps to establish a legal Communist organization. The legal organization should be the camp in which the revolutionary workers who cannot very well be admitted to the underground will be mobilized."

I will bring evidence before the committee of there being two separate—there are many groups in the Communist activities, but there is a legal group who carry on the public activities and make public statements, and then there is what they themselves call the illegal group, which does work which the legal group could not do without getting into trouble.

The report goes on to say:

There are 200 organizations in the United States actively engaged in or sympathetic with the Communist revolutionary movement as directed and conducted by the Communist Party of America. Some of them are local in their scope and work; others are Nation-wide. Forty-five of these organizations of either "pink" or radical structure are engaged in the Communist effort to seize control of the labor unions in this country and convert them to the revolutionary movement. In virtually every instance these organizations have direct contact, through the mechanism of interlocking directorates, with the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, or with its "legal" branch, the Workers Party of America.

Fifty-two persons hold 325 directorates in these 45 organizations. A study of the interlocking arrangement shows that all of these organizations are fused into a single whole. The extreme radicals are promoting the revolutionary movement, and a dozen intermediate degrees of "liberal" radicals and "parlor pinks" are cooperating with them intimately and closely, so that the contact is complete from end to end of the scale. There is no gap or breaking point. Ten of the directors appear in radical as well as "liberal" groups, and at the same time the "civil liberties" or "intellectual pink" groups.

Illustrative of this arrangement is the executive committee and the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, at New York, posing as the champion of free speech and civil liberty, but serving as a forerunner and trail blazer for the active and insidious activities of the Communists among labor organizations. Harry F. Ward, born in London in 1873, and chancellor of the Union Theological Seminary, is chairman of this organization. The managing director is Roger Baldwin, who served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County Jail in New Jersey in 1918 and 1919.

Other members on the national committee include Norman M. Thomas, who is connected with six other organizations, and who is a clergyman combining intellectual radicalism with religion; Peter Poscal Cosgrove, of Boston, a Nova Scotian who has recently been a recruiting agent for William D. Haywood's industrial unit, the Kuzbas, in Russia; Felix Frankfurter, member of the law faculty at Harvard University; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a solicitor of funds for the I. W. W.; William Z. Foster, born in Massachusetts in 188-, and heading the Trade Union Educational League; John Haynes Holmes, member of the League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners—an enterprise to obtain the release of the potential Communist leadership from the Federal and State prisons; Norman Hapgood, a newspaper writer; Arthur Garfield Hayes, a New York attorney; Robert Morss Lovett, former professor at the University of Chicago, and first president of the Federated Press; Judah L. Magnes, head of the Jewish Kibillah in New York City; and Oswald Garrison Villard, a New York publisher.

The major propaganda distributing agency of the Communists is the Federated Press. This is an alleged newspaper service with headquarters at Chicago. It has been financed and promoted through the central Communist organization, under instructions of the Communist International at Moscow. It serves approximately 200 newspapers, publications, and agencies in America and about 120 newspapers in Europe. It also supplies an "economic service," described by William Z. Foster as "consisting of statistics upon the actual condition of our industrial system," to local labor unions that can be induced to subscribe for it.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Frey, in connection with those organizations that are listed as subsidiary organizations of the Communist Party in this country, was the League for Peace and Democracy listed?

Mr. FREY. The League for Peace and Democracy had not been organized at the time this Senate document was printed.

Mr. MASON. May I ask if the League for Peace and Democracy is not a part of the United Front of Communism today?

Mr. FREY. It is one of the agencies through which the Communist Party carries on its propaganda work.

Mr. MASON. Your statement concerning Harry F. Ward, as the president of the Civil Liberties League, is interesting because of the fact that that same Harry F. Ward is the chairman of the League for Peace and Democracy today, and it is all very interesting because of this meeting that is scheduled for Washington tonight, at which the radical young labor leader of Mexico, Toledano, is to speak. That meeting has been sponsored by Government officials, most of whom have admitted that they are members of the League for Peace and Democracy. The sponsors of that meeting tonight are Government officials.

Mr. FREY. The committee might well, if it had the investigators to do the work, start some of this investigation in the Federal departments in this city.

Mr. MASON. That has been done, and many of these sponsors have admitted that they are members of this League for Peace and Democracy, a subsidiary of the great Communist Party of America.

Mr. FREY. I think, members of the committee, that I have quoted sufficiently from this Senate report to indicate what the facts are. I would like to say that the financial statements of the United Mine Workers make it evident that it cost the United Mine Workers much more money to have this investigation made and this report prepared than Congress was willing to give your committee for the all-important duty you are undertaking.

There are a few minutes left before 12 o'clock, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to have the permission of the committee to have a few minutes to present what I have to present now.

Mr. STARNES (presiding). What have you in mind now?

Mr. FREY. I want to say that 2 years after Senate Document No. 14 was published, Mr. John L. Lewis made a statement in the convention of the American Federation of Labor which substantiates or proves what is said in the Senate report, a full recognition on his part of the menace of communism. Mr. Lewis is not a Communist, but as he was responsible for having that record prepared, he had a thorough knowledge not only of the intention of Communists, but of the ways and means used.

Mr. MASON. May I ask if some of the men quoted in that Senate document, plus others, by John L. Lewis, have not been since then employed by John L. Lewis as organizers of the C. I. O.?

Mr. FREY. I submitted to the committee the names of certain men, one of them John Brophy, who was expelled from the United Mine Workers. I do not believe that John Brophy is an active member of the Communist Party; if he is, he keeps it secret. But I quoted from the United Mine Workers Journal as to his communistic connection, in any event.

I referred to Powers Hapgood as having also been among the number expelled by John L. Lewis. I did not bring in the names of any others.

But it seems peculiar that the first man appointed by the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization was among those he had previously expelled from the United Mine Workers of America.

There have been many statements made about communism in the American Federation of Labor. Perhaps in my very feeble and halting way, I have expressed my own opinion.

But no stronger statement was ever made than that by Delegate John L. Lewis at the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I would like to read some excerpts from that statement, and then later, with the permission of the committee, insert the whole statement.

MR. STARNES. How long will it take you to read those excerpts?

MR. FREY. It will only take me about 5 minutes, if I read rapidly.

MR. STARNES. Proceed.

MR. FREY. This is taken from the minutes of the convention, verbatim. It reads:

Delegate Lewis (president, United Mine Workers). I did not intend to take part in this discussion except and until in the debate certain matters connected with the committee's report which has to do with the welfare of the United Mine Workers of America were mentioned. I question and seriously doubt that the average trade-unionist is particularly concerned with the manner in which the people of Russia govern themselves and direct their own destiny. We are fundamentally concerned, however, when that interest which now exerts a dictatorship over 130,000,000 people in Russia systematically and persistently attempts to impose their philosophy and impose their theories of government and impose their own particular machinery and their own specific ideas upon the workers of all the other countries of the civilized world.

And there is the precise hub of this entire situation. When it comes to pass, as it has come to pass and as it now exists, that the people of Russia are being taxed and their moneys are taken from them to finance and pay for expensive propaganda in America for the precise purpose of controlling the basic trade-union movement, then it is indeed time for the trade-unionists of this country to awaken to the necessity of the protection of their own affairs and the maintenance of the institutions which they erected throughout the land.

This is not the first experience of the United Mine Workers with Communist activity. For years past our union has been subject to their deceitful attacks, to the intrigues and to their conspiracy. Many of you will remember that 3 or 4 years ago the United Mine Workers of America published a résumé of Communist activities in America—

That is with reference to the document from which I have just quoted—

and in no one instance has any statement that was made in that pamphlet ever been disproved by the men who were named therein.

In many sections of the mining industry, times without number, the representatives of the United Mine Workers have been compelled to combat the activities of the agents of the Communists in Russia. In our Nova Scotia mining fields they were successful in persuading a convention representing an entire district organization of some 12,000 men to ask for formal affiliation with the Red Trade Union Internationale.

I don't know how many of you have read the constitution or the articles of faith of the Red Trade Union Internationale, but to those of you who have not I say to you here today that it is predicated entirely upon the philosophy and the hope of destroying the trade-union movement of the world as it is organized today; and to attain that objective they justify slander, abuse, the circulation of untruths, the destruction of the confidence of the membership in the officers

they elect, to strike down the honor and the reputation for integrity of every man who presumes to oppose their philosophy, and to bring about through any manner of means the accomplishment of this one object. They justify disorder, riots, and violence, and any man who believes in the least degree in the philosophy of communism and who lends that philosophy support of any character is simply driving a knife into the heart of his own organization and striking a death blow at the trade-union movement in America.

Our international union was compelled in the Nova Scotia and Cape Breton fields to serve notice upon the men who had petitioned for affiliation with the Red Trade Union Internationale to either withdraw it or get out of the United Mine Workers of America. The petition was withdrawn, but for more than a year the entire membership were in a continual turmoil because of the activities of the paid agents of the Russian Communist Party.

Why, the leaders of the Red Trade Union Internationale in Russia would sit down at their desks and write a statement addressed to the mine workers of Nova Scotia directing them what to do in every detail, criticizing and denouncing the officers of that organization, calling them crooks and every epithet that could be applied to a man, and mailed the statement either to them direct or had it put in their doors at night by some agent of this Communist band. That work was done at great expense, and what has been done in Nova Scotia—and we were able to successfully combat it and restore order in that field—has been done in other mining fields of the country.

This sinister activity was responsible for the destruction of an organization of 9,000 coal miners in the northwest Provinces of Canada, because these agents finally used the slogan to the miners of those Provinces that it was essential to them to withdraw from and abandon their affiliation with the United Mine Workers of America and form a Canadian organization of mine workers. They played every racial and religious prejudice they can find in order to delude men who have not the opportunity to discover their course of action. Their object is to destroy the United Mine Workers of America wherever they may not control it.

It is high time the American Federation of Labor cease this weeping and this wailing over the fancied wrongs of someone in Russia and that we give attention and consideration to things here at home. It was well brought out by the distinguished chairman of the convention the other day at the conclusion of the address by Dr. Eddy that the workers of Russia were paid the munificent sum in wages of about \$1 a day. There may be those in America who would like to change their situation and pass their days under circumstances approximate to those imposed upon the Russian people by the Russian Government, but I cannot imagine that any sane, intelligent man who has given any consideration to these things will desire for one moment to abandon that which we have, and which we have secured through sacrifice in years of effort, and throw it away merely for a will-o-the-wisp that someone with a silver tongue paints as being now existent in Russia. Let them first put their own house in order. If their form of government is the ideal form to be followed by civilized nations, let them demonstrate that in their own land before they undertake to ram it down the throats of those who say nay.

I was a delegate to that convention.

Mr. Mason. Mr. Frey, the same man who made that speech at the convention and who prepared the material of that Senate document is the very man who, after pointing out all the dangers of communism boring from within, in the labor movement, invited the leaders of the Communist Party as helpers in organizing his present industrial union.

Mr. Frey. The documents which I will read to this committee, I think, will bear that statement out completely.

At this moment in the convention, Mr. Lewis, who has a rare gift for the dramatic, gazed into the gallery and saw a man there, and in his characteristic manner, when he desires to make a point, said the following:

Yes; today there comes from some distant city on the morning train one of the arch disciples and the high priest of communism in America, and he has sat

in the gallery of this convention of the American Federation of Labor all day long. And I refer to none other than the redoubtable William Z. Foster, who all this afternoon has been sitting in the gallery. Why comes he here? Who pays his passage? A few short days ago he was in Russia. He makes a trip to Russia every year since he left the steel-strike committee. What for? For no other reason than to receive his orders and make his annual report to the high priest of communism in Russia. Now he is here to see how faithfully his lieutenants are doing his work and how Albert F. Coyle has organized sentiment in this convention to put across the ideals and the objects for which they stand. And so I say to those who are prone to weep for Russia while ignoring the suffering in America that it is time to come to their senses and rally to the defense of the solid, the substantial, the tried, and true policies of the American Federation of Labor so ably enunciated in the report of the distinguished committee this afternoon.

At that moment he was in complete accord with the secretary of that committee, who happens to be the one testifying before your committee.

Mr. Chairman, I would prefer to recess now, with the approval of the committee.

Mr. STARNES (presiding). You would prefer a recess now, Mr. Frey?

Mr. FREY. Yes; because I go into a new phase of my presentation from here.

Mr. STARNES. The field of education?

Mr. FREY. No. I would like to say this to the committee—that I have tried to prepare my material so that it will have a sequence, a connection, which will make it clear.

What I presented Saturday was merely something that I hoped would interest the committee. I want to arouse the committee's interest. This morning I have placed before you from the records the reasons why the American Federation of Labor has been opposed to communism and the methods which we knew the Communists were applying.

I now want to go to the highest authorities in Russia to indicate what their policy is, from official records.

Then I want to go into what the Communist Party in this country has done as an evidence that they are carrying out the official program of Russia.

Then I hope to present voluminous records indicating the extent to which they have succeeded in accomplishing their purpose, and name names, regardless of whether I am called a liar, as I already have been. And I desire to furnish the committee with sources of information which, for the first time, I think, will receive publicity in this country.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will take a recess until 1:15 p. m.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until 1:15 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The hearing was resumed at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. We will resume our hearings. Mr. Frey, will you proceed?

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. FREY—Resumed

Mr. FREY. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this morning I presented from Senate records and from an address made in the convention of the American Federation of Labor by Mr. John L. Lewis reasons why the American trade-union movement was opposed to the extension of communism in this country, indicating that the purpose of communism was to secure a control in the trade-union movement.

This afternoon I want to submit some official Communist evidence indicating that the American trade-union movement had every reason for fearing the purpose of the Communist Party so far as this country is concerned.

I want to place into the record the constitution of the Third Internationale, but it would take up considerable time to read; and with your permission, I will merely turn it in as a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. In the case of a document like that, we will allow it to go in the record without the necessity of reading it.

Mr. FREY (reading):

One of the points laid down at the thirteenth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International, of which the Communist Party of the United States is an integral part, held in Moscow, December 1933, and published by Workers Library Publishers on March 1934 was:

"* * * The third condition is the ability to combine methods of legal and semilegal work with methods of underground work. * * *

"* * * For the period which is openly before us, we do not need simply Communists but Communist underground workers. They must be people tried and tested in every respect; they must know how to conduct themselves under cross-examination, how to behave at trials, making use of the deck as a tribune for exposing the class enemy. * * *

I have quoted from an official Communist document.

From a book published by the Communist Workers Library Publishers of New York, by Johannes Buchner, under the title of "The Agent Provocateur in the Labor Movement," I quote from page 51 of that book as follows:

"The general and fundamental rule for all Communists is: Make no statement. Of course, this does not mean that all questions are simply to be met with the answer: 'I refuse to make any statement.' * * * But the fundamental principle remains the same." No statements incriminating any comrade, no names, no addresses, not a single fact which would possibly be used directly or indirectly against the party, its organs, or individual members of the organization. * * * Absolute denial even when personally confronted with the persons and despite the evidence. * * * Whoever infringes, even but a little, these fundamental rules must instantly and mercilessly be ejected from the party.

"(In certain situations) * * * since a categorical refusal * * * would convict you of being a Communist, you may permit yourself a few short statements calculated to obtain credence. * * * We must always conceal our plans and our ways of work from the class enemy. Political expediency here is everything."

I submit that those are splendid instructions to give to men who are members of the Communist Party, with their disregard for any moral ethics, such as are understood to be the standard in western Christian civilizations.

If they carried out those instructions, if they carried out the statement made by Lenin which I put in the record Saturday, their oath as a witness would not mean very much, and it indicates that

the expediency of the Communist Party means more to them when they are under oath than any other consideration.

At this stage, I want to have the record contain the constitution and rules of the Communist International.

Mr. STARNES. Is it your purpose to read those, or would you just have them set out in the record?

Mr. FREY. This constitution I will not read, because it is rather lengthy, but it is important for the committee's information. There is but one statement of a couple of pages which I do think should be read at this time.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

CONSTITUTION AND RULES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1. The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist parties in various countries; it is a world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the upholder of the principles and aims of communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of the World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes, and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of Communist society.

2. Each of the various parties affiliated to the Communist International is called the Communist Party of _____ (name of country) (section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and representing its section in that country.

3. Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and rules of the given Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of a party, actively work in it, abide by all decisions of the party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay party dues. * * *

5. The Communist International and its sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism * * * (c) decision of superior party committees to be obligatory for subordinate committees, strict party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees, and of the leading party centers.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the party and by party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent party committees. After a decision has been taken by the congress of the Communist International, by the congress of the respective sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various sections, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a section of the party membership or of the local party organizations are in disagreement with it. * * *

6. In all nonparty workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (trade unions, cooperative societies, sport organizations, ex-service men's organizations, and at their congresses and conferences) and also on municipal bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two party members in such organizations and bodies, Communist factions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies. * * *

13. The decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International are obligatory for all the sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. * * *

14. The central committees of the various sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective party congresses and to the executive committee of the Communist International. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of party congresses and of central committees of parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them.

15. The executive committee of the Communist International has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire sections, groups and individual members who violate the program and rules of the Communist Interna-

tional or the decisions of the World Congress and of the executive committee of the Communist International. * * *

16. The program of the various sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the executive committee of the Communist International. * * *

17. The leading organs of the press of the various sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the executive committee of the Communist International. These decisions must, as far as possible, be published also in the other organs of the party press. * * *

19. The executive committee of the Communist International elects a presidium responsible to the executive committee of the Communist International which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the executive committee of the Communist International in the interval between the meetings of the latter. * * *

21. The sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus of the executive committee of the Communist International. * * *

22. The executive committee of the Communist International and its presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the executive committee of the Communist International or from its presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the executive committee of the Communist International must carry out their commission in close contact with the central committee of the section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the central committee of the given section, at congresses and conferences of that section, if the line of the central committee in question diverges from the instructions of the executive committee of the Communist International. * * *

25. The presidium elects the political secretariat, which is empowered to take decisions, and which also prepare questions for the meeting of the executive committee of the Communist International and of its presidium, and acts as their executive body.

28. The international control commission investigates matters concerning the unity of the sections affiliated to the Communist International, and also matters connected with the Communist conduct of individual members of the various sections. * * * Audits the accounts of the Communist International. * * *

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of central committees of the various sections are regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the central leading bodies of the various sections may resign before their time of office expires only with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Resignations accepted by the central committees of sections without the consent of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are invalid.

31. The sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and, with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, exchange leading comrades. * * *

33. The sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the amount of such dues to be determined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. * * *

35. The International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) is a section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

36. The Communist parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The Executive Committee of the Communist International must render the parties concerned assistance in their preparation for transition to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the central committee of the section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of the central committee of their section must not be accepted into other sections of the Communist International.

MR. FREY. Recently the Communist International issued a confidential document written by B. Vassiliev, central committee of the Communist Party, United States of America. I am merely quoting extracts from this official statement to the members of the party in this country:

The party should fight to the very last for retaining all existing forms of the legal working class movement, for the legal existence of the Communist Party, for legal Communist literature, for legal trade-unions, for legal unions of mass organizations * * * the Communist parties * * * must at the same time construct and strengthen their illegal apparatus from top to bottom. All legal parties are now under the greatest responsibility in respect to the creation and strengthening of an illegal party apparatus. All of them must immediately undertake measures to have within the legally existing party committees an illegal directing core.

The illegal part of the party apparatus must be separated from the legal apparatus of the party committee (addresses, archives, definite part of the correspondence and so on) and a part of the members of the party committee must already now be made illegal * * * prominent leaders of the Communist parties must have the possibility of quickly passing underground at the necessary moment, must have the necessary living accommodations for this, must have facilities for quickly changing their names and all other means of swiftly avoiding the pursuits of the police so that the police should look for them in quite a different location to the one in which they have gone * * * bring into leading work workers who are unknown to the wide masses and to the police * * * good conspirators and completely devoted to the cause of communism * * * those sections of the party apparatus which are most susceptible to repression should be handed over to their charge, as well as the most important party documents, etc. * * * If this work is properly arranged, then the police * * * will seize only the premises in which there are no party documents and only those comrades who do not any longer hold in their hands the important threads of the party apparatus. The party apparatus carried underground in such cases, at once begins to function, guaranteeing uninterrupted direction of party work.

* * * it is a question of creating under the cover of a legal party committee, legal labels and premises, an illegal apparatus, preparing the illegal party cadres beginning with the party committee and extending this work to the mass organizations, bearing in mind that when reaction begins, not only leaders of the party committees will be arrested but also leaders of party activity in the mass legal organizations. So within the trade-unions, within the International Labor Defense and other legal revolutionary organizations, certain cadres of an illegal apparatus must be prepared.

* * * all parties must now without fail have illegal printing presses prepared for the production of illegal party literature * * * have arrangements ready beforehand for the distribution of illegal party literature * * *. The workers look upon illegal party paper as a document of special importance * * *.

The most important and fundamental legal or semilegal cover for an illegal Communist Party is the trade-union. * * *

Another rule * * * discontinue using in party work the real christian names and surnames of members of the party committee and of party active workers in general.

THE CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, let me ask you a question. It is a practice among Communists to have an assumed name, in many instances, is not that true?

MR. FREY. It began with Lenin, whose name was Ullinoff, or something like that. It began with Trotsky, whose real name is Bronstein. It runs down through almost the whole record of the leaders of the Communist Party in Russia. It is copied here. This morning's testimony indicated the party names under which a number of well-known Communists go within the party.

THE CHAIRMAN. You know that over a long period of time the police, in raiding Communist headquarters, have seized their mem-

bership cards and have had their records photostated and have also taken fingerprints, so that there is a very definite way of determining who the thousands are that do belong. Those records, of course, will be available to this committee, and, as I said this morning, they will be incorporated in the record in such a way that it will be known irrefutably who are members of this Communist organization. That will be checked as against the names submitted to us on Saturday.

Mr. FREY. I was aware, Mr. Chairman, that the police departments in a large number of cities have for many years kept a record of Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, attorneys demand the return of those documents, and have been doing that for many years. But they evidently did not know that the police were making photostatic copies of the membership cards and fingerprinting the Communists, so those records are absolutely accurate and reliable.

Mr. FREY. Being aware of that, and because I have been discussing communism in conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years, I have carefully avoided any discussion with any minor representative of any police department in an effort to secure information. The information I bring before the committee is entirely free from any connection with any police department or any governmental agency. I would like to make that clear and definite. I would not cooperate with police departments for the purpose of getting this information.

May I add one word more as a matter of personal privilege? I am being attacked, and I expected to be, from liberal and Communist sources. This is the first time outside of the American Federation of Labor conventions that I have ever discussed the question of communism and the trades-union movement. I have previously declined every invitation received from patriotic groups to take part in mass meetings where this question of communism was discussed. I have always taken the position that if the Russians want the form of government they have, that is their right; that so far as communism was concerned, I would not criticize or attack it except insofar as I found it impinging against the trade-union movement, and it is because of that trade-union attack and the effort to undermine and control the union that I have brought myself to come before your committee and give you the information that I am presenting.

Continuing the quotation which I was reading:

We must begin to use party names instead and also stop publishing good lifelike portraits of leading party workers.

* * * At the meeting of the party committee * * * at which representatives of the rank and file party activities take part, those members must not be present in whose hands are the connections with party organizations, addresses, etc.

It is necessary that at least one comrade who keeps the addresses, connections, etc., should not come to the meetings of the party committee. * * *

One of the members of the committee should undertake the duty of the organization of proletarian self-defense.

* * * During recent demonstrations * * * the comrades from the sections of self-defense do not have the slightest conception of any kind of self-defense. When the police attacked them they did not know how to resist. They don't understand the tactics of street fighting, don't even know how to box, and as a result in certain cases one policeman broke up dozens of sections of proletarian self-defense because our comrades waived their arms about aimlessly,

whilst the policemen were quite confident and used all the rules of well-trained boxers. In many cases the comrades from the proletarian self-defense units defended themselves with stones. But again here is evidence from those who were present at these operations showing that our comrades don't know how to throw stones. It is not enough to pick up a stone and throw it, but it is important that the stone should hit its target, and not merely hit its target, but that some effect should be seen from the blow. * * *

Then one of the members of the party committee should be in charge of organization of work in the army.

Finally, one of the members of the party committee should represent the party in the Young Communist organization.

At present the question of proper arrangements for learning * * * the plans of the police with regard to breaking up demonstrations, etc., assumes very great importance. Every party committee should clearly look at this side of everyday party work; should place on one of its members the special duty of organizing work in this direction, and should systematically check how this work is being carried out. * * *

* * * Live communication is kept going by the help of the system of so-called appearing or reporting places. This system of appearing places must without fail be established in all parties without exceptions, legal and illegal. * * *

* * * When arranging safety signals for reporting places it is necessary to arrange them in such a way that they don't strike the eyes of the police and that they can be taken away without being noticed by the police.

Besides flats for reporting points, connecting-link flats are also needed for communication by letter, and these flats must in no case coincide. And, finally, there must be flats for the sheltering of illegal comrades, comrades whom the police are looking for, comrades who have escaped from prison, etc. * * *

* * * The open text of such letters must be made perfectly blameless; for example, a son writing to his mother that he is alive and well and of the good things he wishes her. Not a word about revolution. The police must guess, first of all, that under this apparent innocent text there is a hidden text.

Shortly after the 1936 election, in which the Communist Party took a very decided interest, Browder explained the policies of the party. We are now getting to the political, as well as the trade-union, angle. In a statement under the title "The Results of the Elections and the People's Front," which is published by the Workers Library Publishers, a Communist publishing house in New York, I quote now from page 39. This is from Earl Browder, the secretary of the Communist Party:

Some comrades are still influenced by the idea that the party vote is the only correct measure of our achievements.

* * * However, the urgent need for a united front, which everyone felt, was realized in another and less satisfactory way under such circumstances that we could not fight against it—the united front of the labor and progressive forces. * * *

We foresaw, before the campaign opened, that our separate vote would register only our irreducible minimum and not our maximum influence. This was inherent in the situation and our strategy. * * * Weaknesses there were aplenty in our campaign, but they must not be sought in this question of the relation of our influence and our vote. There is no direct relation between them at all. Not to understand this is to have a very narrow understanding of the whole strategy for a whole period. * * * We made greater advances with the lower vote in New York with the American Labor Party in the field than we could have made with a higher vote and the American Labor Party not in existence.

Up until this time I have been dealing solely with the activity of the Communist Party in the economic-industrial field—the trade-union movement. From now on I will be unable to avoid reference to their parliamentary and their political tactics. Here is Mr. Browder's

statement that the Communist Party shaped its political program to work with the American Labor Party in New York State. That does not mean that the Labor Party in New York State is in any way a Communist organization. I know to the contrary. But it does indicate the method by which the Communist Party rides in or makes a carrier of any labor party or other political party which they think will serve their ends.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not true, though, that certain people now prominent in the American Labor Party in New York were formerly prominent in the Communist Party in New York?

Mr. FREY. Oh, that is true; oh, yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And is it not true also that many of the policies of the American Labor Party in New York are at the present time dominated by people who were well-known Communists in the past?

Mr. FREY. Well, I would put it this way: Many of the policies of the American Labor Party in New York are adopted because of the insistence of the Communists that they should be, and the desire of the Labor Party to secure the largest possible vote it can by including the vote of the Communists.

Mr. THOMAS. May I add one more thing right there? Is it not also true that certain candidates for office, endorsed by the American Labor Party in New York City, were formerly active in the Communist Party?

Mr. FREY. Oh, yes; that is true. I also think in many instances the endorsement of the American Labor Party in New York State was most unwelcome to the endorsee.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; but also in the case of some, very welcome?

Mr. FREY. Both welcome and unwelcome.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. FREY. Continuing with this quotation:

* * * we drive in the center of a national political storm toward a definite goal, without losing sight of it, and without allowing our forces to be broken up, dispersed or demoralized, but rather gaining strength and clarity out of it all. This ability is the hall mark of bolshevism and to the degree that our party demonstrated this ability, we can say that we are in the process of becoming a real Bolshevick Party.

* * * No one can deny that we thoroughly established our party as an American party, that our slogan—Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism—registered deeply with the American people. This was a great achievement. This is also a sign of bolshevism.

* * * We reached millions with our message nationally, and in many districts also on a local scale. This must by all means be followed up and made a permanent part of our technique.

Our campaign literature was upon a higher political level, more effective, and was distributed in far greater quantities than ever before in the history of our party.

* * * our policy was built on Leninism correctly applied to the present situation.

One time William Z. Foster was candidate for President of the United States on the Communist ticket, and during the campaign in 1932 he said:

We Communists are unscrupulous in our choice of weapons. We allow no consideration of legality, religion, patriotism, honor, duty, etc., to stand in our way to the adoption of effective weapons. We propose to develop, and are developing, regardless of capitalistic conceptions of legality, fairness, right, etc., a greater power and then wrest from them, by force, the industries.

During the Presidential campaign of the Communist Party in 1932 Mr. Foster published a book, *Toward Soviet America*, and from this I want to read a few brief quotations.

(P. 128:) The final aim of the Communist International is to overthrow world capitalism and replace it by world communism.

(P. 130:) The road to this social development can only be opened by revolution.

(P. 131:) Lenin thus defines a state: "The state is a particular form of organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the holding down of some class."

(P. 135:) Engels (he was collaborator with Marx in the Communist Manifesto and in *Das Kapital*) states in his 1888 preface to the Communist Manifesto: "One thing especially was proved by the (Paris) commune, viz. that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose." The capitalist state must be broken down and the workers' state built from the ground up on entirely different principles, and this was done in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(P. 212:) On the contrary, as Lenin has stated, no matter how difficult the capitalist crisis becomes "there is no complete absence of a way out" for the bourgeoisie until it faces the revolutionary proletariat in arms.

(P. 213:) To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act by the great toiling masses, led by the Communist Party; that is, the conquest of the state power, the destruction of the state machine created by the ruling class, and the organization of the proletarian dictatorship. The lessons of history allow of no other conclusion.

It is the historical task of the proletariat to put a last end to war. Nevertheless, the working class cannot itself come into power without civil war. "Force," says Marx, "is the midwife of every old society when it is pregnant with the new one; force is the instrument and the means by which social movements hack their way through and break up the fossilized political forms." The program of the Communist International thus puts the matter:

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully 'capturing' the ready-made bourgeois State machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeois resort to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new one without a desperate and frantic struggle."

(P. 216:) But the history of the American capitalist class offers ample evidence that the toilers can defeat the ruling class only in an open struggle. The American bourgeois revolution of 1776, even as the Russian Bolshevik revolution of 1917, was carried through on the basis of armed struggle.

In *The Ultimate Aim*, published by International Publishers, in their political education series—the International Publishers is a Communist publishing house—I quote briefly from page 8:

(P. 8:) The replacement of one social system by another, that is the replacing of the rule of one class by the rule of another, is only achieved by means of the violent overthrow of the ruling class, by means of revolution. It is impossible for the working class to come to power in any other way than * * *

by the method of proletarian revolution.

(P. 19:) * * * Socialism takes the place of capitalism only as a result of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. * * *

(P. 22:) The whole history of the proletarian revolution in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a clear refutation of the theory of the Socialist about the "peaceful" achievement of socialism. The bourgeoisie can only be overthrown by means of revolution, by means of the armed revolt of the working class. * * * The resistance of the overthrown classes can only be suppressed by the most merciless class struggle.

I could submit hours of evidence indicating the methods advocated by the Communist Party to accomplish its purposes. I will introduce no more. The volumes would almost fill a library. I sat in a library

last week in which there were some 300 volumes containing much of the same material that I have just laid before the committee.

My only purpose in presenting this brief reference to the official declaration of the Communist International and of the Communist Party in this country, was to show that the United Mine Workers and the American Federation of Labor understood the danger which they faced, as well as the danger to our country; and that none recognized that more clearly than Mr. Lewis when he made the address in our convention in 1926, from which I quoted this morning.

My purpose now will be to take up the activities of the Communist Party in this country. Before reading these, I would call the committee's attention to the fact that the policy of the Communist Party in this country as a result of conferences held in Moscow by the leaders of the Communist Party, led to a complete change of political program. Up until 1935 the Communist Party as such was campaigning. It was endeavoring to elect Communist Party members to public office. It was holding itself definitely as a separate political party. Up to that time it had indulged in the "boring-from-within" tactics with which the American trade-union movement had become familiar.

In 1935 the party changed its policy so that it could take full advantage of the division which had come in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor through the organizing of the C. I. O.

I have here some questions and answers issued by the Communist Party of the United States in 1936, and I would like to read them or put them in the record. I believe they are rather illuminating. I leave that, however, to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell us the substance of them, Mr. Frey? I do not want to be in the attitude of hurrying you, but we have a number of other witnesses to be heard.

Mr. FREY. I will read a few of them, but will ask to put all of these in.

Question. Is the idea of the labor party a new development in Communist work?

That refers to a united front. May I explain to the committee the terms popular front and united front? Communists use the term "united front" as a movement to unite farmers and trade unions, and the popular front as the political movement including all leading groups.

Answer. The idea of the labor party has long been accepted as a basic part of the activity of the Communist Party. As far back as 1921, the Communist Party of the United States had the most thorough discussions with the Communist International on this question. At these discussions, in which Lenin participated directly, there was adopted the policy of furthering a labor party as part of the work of developing the class struggle in the United States.

The party carried on agitation and propaganda for a labor party from 1921 right up to 1929. During the period from 1921 to 1924, the party actively participated in the organization of a labor party. At that time and now the party had a clear conception of the kind of labor party it would support—a labor party with a wide working-class base and a class-struggle program. It would not support a third capitalist party disguised as a "progressive" movement.

During this period the party's activities for a labor party were carried on at the time of the efforts of La Follette and others to create a third capitalist party. The party fought then and tried to win the workers away from their influence and bring them into a class-struggle labor-party movement. This

work the party continued until 1924. It was prepared in the Presidential elections of that year to put forward candidates on a labor party ticket which the Communist Party could support.

With the nomination of La Follette, however, on the Progressive ticket, it became clear that it would not be possible to give the labor party a broad mass character. To have run labor party candidates under such conditions would merely have served to conceal the face of the Communist Party. The Communist Party withdrew its support of the labor party candidates and went into the election with Communist candidates who sharply opposed La Follette and his progressive program.

After that election the Communist Party continued to propagandize for a labor party. It carried this slogan into the unions and did its best to create a labor-party movement. But from 1924 to 1929 there was a gradual decline in the workers' sentiment for a labor-party movement. At the end of this period there was no mass support for such a movement, other than that given by the Communist Party.

At that time the Communist Party decided to hold in abeyance the slogan of a labor party. But it stated very definitely under what conditions it would again be brought forward. In 1923 the Communist International in agreement with the American delegation to the Sixth World Congress of the comintern stated that:

"The Congress resolves that the party concentrate its attention on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unemployed, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad labor party organized from below."

This meant that it was not possible at that time to widen the influence of the Communist Party and advance the class struggle in the United States by playing around with a slogan that had no broad appeal for the workers. It would have distracted the workers from the immediate struggles of the day to have pushed an abstract slogan which at that time had no practical content.

Today the scene has changed. Millions of workers have been disillusioned with the old capitalist parties in the last 2 years. They are breaking away from the two-party system and swinging left. By building a class struggle labor party now, it will be possible to further the development of the class struggle as a whole, sharpen the class consciousness of the American working class, and lead these workers to the revolutionary program of the Communist Party.

Question. Why was the question of the labor party raised by Comrade Browder before there was any discussion in the party? Was this a violation of inner party democracy?

Answer. The political bureau of the party thought that the unemployment and social insurance congress presented a golden opportunity of presenting the question to 2,500 delegates from all over the country. It was a springboard from which to launch the idea to workers, who would carry back to their organizations the idea of a class-struggle labor party as opposed to a third capitalist progressive party or a reformist party differing from the progressive one only in demagogy.

The enthusiasm with which the party membership and the nonparty masses have received the announcement of the labor party is proof of the correctness of the decision of the political bureau. It demonstrated once again that the Communists exercise political initiative in all fields.

There was no violation of party democracy. The widest discussion is being carried on within the party on all phases of the question. Action and discussion is being carried on simultaneously. The central committee at its last plenum made decisions concerning the policies of the party with respect to the labor party movement. This decision is being carried out throughout the country. At the same time party discussions are going on which can modify or elaborate this decision as can be done with all other decisions of the central committee.

The political bureau could act because it was putting forward a basic principle of the party. This decision like all other decisions is based on the mutual confidence of the membership and the leadership, and its correctness is established by the collective experiences of the entire party. It should be emphasized that the Communist Party, at those times when immediate decisions are necessary, acts and discusses at the same time.

Question. Will the Communist Party be the leaders of the labor party?

Answer. When such a labor party is formed the leadership will be based on proportionate representation. The Communists propose a democratic form,

with delegates from the trade unions and workers' mass organizations actively participating in the leadership. The Communist Party will be represented in this leadership to the extent that the party represents mass organizations and their membership.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you give the year when those questions were published?

Mr. FREY. 1935.

Mr. THOMAS. I thought you said 1936.

Mr. FREY. That was the year when the C. I. O. was organized.

Question. Will the labor party be reformistic? If not, why do we need two revolutionary parties?

Answer. There is only one revolutionary party and that is the Communist Party, which fights for the emancipation of the working class from the exploitation and oppression of capitalism. This does not mean that the labor party that the Communists propose would be reformist. It would be a labor party based on class struggle principles that would fight for the immediate needs and demands of the workers. Such a labor party, while not accepting the full program of the Communist Party, would be advancing the revolutionary understanding of the workers, and consequently would lead them to the Communist Party.

Question. If a Communist is elected to office on a labor party ticket, is his allegiance to the Communist Party or the labor party?

Answer. There is no clash of interests. The labor party must lead the masses in their struggles for immediate demands. This is in line with the Communist policy of fighting for all the immediate needs of the workers.

Communists will point out to the workers that their revolutionary program is the further development of the minimum policy of the labor party. They will always advocate the full revolutionary program of the Communist Party and will attempt to win support for this ultimatum. Through the experiences of the workers in the struggles for the minimum program of the labor party the Communists will teach them to realize that the revolutionary way out is the only solution for the crisis of capitalism.

Question. In bringing forward the slogan of a labor party, will the Communist Party abandon its slogan for a soviet America?

Answer. The Communist Party will continue more than ever to agitate and propagandize about the necessity of fighting for a soviet America. Far from dropping the slogan, the Communist Party will talk even more about soviet America. It will carry the slogan into the ranks of the workers until they recognize it as their own slogan and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrow capitalism and actually set up a soviet America.

The proposal for the labor party is not a substitute for the slogan "For a soviet America." On the contrary, the fight for a labor party is a struggle to draw millions more workers under the influence of the Communist Party, and in this way set them on the road to the seizure of power and the establishment of soviet America. Through developing the struggles around the class-struggle issues of the labor party the Communist Party is taking an important step toward rallying the working masses around the fundamental revolutionary slogan of the Communist Party and the American working class, "For soviet America."

Question. Will the labor party be only a front for the Communist Party and its sympathizers and supporters?

Answer. No. The Communist Party does not propose such a labor party. It does not want a labor party unless it involves masses of workers who are not now in contact with the Communist movement. From the very beginning the labor party should be based on many, many more workers than the number which at present are grouped around Communist organizations.

The Communist Party wants a labor party only if it will bring millions of workers into independent political struggle for their immediate demands and needs. Unless the labor party can lead a political struggle for a class struggle program on a far wider scale than the Communist Party can organize under its leadership, it will not be the kind of labor party that the Communists are striving to build up.

Question. What will be the relation of the Communist Party to the Farmer Labor Party, the Progressive Party, and other such groups?

Answer. The Communist Party, in those States where movements such as are mentioned above have been organized, will adopt policies which will further

the class differentiation in these groups and parties. It will develop the struggle of the workers and the poor farmers against the class collaboration policies of the leadership.

In Minnesota, for example, the central committee has given directives to the members of the Communist Party there, to do their best to develop the united front based on class struggle issues. On the basis of this united struggle the Communists will attempt to build a united labor party ticket which will fight the present mayor of Minneapolis, who is a tool of the reactionary Citizens' Alliance. By building the united front of the workers on the basis of class struggle policies, it will be possible to effectively expose Floyd B. Olson and the other leaders of the Farmer-Labor Party who aided in breaking the teamsters' strikes of last year.

Question. If the Communist Party supports the candidates of the labor party, does this mean that it will not put forward its own candidates?

Answer. In those places where the labor party puts forward candidates the Communist Party will not put forward candidates in opposition. It will support these labor party candidates, putting them on its own ticket. But it will protect its position on the ballot by putting forward its own candidates in those places where the labor party has none, and will appear on the ballot in one form or other.

The Communist Party would continue to conduct independent political campaigns. While throwing its support to the candidates of the labor party in which it was participating, it would not disappear from the ballot nor discontinue political activity.

The Communist Party would always be on the alert against any labor party leader or candidate who gave signs of betraying the workers. It would not support any candidate who came out with antiworking-class slogans or fought against the true interests of the workers. That is why it is so important for the labor party to be organized on a mass trade-union base. Communists and other militants cannot permit such a labor party to be dominated by self-appointed leaders who will be lukewarm about fighting for the interests of the workers.

Mr. HEALEY. To whom do you understand they refer, what organizations, as the labor party, when they refer generally to the labor party?

Mr. FREY. One is specific. That is the Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota. The other is any labor party ticket without differentiation. Here and there and in several States there are labor parties. It is known as the American Labor Party in New York. That is a State party movement. In many of the States there are State's farmer labor movements, and the general reference is to any of those.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, they would refer to the present American Labor Party in New York City.

Mr. FREY. Definitely.

Mr. HEALEY. Or they could refer to any other labor party in any other State?

Mr. FREY. Any other; yes.

Question. Will the participation of Communists prevent the labor party from developing into a broad mass movement?

Answer. Communists created the broad united front fight for the workers unemployment and social insurance bill and the wide struggle against war and fascism. They will bring a more generalized political struggle to the workers in the form of a labor party, and it will be the Communists who will keep the reformists and misleaders from having a free field to themselves.

Far from limiting the mass movement the participation of the Communists will be a guaranty that a genuine fight will be made to build the broadest labor party which will be a genuine working-class party, and which will lead the workers forward to the realization of their class interests.

Question. Might not certain members of the Labor Party refuse to associate with the Communist Party on the grounds that it would "smear them with red?"

Answer. In the course of the developments toward a mass labor party it is possible that attempts will be made by reactionary leaders to expel the Com-

munists. The Communists would fight against this, but there is no assurance that they would be successful against the "red baiters." Those who would lead the fight for the expulsion of the Communists would have to lean so heavily upon the La Follettes and their type that their party would end up as a third capitalist party. Those who would try to exclude the Communists from the Labor Party would be betraying the interests of the workers and negating the very purpose for which the party was formed.

Question. If the Communist Party is against having a labor party controlled by the present leadership of the Socialist Party, then why does it propose a united front with the Socialists?

Answer. The Communist Party is constantly striving to establish unity of action within the Socialist Party. But there is no contradiction between its proposals for a class-struggle labor party. In fact the Communist Party proposes to establish the same kind of program for the labor party as it urges for the united front.

It must be emphasized that the Communist Party has repeatedly made united front proposals to the Socialist Party around specific issues that would benefit the workers. The reason that the united front has not been achieved so far is that the leaders of the Socialist Party refuse to accept such a class-struggle policy. They make a united front with the reactionaries in the A. F. of L. They reject the Communists' offer to build the united front struggle, but unite with the white guards, in their campaign of slander against the Soviet Union.

When the Communists fight against the conception of the labor party put forth by Waldman and Oneal, it is because the party that they would lead would be a strike-breaking outfit. It would be used against the interests of the workers; it would be used against the Soviet Union; it would be a third capitalist party.

The Communists invite the Socialist Party to come into a genuine labor party with a class-struggle program. Such a party would really fight for the best interests of the workers. It would further the workers. It would further the united activity of the workers in the elections and in every other field. On both the issues of the labor party and the united front the Communist Party is fighting for policies that are beneficial to the workers as against the policies of the bureaucrats and labor fakers whose policies have proven harmful to the working class.

Question. What are the differences between the British Labor Party and the labor party which the Communists propose to the workers? E. O. B.

Answer. The British Labor Party is under the leadership of reformists. They practice class collaboration, and in every way hinder and sabotage the class struggle of the working class.

These reformist leaders are in the forefront of the fight against the united front of the workers. They attack the British Communist Party and its efforts to develop united working class actions. Within England, and internationally, they block the fight of the workers against the developing menace of fascism and war.

The Communist Party will do its best to keep the movement for a labor party here from being sidetracked into class collaboration by such reformist leaders. It will fight for a labor party with as broad a base as the British Labor Party—the trade-unions and all workers' mass organizations.

But in the very fight to establish such a party to conduct independent working-class political action, we must defeat the class collaboration ideas of the reformists. We must keep them from putting themselves at the head of the labor party and steering it into "safe" channels. By stressing class-struggle principles, by participating in every class battle of the workers, the militants, including the Communists, can lead the workers to a labor party which will not produce the American equivalent of Ramsay MacDonald.

Question. Is it an admittance of defeat by the Communist Party to retire from the field in favor of a labor party sympathizer?

Answer. The Communist Party is not retiring from the field as a political party. On the contrary, by participating in a broad labor party with a class-struggle program, the Communist Party will be able to spread its influence and principles among millions of workers, and lay the basis for winning these masses to its own revolutionary position.

As Comrade Browder has pointed out, "We cannot win millions of workers directly into the Communist Party overnight. But the time is ripe to launch a labor party that will fight for the immediate demands and interests of the workers. In the struggles around these immediate issues, the workers will soon learn

from their own experiences that it is the Communists who carry these struggles forward in the interests of the workers.

"They will come to understand that in addition to fighting for the realization of immediate demands, they must organize and prepare for the overthrow of capitalism as the only real solution for their problems. Their experience and activity, in the struggles around the class-struggle issues raised by the labor party, will lead them to the Communist Party and its program as the only way out for the American working class."

I might add that the British trade-union movement had much the same experience as the American Federation of Labor with Communism. They were able to prevent the Communist movement in England from capturing the British trade-union movement in the same manner and as effectively as the American Federation of Labor prevented them from getting control over here.

Now, this is the first official statement issued by the members of the central committee of the Communist Party after the C. I. O. was organized. On November 16, 1935, Jack Stachel sent the following directive, or instructions, to the districts—not to the membership, but to the district organizers of the Communist Party:

1. The fifty-fifth convention marked the beginning of the decline of the extreme right wing of the executive council of the A. F. of L. The forced resignation of Woll from the Civic Federation, the 11,000 votes cast for the industrial form of organization, and the final vote for a labor party showed that the militancy of the rank and file is cracking through the hard crust of upper officialdom precisely in the decisive sections of organized labor, and is aggravating the contradiction in which the top bureaucrats are involved. Although the bureaucrats are fighting among themselves for power upon the control of the executive council, their struggles, at times verging on savagery, are in response to the tremendous pressure being brought to bear upon them by the rank and file, led by an increasingly more conscious and more efficient rank and file leadership which in turn is forcing to the fore the most advanced progressive forces—(local officials).

This condition alone is responsible for the militant character and progressive moods of the convention. The fifty-fifth convention was different from any other convention of the A. F. of L. since 1917 in that its struggles were based on principles—supplied by the rank and file—and that for the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. its delegates assembled in convention got down to bedrock issues—the organization of the unorganized.

Although Green succeeded in having an amendment voted to the constitution—an amendment so weakened that it cannot have any effect on any Communist or militant not devoid of a modicum of common sense—even this amendment, entirely for face-saving purposes—must be acted upon by the local and State councils, a majority of whom in the basic industries have gone on record against any such amendment.

That amendment adopted by the convention made it impossible for any member of the Communist Party to be a delegate to a convention of the American Federation of Labor representing a Federal labor union, a central labor union, or a State federation of labor.

The old, conservative leadership of the A. F. of L. is tottering. Although reelected for another year, its power to sabotage the leftward swing of organized labor has been paralyzed. Henceforth organized labor is definitely on the road toward bitter and gigantic class battles—becoming consciously aware of its increasing revolutionary role.

This set of circumstances opens new far-reaching perspectives for the party, particularly on the question of united front. The party and the districts must immediately set about to exploit this unprecedented favorable situation (opportunity) by winning over to the party program and tactics (trade-union field) all of the best elements in the A. F. of L., including State officials.

The districts must set themselves the tasks of forging working united fronts with all progressive officials—and those officials who for whatever reason show

leftward and (or) progressive tendencies—regardless of their past record—on the following main issues:

1. Labor party.
2. Industrial form of organization.

At the same time, the struggle to win over the rank and file—united front from below—must become the main task of the factions.

The districts, sections, and units must take special care to integrate all their campaigns for united fronts from below and above into their present local and national control tasks—the struggle against fascism and war.

I want you to get this, members of the committee. This shows how they try, what they intended to do inside of the American Federation of Labor. I will read it again:

The districts, sections, and units must take special care to integrate all their campaigns for united fronts from below and above into their present local and national control tasks—"the struggle against fascism and war"; "hands off Ethiopia"; "defend the Soviet Union"; "the fight for a labor party"; "United labor tickets"; "the struggle to organize the unorganized"; "100-percent union towns"; and the organization of the relief workers—"A local for every W. P. A. project."

The ORG-DEPT deems it imperative that detailed reports on the manner in which the above directives are being carried out should be sent in weekly to the Center.

This is signed by J. Statchel.

Now, that is the first official record which I have indicating the policy of the Communist Party immediately after the C. I. O. was organized.

In 1935 the central committee of the Communist Party meeting in New York City drew up a statement of the immediate tasks of the Communist Party, its units and members, with the role to be played by Communists in building-trade unions.

Mr. STARNES. What was that date?

Mr. FREY. The date is January 1935. It was a meeting of the committee from January 15 to January 18.

Mr. MASON. What committee was that?

Mr. FREY. The central committee of the Communist Party, or the board of directors of the Communist Party. I will put this statement in the record as a document. I doubt whether there is any part of it that I desire to take up the time of the committee with. It is all corroborative of what has been and will be presented in the official record of the party.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

IMMEDIATE TASKS OF COMMUNIST PARTY, UNITS, AND MEMBERS

(Resolutions adopted at central committee meeting January 15-18, 1935, New York City)

ROLE TO BE PLAYED BY THE COMMUNISTS IN BUILDING THE TRADE UNIONS AND LEADING MASS STRUGGLES

Profound changes have taken place in the United States of America in the recent period. The transition of the crisis into a depression of a special kind, lasting already 2 years, did not bring prospects of an upsurge in the economy of the country. Instability and lack of assurance in the morrow remain the dominating features of the entire economic life in the United States of America. The New Deal policy and the N. R. A. in the conditions of depression helped American capitalism to pass through the difficult period of 1933. But, at the same time, it aided to a certain extent to let loose those economic and political tendencies of capitalism which are growing out of the entire development of the crisis and the depression and the intensification of the general crisis of

capitalism (the acceleration of the concentration of capital in the hands of monopolist corporations which are conducting a still harsher policy toward the masses, the strengthening of Fascist tendencies, etc.). At the same time, there is a leftward swing of the working class and an upsurge of a mass strike movement—with the still weak development of the class consciousness and organization of the masses—the growth of the workers' organizations, especially the A. F. of L. unions, the strengthening of the desire of the masses for the united front and for a big consolidation of their ranks, the growth of sentiments in favor of a mass labor party, with the simultaneous increase in the activity of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements toward the formation of a third bourgeois party and increased activity of social reformism.

The influence of the Communist Party grew, its work has improved, the party organizations have been strengthened, but the party did not yet overcome serious shortcomings in the trade-union work, in its participation in the strike movement, in the work of the lower party organizations among the broad masses of workers and toilers. All this in its entirety very strongly emphasizes the necessity of organizationally and politically strengthening the party in every possible way, of overcoming the weaknesses of its work, of recruiting new workers into its ranks, overcoming the excessive fluctuation, of increasing and improving the party press, of developing a wide propaganda of the tactics and program of the party, of strengthening its independent leading role in all the struggles of the working class and all the toilers of the United States of America. With these aims in view, the party must lay down its tasks on three most important questions—the trade-union question, the united front, and the question of the possible formation of a mass labor party.

I. THE TRADE-UNION QUESTION

The influx of hundreds of thousands of new workers from basic industries and mass production plants into the A. F. of L. unions and the growing radicalization of the main mass of its membership make the A. F. of L. unions more militant and mass unions in character, opening up new and greater possibilities of revolutionary mass work within them.

(1) In view of this, the main task of the party in the sphere of trade-union work should be the work in the A. F. of L. unions so as to energetically and tirelessly mobilize the masses of their members and the trade unions as a whole for the defense of the everyday interests of the workers, the leadership of strikes, carrying out the policy of the class struggle in the trade-unions. It is necessary for the party, overcoming the resistance of the trade-union bureaucracy and sectarian remnants in the ranks of the party and adherents of the revolutionary trade-union movement, to achieve by all means real work in the unions of the A. F. of L. The Communists and other advanced workers must develop a wide strike movement, fighting on the basis of trade-union democracy for the leadership of the struggle, in spite of the sabotage and the treachery of the trade-union bureaucrats, for the demands of the workers, for the recognition of the trade-unions, against wage cuts and for higher wages, especially in view of the rise of prices, for the reduction of the working day without a reduction in earnings, for insurance, unemployment relief, etc.

(2) The party must take the initiative in the struggle for the unity of the trade-unions, for their industrial structure, the organization of the unorganized and amalgamation on the basis of trade-union democracy, the autonomy of individual trade-unions in their internal affairs within the framework of general affiliation to the A. F. of L. simultaneously struggling to destroy the policy of company unionism.

(3) The party fractions must win the revolutionary unions for a struggle for trade-union unity by methods which correspond to the concrete conditions in each industry. The existing revolutionary trade-unions and their locals join the A. F. of L. or its unions wherever there exists parallel mass A. F. of L. trade-unions, or the "red" trade-unions can join the A. F. of L. directly. The form of such fusion depends upon the relationship of forces between the revolutionary trade union and the A. F. of L. union. However, in all conditions, the revolutionary unions and their branches, collectively deciding their action, should attempt to join the A. F. of L. unions as organized units, not weakening their mass work, but, on the contrary, utilizing their entrance into the A. F. of L. as a means of more widely mobilizing the working masses around the revolutionary leadership, organizing and distributing their forces so as to have the possibility of exercising a maximum amount of influence on the work of the

A. F. of L. unions. In those cases when collective joining is not possible, members of the "red" unions should join the unions of the A. F. of L. individually. When adopting a decision for any particular "red" trade-union to enter the A. F. of L. or for a "red" trade-union to fuse with some A. F. of L. union, it is necessary to carry on advance serious explanatory work among the trade union masses, so that members of the "red" trade union will understand the necessity for such a political step, so that after fusion there will be an increase in the revolutionary activity of the members of the "red" union in the A. F. of L. union.

(4) Only those revolutionary unions whose entrance into the A. F. of L. at the present time is impossible in practice, will temporarily continue to exist independently, extending their mass basis, energetically recruiting new workers; at the same time, they should carry out the united front with the A. F. of L. unions and the independent unions, struggling consistently for trade-union unity and their entrance into the A. F. of L. and helping in the general strengthening of the position of the revolutionary trade-union movement.

FOR TRADE-UNION UNITY

When raising as the chief task the work in the trade-unions of the A. F. of L., at the same time Communists must not to any extent weaken the work in the independent unions, as was pointed out in previous decisions. However, in view of the changing conditions of trade-union work, which demand that the center of the work be transferred to the A. F. of L., it is now inadvisable to put the question of forming an independent federation of labor. Inside independent trade-unions, Communists, taking into consideration specific conditions, in each case, should carry out the same tactic of struggle for trade-union unity and affiliation to the A. F. of L.

(5) The tone used in the press with regard to the A. F. of L. must be changed, criticizing and exposing the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. in a manner convincing for the rank and file, but treating the A. F. of L. locals and unions as mass workers' organizations in which we are carrying on a struggle, drawing in all honest functionaries, fighting for our influence, for winning the trade-union posts, and being ready to take on ourselves responsibility for their work.

(6) It is necessary to give the maximum amount of attention to the correct organization of the work of the factions in the trade-unions, taking into account that, in connection with the transfer of the chief attention to work in the A. F. of L., the work of the Communist faction becomes of decisive importance for insuring the correct work of all the Communists in the trade-union movement and in carrying out the party line. Without strong and well-organized factions, the Communist Party cannot carry out the necessary flexible tactic and carry out its revolutionary line. Carrying out decisions through factions, the party organizations must act through convincing the members of the party who work in the trade-unions, by means of help and example, thus forming and strengthening internal discipline. Everyday leadership on the chief questions of the work of our factions in the trade-unions, especially in respect to strike leadership, must be concentrated directly in the central committee at the center and in the appropriate party committees in the localities.

MUST LEAD WORK

For a correct approach to the work in the A. F. of L., it is necessary from the very outset to come out against the limitation of the tasks of this work to the creation of a "minority movement," or "opposition" being limited to the most militant elements that are close to the Communists, and not striving to become a real trade-union force winning the trade-unions, their locals, various elected posts in the trade-union organs, etc. In order to be a leading force for all the discontented workers who are swinging to the left, in order to be a mass force, the Communists, fighting for the interests of the workers, strengthening their class positions in the A. F. of L., and in all the trade-unions, increasing the offensive on the bureaucracy, must work like real trade-unionists, looking after the affairs of their union, seeing to its strengthening and widening, fighting for every elective post in the trade-unions and whole unions, actively participating in the training of new cadres of revolutionary trade-unionists.

In energetically carrying out this reorganization of the work of the party in the trade-unions, which has partially already been started, it is necessary

to carefully explain inside the party the tasks of the reorganization of trade-union work, avoiding taking steps without preparation, which can only hinder matters.

2. THE UNITED FRONT

The movement for the united front is expressed in the growth of the influence of the Communist Party among the workers, in the striving of the workers to carry out joint activity, overcoming craft and other barriers (the movement for general strikes) in the rebuff to Green's letter on the expulsion of Communists by the A. F. of L. locals, in the attraction of the local organizations of the Socialist Party into the united front movement, in the wide movement of the united front against fascism and war. While overcoming its shortcomings in conducting the tactics of the united front, a sectarian and formal approach to the question of a united front and also opportunist mistakes, the party must insistently continue the campaign for the united front, placing the struggle for the united front at the basis of all its mass policy.

(1) First of all, the party must explain in its own ranks the significance of the united front in the condition of the United States of America. The efforts of the Socialist Party to base itself on the trade-unions and on the movement for a labor party shows that social reformism is trying to create a broad mass proletarian basis for itself, fusing itself even more completely with the leaders of the reformist trade-unions of the A. F. of L. Therefore, a most important peculiarity of the struggle against social reformism and the problem of the united front in the United States of America is the fact that the development of the united front now rests primarily on the capable and energetic work of the Communists in the A. F. of L. unions. This should be done on the grounds of the defense of the general class interests and immediate needs of the working masses, on the winning of positions in the A. F. of L. unions by the Communists, in order to win the confidence of the membership of the A. F. of L. by exemplary participation in the current work of the union, as well as in the strike movement, so that the masses of the A. F. of L. members support the policy of the class struggle and look upon the Communist Party as their own party.

(2) A most important condition for the successful and correct carrying out of the united front in face of the fact that the idea of an independent proletarian party is very poorly developed among the workers, is the explanation of the role of the party, its tactics, and principles. But it is necessary to have in mind that the working masses will only understand the leading role of the party and accept the party leadership when they see by experience that the party is leading them to successes in the struggle against capital.

(3) A very serious obstacle on the path of the organization of a wide fighting united front of the working class by the party consists of the still strong sectarian features of the work of the party. This sectarianism cannot be eliminated merely by an ideological campaign, nor by the correcting of various isolated mistakes in the press or in practical work. In order to eliminate sectarianism, to come out on the broad political arena, putting before the masses all the questions of the American labor movement, win influence in the big mass organizations of the American proletariat, and draw into the party the basic strata of the American workers, the party should earnestly and energetically, from top to bottom, carry into life the tasks put by this resolution, and representing concrete proposals to aid the party to realize the turn to mass work and to overcome the remnants of sectarianism.

(4) An immediate practical task of the party is the further development of the united front with the local organization of the Socialist Party, continuing to make united front proposals to the national leaders. The party press and the party agitators must bring forward more convincing arguments in the polemic against the policy and leaders of the Socialist Party avoiding the replacement of arguments by abuse. This requires an increase of a convincing struggle of principles against social reformism in the press, strengthening the agitation and propaganda, while maintaining a comradely attitude to the reformist workers, with the most patient analysis of their arguments and mistakes.

In the approach to the various groupings in the Socialist Party, the party must direct particularly among strong and intensive fire against the right wing of the Socialist Party, exposing its cynically conciliatory policy toward the bourgeoisie and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, appealing to the indignation of the proletarian rank and file of the Socialist Party against the leaders. At the same time an extremely intensive struggle must be carried on against the middle

trend represented by Thomas, the ideological of the Socialist Party pointing out its capitulation to the right wing, its practical incapability of carrying on a policy differing in essence from the right wing in the party. In respect to the left tendency, we should carry on more explanatory work in relation to the proletarian elements, pointing out their mistakes, inconsistency, and half-heartedness, both of principles and in respect to the double nature of their position in the party—on the one hand left declarations, and on the other hand the right policy of the party as a whole, for which the left tendency bears responsibility and in essence carries it out in practice—at any rate in some cases. In relation to the leading elements of the left current, it is necessary to carry on such a policy that the working masses, on the basis of their relations to the important current questions of the class struggle, will be able to see the insincerity of those who only play at being left in order to deceive the masses, at the same time drawing more closely into joint work all sincere functionaries. The party organizations must get into contact with the left groups, especially in important States like Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, where a large majority of the votes of the referendum were cast for the Detroit declaration. Every possible encouragement should be given to the group which supports the united front, as well as to all sincere supporters of the united front. In respect to the declaration itself, while recognizing it as a step to the left in comparison with the former position of the Socialist Party and the position of the rights, it is necessary to point out both its shortcomings and the fact that on the whole it is a compromise reformist platform.

The successful operation of the united front is only possible if the position of the party on this question and the experience of conducting the united front is systematically explained in the party press.

3. THE LABOR PARTY

The political changes which have taken place among the masses demand that the Communist Party should review its attitude toward the reviving mass sentiments in favor of a labor party and in respect to such a party if it should be formed on a mass scale. The correct approach to this question was formulated, on the whole, by the Sixth World Congress in 1928 in the following form:

"On the question of the organizing of a labor party, the Congress resolves: That the party concentrate its attention on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad labor party organized from below."

Since 1929, until now, this correct orientation has necessitated unqualified opposition by the party to the current proposals to organize a labor party which, in this period, could only have been an appendage to the existing bourgeois parties. However, the events in 1934 are beginning to place this question in a new light. The mass disintegration of the traditional party system has begun, and a new mass party may come forward in the near future.

FOUR DIFFERENT TYPES

As for the nature of the new mass party, the greatest probabilities reflecting the two chief political tendencies of this movement—the class struggle or class collaboration—are: (a) A "popular" or "progressive" party based on the La Follette, Sinclair, Olson, and Long movements, and typified by these leaders and their programs; (b) a "farmer-labor party" with a predominantly trade-union basis, with a program consisting of immediate demands (possibly with vague demagoguery about the "cooperative commonwealth," à la Olson), dominated by a section of the trade-union bureaucracy, assisted by the Socialist Party and excluding the Communists; (c) a "farmer-labor" or "labor" party of the same character, differing only in name and the degree of its demagoguery; (d) a labor party built up from below on a trade-union basis but in conflict with the bureaucracy, putting forward a program of demands closely connected with mass struggles, strikes, etc., with the leading role played by the militant elements, including the Communists. These variations can develop also parallel or in combination.

The major task of the Communist Party is to build and strengthen its own direct influence, to increase the number of its members, and in every way to strengthen the authority of the party among the masses, to struggle for its principles and tactics. For the very reason that life itself raises the question of the Labor Party, we must strengthen our party as the only real independent

proletarian party which cannot be replaced by any other organization in the struggle of the working class for its liberation. The party cannot expect, however, that it will be able to bring directly and immediately under its own banner the millions who are breaking away from the old parties. At the same time, it cannot remain indifferent or passive to the further development of these millions nor toward the organized form which their political activity will take.

(1) In these changed conditions the Communist Party must change its negative position toward the labor-party question. It should declare its support for the movement of a labor party and fight in this movement for the policy of the class struggle, resisting all attempts to bring the movement under the control of social reformism. It must ally itself with all elements that are ready to work loyally toward a similar aim. The Communist Party must carry on a systematic struggle against all attempts to direct this movement along the channel of a "popular" or "progressive" party or along the lines of a party of the same character, masquerading as a "labor" party. This is also a practical basis for the struggle against bureaucratic control of the mass movement from above by the right reformists who want to expel the Communists and the revolutionary rank and file members of the organization.

FOR CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION

Therefore, every effort must be made to bring a clear differentiation of these two camps which are trying to direct the mass movement into various channels, on the one hand, that of a moderate, liberal, and social-reformist opposition masking class collaboration and the subordination of the workers to the interests of capital, of profits, and private property, and, on the other hand, that of an essentially revolutionary mass struggle for immediate demands which go beyond the limits of the interests of capital. In this struggle for differentiation, care must be taken to avoid all sectarian narrowness, which would only play into the hands of the reformists. This means, first of all, that the basis of gathering together of the working class must be the immediate demands with the broadest mass appeal, not allowing the reformist leaders to split the masses by speculating on the fact that a part of the workers accept the program of the proletariat, while another part supports the policy of class struggle only for the partial demands of the workers, but are not yet ready to go farther on this path.

(2) In this situation, the simple slogan "for a labor party," which expresses such conflicting tendencies, of itself is not sufficient to be an effective banner under which the class forces of the workers can be rallied. The Communists enter the movement for the labor party only with the purpose of helping the masses to break away from the bourgeois and social-reformist parties and to find the path to the revolutionary class struggle.

All premature organizational moves should be carefully avoided. The Communist Party must not now take the initiative in the organization of a labor party on a national scale. But in the various States this problem will present itself in various ways according to the relationship of forces. It will be necessary to study the situation carefully in each case and the tempo of development, adjusting our practical position and tactics in accordance with these differences. In those States and localities where the conditions have matured for the formation of a mass labor party, the party then should itself, or through people and organizations close to the Communist Party, take the initiative in giving organizational form to this movement, for a labor party will only then serve as a weapon for the unfolding of the class struggle of the proletariat and facilitate its liberation from the influence of reformism, when, from the very outset, our party will play an active role and show initiative, and by working energetically in the A. F. or L. will win important positions and will achieve successes in the organization of the united front with socialist and reformist workers. It is also in this manner that our party will be in a position to seriously exercise its revolutionary influence on the broad masses, participating in the movement for a labor party and winning them for a real revolutionary policy.

MUST BE INDEPENDENT FORCE

The struggle for the political leadership of the masses who are breaking away from the Democratic and Republican Parties depends at all its stages on the constant growth and strengthening of the Communist Party as an in-

dependent revolutionary force for which purpose it is necessary to popularize the party program to ever broader masses. The chief means to this aim is the bold and energetic development of our work for the united front in all spheres, but above all in the trade unions, especially those affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The results of the elections showed that Roosevelt's influence upon the masses, while weakened and even shaken to some extent, still remains predominant. The Communist Party has insufficiently utilized the opportunities to politically enlighten the masses who are disillusioned in the New Deal. Bourgeois reformists of the type of Sinclair, the Progressives with La Follette, the Farmer-Labor Party with Olson, etc., were able to draw in their wake the great majority of those who broke with Roosevelt and the Republicans. This brings forward the necessity of improving and strengthening the political agitation of the party and more convincingly and firmly exposing Roosevelt's policies, his bourgeois fellow travelers and opponents from the Left. While conducting an intense campaign against the extreme right Fascist and semi-Fascist representatives of finance capital, the Republican Party, the American Liberty League, etc., it is necessary to show the class kinship of Roosevelt's policy with the policy of his opponents from the right, explaining to the masses that Roosevelt with the New Deal and N. R. A. policy does not embarrass or hinder the carrying out of the policy of finance capital, of Wall Street, but, on the contrary, resorting to more skillful methods, rather makes easier the carrying out of this policy. Only the class struggle against the entire policy of the bourgeoisie can defend the interests of the masses and crush the plans of finance capital and fascism.

In order to strengthen the work of the party, it is necessary to further improve the Daily Worker, which has achieved a number of successes. The political agitation in the paper, and the propaganda of the tactics and principles of the party, must be improved, strengthening by every means the struggle against social-reformism. At the present stage of development the party and the paper must most urgently be given more of a mass character, both as to contents and form, so as to make it reach hundreds of thousands of readers.

The party must further develop its publishing activity, improving its propagandist work, and greatly increasing the issue of propagandist literature.

Work must be intensified on the training of cadres for the party. The system of instructors, which has justified itself in practice as an effective form of closer contacts and help for the lower party organizations by the leading bodies, must be extended and improved on the basis of the use of experience. Simultaneously, the initiative of the lower party organizations must be developed in every way, giving them leadership more on the basis of conviction, examples, and assistance.

Mr. FREY. In 1937 there was a conference or convention of the Young Communist Party. This is taken from the Party Organizer, which is a publication of the Communist Party, and serves as information and instructions to party organizers. The statement I am reading from is from the March 7, 1937, issue, as follows:

One or two years ago, when we began to entrench ourselves in the A. F. of L. unions, our comrades had to work carefully. But today our comrades are known, their work is appreciated. The question now is to come out more boldly with the independent role of the party, to make known to the masses what the party is doing, what the party role is. By properly mobilizing our forces inside the A. F. of L. unions we shall be able to strengthen our ranks by the thousands.

In order to coordinate our work in the unions we are organizing a trade-union commission, as follows: All party members who are delegates to the Central Labor Council, and one member from each union that is not represented on the council, to meet every 2 weeks as a body to take up the problems in the Central Labor Council and the unions at the same time. From this body we will elect a bureau of three to function between meetings. In this way we will be able to eliminate unnecessary meetings and take up all problems in the Central Labor Council and carry them back to the unions with much less difficulty.

I have here a catechism sent out by the Communist Party, and I will read only one paragraph for the record. I desire to read this ninth question.

What is the structure of the Communist Party?

The basic organization is the shop, plantation, or street unit. All the units in a certain territory—say, a city or half a city—are under the leadership of a section. A number of sections in a given territory (a State or several States) are under the leadership of the district. All the districts are under the leadership of the party's center in New York. There is a Communist Party in every country, all of them belonging to and led by the Communist International, with headquarters in Moscow. The unit is led by the unit buro; the section by the section committee; the party, as a whole, by its highest body, the central committee. Example: The Birmingham district. This is led by a district committee (buro). In the Birmingham district are many sections; for instance, city sections X and Y in Birmingham, then the Atlanta section, the black-belt section, the New Orleans section, and so on.

I am emphasizing that because at its convention in May the Communist Party came out with the statement that communism was twentieth century Americanism; that they were an independent party in this country, and that they did not accept instructions or directions from Moscow. They stated that when they followed them out, as they had been doing up to the present time, it was simply because those instructions met with the approval of the Communists here.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

To each party member: Read, study, and keep this outline.

1. Whom does the Communist Party represent?

The Communist Party represents the working class. It is the only political party which represents and fights for the interest of the workers and poor farmers, and the Negro people. It represents the workers just as the Republican and Democratic Parties represent the big employers, landlords, and bankers. On every question, the Communist Party is on the side of the best interests of the working class as a whole.

2. What is the final aim of the Communist Party?

The final aim of the Communist Party is to lead the toiling masses to take over for themselves the factories, the mines, and land. The Communist Party says that the working class, which produces everything, should own everything. The taking over of power by the workers will come in the course of a revolution, in which the employing class will be overthrown. The toilers will then set up a workers and farmers' government, like the one in the Soviet Union. This will eventually lead to the abolition of all classes.

3. Does the Communist Party have any everyday, immediate demands besides its final aim?

The Communist Party struggles every day for the most immediate and burning needs of the workers and toiling farmers. At the present time this means a struggle against Roosevelt's hunger and war program. The most important immediate demands are: (1) No wage cuts. Increased wages and increased relief to meet rising prices. (2) Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the employers and the Government. (3) No taxes on the poor farmers, no evictions, no foreclosures. Right of the croppers to sell their own crops. (4) Equal rights for Negroes and self-determination for Black Belt. (5) Defense of the Soviet Union, the only workers' country in the world, against imperialist war. (6) For the right of the workers and toiling farmers to meet, organize, and petition.

4. How does the Communist Party work to carry out these demands and its final aim?

The Communist Party organizes the working class, wherever workers are, and the toiling farmers. The most advanced of the toilers it takes into its ranks. It is the leader in the organization of the toilers into militant groups that meet everyday needs—left-wing unions, defense organizations, such as the International Labor Defense, farmers organizations, unemployed councils, and

so on. The Communist Party educates the working class as a whole to its aims and its program. It does this by constant agitation, propaganda, and by actual leadership in the struggle.

5. What position does the Communist Party hold in relation to the working class as a whole?

The Communist Party is part and parcel of the whole working class. It has no interests apart from the workers as a whole. It is made up of the most advanced people in the working class—the most alert to their interests, the most devoted, the most loyal, the most tested in the struggles of the workers. It is the advance guard of the working class in its struggle with the employers.

6. Who can be a member of the Communist Party?

Any worker, farmer or other person, white or Negro, who accepts sincerely the party's program, stands ready to work for this program, accepts party discipline, and becomes active in a unit and pays his dues, can be a member of the Communist Party.

7. What are the duties of a party member?

A party member must accept and understand the party program and try to put it into practice. He must explain the program to other workers and draw them into the party. He must become a leader of the workers, wherever he may be—in the factory, on the farms, relief gangs, neighborhood, etc. He must—and this is very important—recruit new members into the party.

8. How does a unit of the Communist Party work?

A unit of the Communist Party is the basic organization of the party. It is made up of all the members of the party working in a certain shop or mine or plantation (in which case it is called a shop, mine, or plantation unit) or of all the members living in a certain territory (in which case it is called a neighborhood or street unit). The units have regular weekly meetings of all members, in which all take part in the discussions and the planning of the work. It is the duty of the unit to be the political leader of the workers in the shop or neighborhood where it is. It leads the workers in all matters—struggles against wage cuts, against evictions, against discrimination against Negroes, etc.

9. What is the structure of the Communist Party?

The basic organization is the shop, plantation, or street unit. All the units in a certain territory—say, a city or half a city—are under the leadership of a section. A number of sections in a given territory (a State or several States) are under the leadership of the district. All the districts are under the leadership of the party's center in New York. There is a Communist Party in every country, all of them belong to and led by the Communist International, with headquarters in Moscow. The unit is led by the unit buro; the section by the section committee; the party as a whole by its highest body, the central committee. Example: The Birmingham district. This is led by a district committee (buro). In the Birmingham district are many sections; for instance, city sections X and Y in Birmingham, then the Atlanta section, the black-belt section, the New Orleans section, and so on.

For more information and for literature, write to "Box 1S13, Birmingham, Ala."

Mr. FREY. Later on, we will go into more detail with reference to Roy Hudson, who has been so active in the affairs of the Maritime Workers. Instead of taking up the committee's time, I am putting in the record the instructions which Roy Hudson sent to all the lake ports in connection with the efforts the Communist Party was making to organize the seamen and longshoremen. It is dated March 2, 1937, as follows:

To All Lake Ports.

DEAR COMRADES: This is to inform you that in accordance with the discussion and agreement that we arrived at in regard to work among the Great Lakes seamen, we are in a few days sending a force from here to help assist in getting the work organized and started. The comrade we are sending up is named Duffy. He has been in the party for 4 or 5 years, and is very well equipped to handle the job, is capable and experienced. If given the proper cooperation I am sure that he can be of considerable assistance. He will arrive in Buffalo in 4 or 5 days, and probably will notify the other cities as to what time he can be expected to be there.

We are also taking steps to insure that all progressives and party members who will be leaving the coast to sail on the Great Lakes this season will establish contact as soon as they arrive on the Lakes. Please see to it that attention is given to any of the people who show up there, as they can be of considerable help.

For the purpose of check-up and to guide our activities in each port, I wish to briefly formulate the general agreement we arrived at on the basis of the discussion all of us had here.

1. That through agitation and calling of meetings in each port, we should attempt to set up in each port organizational committees.

2. On the basis of this activity we should attempt to within a few weeks, and especially before the season starts, call a conference to discuss the question of an organizational campaign to organize those companies that form the Lake Carriers' Association.

3. In our preliminary work we raise the question of establishing organizational committees to prepare for an organizational campaign, and that we request the participation of the International Seamen's Union in launching such a drive, and also try to get the endorsement or backing of this campaign to organize the Great Lakes seamen.

4. Our immediate task is to attempt to create the spirit and mobilize the workers to launch an organizational campaign. This is to be achieved especially establishing organizational committees in the various ports, activizing the seamen, etc.

As to the general form of organization, that will depend upon developments in the coming few weeks or months. In order to get things moving in this direction it was agreed that each district should immediately attempt to call a meeting of all party members we may have among the seamen to discuss the initial steps in this work, and attempt to organize the work of the fraction in each port, and to assign some comrade as fraction secretary in each port.

In addition to that, we were to send in someone from here for a period of a few months to help coordinate the work and get it started. Likewise while much of our activity will be centered at this time, in view of the organizational weaknesses of the International Seamen's Union, among the unorganized seamen and in the establishment of these organizational committees, we at the same time must take steps to try and get groups organized inside the International Seamen's Union, demanding the calling of official meetings to discuss the question of an organizational campaign. Where such meetings are called, we should attempt to get these meetings to go on record in favor of an organizational drive, reduction and initiation fees to a dollar or two, the calling of mass meetings, the setting up of organization committees, etc.

This program of course is rather general, but we agreed then that the main thing to do was to attempt to get some activity started and as a result of this activity the situation would develop and we would be able then more clearly to formulate our task and perspectives.

We trust that the districts keep us informed of what steps have already been taken and as to what the response is.

Comradely yours,

ROY HUDSON.

The CHAIRMAN. In brief, what were those instructions that were given?

Mr. FREY. I will go into that in more detail in a moment. The statement contains only three pages, and I will read it. This is a guide for Communist work aboard ship, and it is issued by waterfront section 230, Seventh Avenue, New York City. It reads as follows:

THE PARTY IS THE LEADER

The campaign and mobilization of the workers for struggle must be carried out by all party organizations * * * above all by the factory nuclei (unit) * * * the factory (ship or dock) must be the center for carrying on our party and trade-union work in carrying on for the struggle.

It is on the ship that we must root ourselves. Abstract agitation around general issues that may be meaningless to the average seamen will gain us nothing.

Work in the union meetings only will not solve the issues.

We must prove that our party deserves their support and loyalty by giving correct leadership in their day-to-day struggles and demands.

A UNIT ABOARD EVERY SHIP

To accomplish the rooting of the party aboard the ships is the duty of every party member. He must build a unit by recruiting aboard his ship and establishing his prestige as a capable seaman and fighter for the crew's interests. He must have a long-range view of the need of the party being the leader of the workers in the ultimate struggle for power. The presence of party units, leaders of the rank and file, are our only guaranty of response to strikes and actions. To build units means that comrades will have to stick to ships. We have to overcome the natural tendency for turn-over.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE UNIT

Comrades working in mills and factories do not think of leaving their jobs (unless fired) without party permission. We must have the same feeling of responsibility. Every ship and factory must become a stronghold for our party.

It takes three or more comrades to form a unit. These units belong to the waterfront section, but are independent of the shore unit. They are furnished with their own dues, stamps, etc.

The unit needs an organizer, educational director, literature agent, and dues payment (finance) secretary. In other words, this unit functions like a shore-side shop unit.

PARTY IS NOT A CRAFT ORGANIZATION

Every comrade aboard the ship will belong to the unit. Craft functions have nothing to do with party organization.

The organizer will see to it that the unit carries out the work decided upon. The educational director is responsible for the general presentation of the party to the crew (agitation, etc.) and for the political study and development of the members and sympathizers, arranges forums, etc.

If membership is large enough several units can be organized on a watch basis, with coordination through the organizers.

KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE SHORE SIDE

Before sailing, the unit must meet with a section representative. These meetings will be for the purpose of reporting on the functioning of the unit, planning future work, correction of work, etc.

MEET REGULARLY ABOARD SHIP

While meeting regularly, care must be taken not to expose the party as such. A little thinking will determine how to go about this, depending on the individual ship. Generally, two things expose the party:

1. Carelessness.
2. Poor work.

The first gives the spies an easy indication of the party membership and apparatus. The second gives "red baiters" and backward workers a chance to gripe at the party.

ELECT THE UNIT LEADERSHIP

Be frank and self-critical in getting the unit organized and electing the leadership, because, once elected, the leadership must be respected and obeyed.

YOUR FIRST MEETING

Discuss the general conditions aboard ship and select a common grievance as the first task of the delegates of the departments. This for mobilizing the crew and getting an opportunity to "classify" the members of it.

Organize the meeting times and places.

Plan a definite campaign of activity in all the divisions of the work on the basis of a discussion as to what seems the most proper methods of work, in the union, political education, etc.

ISSUE A SHIP'S PAPER

This paper should be handwritten, typed, or mimeoed, depending on the ship situation, length of trips, etc. The paper should reflect ship and company news and should also raise issues for the crew.

Establish contact with "Sparks" and if he is willing and capable he can be of great help in getting out timely leaflets, bulletins, etc. He can also give careful interpretations of news in his regular bulletin.

LITERATURE

Establish our literature in the regular library, if possible. Have it aboard and in circulation at any event.

If possible, get contacts to subscribe to the cost of it. Don't throw the "pulp" junk overboard. This is sectarian and plays into the hands of the "red baiters."

CLASSES AND FORUMS

The unit leadership should determine the type of classes and study groups that can be established. A union class in current maritime problems and union strategy is generally possible. Smaller political study groups can be organized among the members and sympathizers. Where possible, organize forums and lectures, using people from the passengers, etc.

Develop any type of activity along these lines that will involve any number of the crew in it. If some of the men want to study a language, etc., and if there is someone aboard who can help them, get it going.

WE ARE THE PARTY FRACTION IN THE UNION

We must see to it that union work is carried on in the correct manner. But we must not become a substitute for it. We should always try to develop honest, capable nonparty forces in the work. We must not function as only a progressive union group. We are not wobblers. We are revolutionary workers preparing for the decisive struggle to end capitalism. We have to exist as an independent and influential force in our own right, not just be the "tail" for the union work.

FRATERNIZE WITH THE SHORE-SIDE WORKERS

When ashore in the home port, particularly, we should see to it that as many members of the crew as possible get acquainted with the longshoremen and fraternize with them. In union meetings aboard ship, a report on the current I. L. A. situation should be made. This information can be secured by reading the rank and file paper of the longshoremen and by inquiring at the section.

It also goes as a matter of course that we should be informed as to the current situation in the licensed men's unions.

Proper attention to the above two points will speed the actual building of the federation spirit in the industry.

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

We should try to establish the broadest fraternal relations with the foreign workers and people. Where the workers' movements are legal this can be done very effectively and on a mass scale by arranging for dances, shows, etc., in their halls. In Fascist countries we cannot operate so easily. Each unit should decide on what is to be done in this case.

It is not wise for individual members to act on their own in these countries.

REPORT TO PARTY REGULARLY

When ashore, if a party organization exists, report to it. Write to your home port party organization regularly if on extended trips.

Each party member should feel at liberty to write articles for the union and party papers, discuss any problems or questions with party leaders, etc.

From the day you get your party book you have a full vote and all rights of a member. You also carry the responsibility of forming the party's policies and carrying them out.

Try to study systematically. The educational committee comrades and more experienced comrades will always be glad to help you plan a course of study while asea or ashore. But try to establish the habit of reading the Communist, which is the monthly scientific magazine of our party; the Communist International, the monthly magazine of the Communist International; and the Party Organizer, which monthly gives concrete examples of work and experiences of party organizations that will be of help to you.

You can get literature credit before sailing.

Here is a list of the major party headquarters or bookshops on both coasts and the Lakes:

Boston, 8 Beach Street; Buffalo, 61 West Chippewa; Cleveland, 1522 Prospect Avenue; Duluth, 28 East First Street; Milwaukee, 419 W. State Street; New Orleans, 130 Chartres Street; Oakland, 567 Twelfth Street; Portland, Oreg. 314 West South Madison; Sacramento, 1024 Sixth Street; St. Louis, 350 Franklin Avenue; San Francisco, 121 Haight Street; Seattle, 713½ Pine Street; Tacoma, 1315 Tacoma Avenue; Baltimore, 501A North Eutaw Street; Chicago, 200 West Van Buren Street; Detroit, 3537 Woodward Avenue; Los Angeles, 230 South Spring Street; Newark, 33 Halway Street; New York, 35 East Twelfth Street; Philadelphia, 104 South Ninth Street; Providence, 335 Westminster Street (room 42); San Diego, 635 East Street; San Pedro, 244 West Sixth Street; Superior, 601 Tower Avenue; Toledo, 214 Michigan Street.

If you have any questions, come to the section; also write to the following address: J. Robinson, 50 East Thirteenth Street.

MR. STARNES. Let me ask you about the Communists on board ship. Have you any personal knowledge of any Communists being aboard the ship that President Hoover was on?

MR. FREY. No, sir; I have none.

There was an important meeting of the leaders of the Communist Party called in New York by the chairman, W. Z. Foster, about the middle of May 1937. It was for the purpose largely of receiving a report from Mr. Browder and others on the people's front. Mr. Browder and others had been over in April of that year, attending an international conference in Paris, France, at which problems and policies of Communist groups were discussed.

At this meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party there were present among others, Clarence Hathaway, Jack Stachel, Isreal Amter, Fred Brown (real name Alpi), Roy Hudson, Lena Davis (read name Chernenco), John Williamson, Pat Toughy—the name as I have it here is wrong, it should be Toohey; I have referred to that previously—Morris Childs (real name Chilovski), William Weinstone, Harry Gannes, Harry Raymond, and some representatives of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker.

I want to read from the report which I received of this meeting. This is in part the report that Browder made.

The Paris Conference was unanimous in agreeing that the American Communist Party's conception of the people's front was too narrow, that it is no longer possible to assume that a real people's front can be raised in the United States simply by trying to build farmer-labor parties. It is necessary to broaden the people's front policy so that the Communists can have an immediate perspective, as they cannot wait for the organization of a farmer-labor party but must begin now to work toward a people's front. That means that the Communist Party must take advantage of the present favorable conditions and work inside of the Democratic Party because there are elements in that party that are anti-Fascist, progressive, and really democratic.

MR. CHAIRMAN. I would have called the committee's attention to this, but I have such a mass of documents that I did not know there was such a reference to what they were doing, or I would have brought that up.

THE CHAIRMAN. We are concerned with the truth.

Mr. FREY. I know you are.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee wants to be absolutely fair, and all we want is proof of the facts. We are nonpartisan so far as we are dealing with this subject.

Mr. FREY. I am fortunate, Mr. Chairman, in being thoroughly nonpartisan. I am not now a member of any political party; I have never been a member of any political party; and so long as I hold an American Federation of Labor position I never will be. (Continuing:)

Developments to date show that such penetration of the Democratic Party in the United States is possible and produces good results. This is shown in the results of the last elections in the State of Washington—

Remember, this is 1937—

where the Communist Party candidates ran with others in the primaries on the Commonwealth Federation ticket, and four Communist legislative candidates were elected. By combining with other progressive forces in the State of Washington, the Communist Party has shown in a small way what a people's front will be able to do. These Communist Party candidates in the State of Washington were elected as Democrats and the same thing can be done in many other States.

The Communist Party must work with Labor's Non-Partisan League, headed by Maj. George L. Berry, recently appointed United States Senator from Tennessee. The Communist Party can also do some effective work in certain places in the United States in the Republican Party, especially in those States like Wisconsin and Minnesota where the Republican Party has left-wing elements.

I am glad we have balanced it now.

Mr. HEALEY. You do not discriminate at all.

Mr. FREY. No; it is 50-50 now, so it is all right. [Continuing:]

The decision of the Paris Conference was that each case in the United States must be decided upon its merits, with particular consideration given to the special local situation.

In other words, the Communist Party is a chameleon politically in the United States.

In those States where the Communist Party cannot enter candidates of its own, it can and must support the candidates who are real progressives. One of the most effective means of getting Communist Party candidates into office is to utilize the unions organized by John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization and get the latter to endorse Communist Party candidates on old-party tickets.

Labor's Non-Partisan League can become the main stream heading to class political action, just as the C. I. O. is now the main stream for organized labor. It must be said quite frankly that the Communist Party shall not spend time trying to build up labor parties and farmer-labor parties until the American labor movement is ready for it. By working with Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Communists can be in a position to play a leading part in launching a Nation-wide farmer-labor party when conditions develop to such an extent that the masses of the workers realize that they can progress no further by staying in the old political parties.

The possibility of, and the opportunity for building a "people's front" in this country in the immediate future is and may be never better. To the extent that the Communists are able to penetrate and influence the elements that still support the Democratic Party. To that extent also, the party will be able to push President Roosevelt and his administration more to the left, obtain more social legislation, carry further the organization of the unions in the basic industries and lay the basis for a powerful class party that can be launched at the proper moment.

Now, remember that we are inside of the meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party. This was not prepared or said for publication. This is a conference. I am reading now from what was said in that conference [continuing]:

Browder's report—

Which I have just read—

of the decisions of the Paris conference shocked many of his hearers because it was more or less of a reversal of American Communist Party strategy. It was accepted, however, without adverse comment, as an order from higher authority.

What higher authority? We were told by the Communist Party in their convention that they were the highest authority. Well, this is the highest authority in the country, and the highest authority over them, of course, is Moscow. [Continuing:]

Privately, a number of those present remarked that such a proposal, if submitted a year ago, would have resulted in the expulsion for opportunism of those suggesting it. Touby—

and the name is spelled wrong; it should be Toohy; Patrick Toohy, of Pennsylvania—

Brown, Hudson, Davis, Williamson, and Weinstone discussed Browder's report and endeavored to show how excellently that policy would work in given localities.

I am turning the whole report over, without reference, and I want to quote briefly from William Z. Foster—

William Z. Foster reported on the trade union question saying in substance that the Communist policy immediately after the Tampa convention of the American Federation of Labor last fall—

That was in 1936—

had been one of the urging unity between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor but that since then conditions have changed. The center of gravity has shifted from the American Federation of Labor to the Committee for Industrial Organization as a result of the intensive organizational drive of the Committee for Industrial Organization and its successes in the automobile and steel industries. The Communists must now take a more positive stand in support of the Committee for Industrial Organization, at the same time strengthening the party force and beginning a differentiation as far as tendencies to compromise and set up strike machinery are concerned.

Now, let us get this—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Mr. Frey, before you go on, that document that you have there is a very interesting document, and very persuasive, but as for me, I would like to have some little proof as to the authenticity of that document.

Mr. FREY. I made the statement when I began to testify before this committee that if the question of authenticity was raised over any of the statements or documents I read here, I would agree to meet privately and confidentially with the chairman of the committee, and if I then failed to convince him as to the authenticity, I would withdraw all that I had presented. I cannot openly give the source of my information.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand that; but you yourself are convinced that that document is authentic, and you are also convinced that you can supply the committee with the proof that they ask for of its authenticity?

Mr. FREY. As a man who has held office in the trades-union movement for 42 years consecutively, and has a little respect for himself, I certainly would not come before this committee and present any matter unless I was absolutely convinced of its authenticity.

I think I will repeat:

The Communists must now take a more positive stand in support of the Committee for Industrial Organization, at the same time strengthening the party force and beginning a differentiation as far as tendencies to compromise and set up strike machinery are concerned.

This is the Communist Party now, setting up strike machinery.

The Communists must be very careful not to go too far and isolate themselves from the Committee for Industrial Organization leadership. They must proceed cautiously, for they cannot afford to go to the other extreme and accept uncritically everything done by the Committee for Industrial Organization leadership, nor must they become carping critics. The Communists can differentiate themselves from the Committee for Industrial Organization leadership only by being the best organizers, and each individual Communist must show by his own example what real militant leadership actually is. Then when their reactionaries act to discredit the Communists, it will not be possible for them to do so. However, if the attempt is made, the reactionaries will only expose themselves before the workers. While the center of gravity has shifted to the Committee for Industrial Organization, the Communists cannot neglect work in the American Federation of Labor, and in cases where reactionary American Federation of Labor leaders act against the interests of the workers, the Communists must try to isolate them from the masses so that they will have no influence.

(The copy of report referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST

NEW YORK, May 1, 1937.

A special meeting of the leading elements of the Communist Party of the United States of America was called in New York by National Chairman William Z. Foster and National Secretary Earl R. Browder to discuss the decisions made at the Paris conference of the several Communist Parties throughout the world. This Paris conference was held in that city during the third week of April and was attended by Communist leaders from quite a number of nations.

The New York meeting of the American party leaders was held on Saturday, May 8, on the ninth floor of 35 West Twelfth Street, New York City, and was attended by Clarence Hathaway, Jack Stachel, Isreal Amter, F. Brown (real name Aipi), and Roy Hudson, members of the central executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America; Lena Davis (real name Chernenko), district organizer from New Jersey; John Williamson, district organizer for Ohio; Pat Toughy, of Philadelphia; Morris Childs (real name Chiloviski), district organizer for Illinois; William Weinstone, district organizer for Michigan; Harry Gannes and Harry Raymond (the latter two on the editorial staff of the Daily Worker), and several others who were not identified.

Foster and Browder laid down four matters for consideration by the group, to wit:

- "1. The people's front.
- "2. The trade union question.
- "3. The peace movement.
- "4. Building of the Communist Party of the United States of America."

Earl R. Browder reported on the "people's front" proposition. In substance his remarks were as follows: That he, William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, and James Ford were the official American representatives to the international conference held in Paris last month; that the principal Communist Parties of the world were represented at the conference; and that the Soviet Government and the Communist International were represented by Kossor, Mamilski, Kuusinen, Bela Kun (former Communist director of Hungary); Kirsanova (wife of Yaroslowsky); Stassova (international head of the M. O. P. R., or International Labor Defense); Palmer Butt of England and Pieck of Germany. Robert Minor and James Ford stayed in Europe and are now in Spain helping

to improve the spirit of the American section of the International Brigade fighting for the loyalist Government of Spain.

The Paris conference was unanimous in agreeing that the American Communist Party's conception of the "people's front" was too narrow, that it is no longer possible to assume that a real "people's front" can be raised in the United States simply by trying to build Farmer-Labor parties. It is necessary to broaden the "people's front" policy so that the Communists can have an immediate perspective, as they cannot wait for the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party but must begin now to work toward a "people's front." That means that the Communist Party must take advantage of the present favorable conditions and work inside of the Democratic Party because there are elements in that party that are anti-Fascist, progressive and really democratic. Developments to date show that such penetration of the Democratic Party in the United States is possible and produces good results. This is shown in the results of the last elections in the State of Washington where the Communist Party candidates ran with others in the primaries on the Commonwealth Federation ticket, and four Communist legislative candidates were elected. By combining with other progressive forces in the State of Washington, the Communist Party has shown in a small way what a "people's front" will be able to do. These Communist Party candidates in the State of Washington were elected as Democrats and the same thing can be done in many other States.

The Communist Party must work with Labor's Non-Partisan League, headed by Maj. George L. Berry, recently appointed United States Senator from Tennessee. The Communist Party can also do some effective work in certain places in the United States in the Republican Party, especially in those States like Wisconsin and Minnesota where the Republic Party has left-wing elements.

The decision of the Paris Conference was that each case in the United States must be decided upon its merits, with particular consideration given to the special local situation. In those States where the Communist Party cannot enter candidates of its own, it can and must support the candidates who are real progressives. One of the most effective means of getting Communist Party candidates into office is to utilize the unions organized by John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization and get the latter to endorse Communist Party candidates on old-party tickets.

Labor's Non-Partisan League can become the main stream heading to class political action, just as the Committee for Industrial Organization is now the main stream for organized labor. It must be said quite frankly that the Communist Party shall not spend time trying to build up labor parties and Farmer-Labor parties until the American labor movement is ready for it. By working with Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Communists can be in a position to play a leading part in launching a Nation-wide Farmer-Labor Party when conditions develop to such an extent that the masses of the workers realize that they can progress no farther by staying in the old political parties.

The possibility of, and the opportunity for building a "people's front" in this country in the immediate future is and may be never better. To the extent that the Communists are able to penetrate and influence the elements that still support the Democratic Party. To that extent also, the party will be able to push President Roosevelt and his administration more to the left, obtain more social legislation, carry further the organization of the unions in the basic industries and lay the basis for a powerful class party that can be launched at the proper moment.

Browder's report of the decisions of the Paris Conference shocked many of his hearers because it was more or less of a reversal of American Communist Party strategy. It was accepted, however, without adverse comment, as an order from higher authority. Privately, a number of those present remarked that such a proposal, if submitted a year ago, would have resulted in the expulsion for opportunism of those suggesting it. Touhy, Brown, Hudson, Davis, Williamson, and Weinstone discussed Browder's report and endeavored to show how excellently that policy would work in given localities.

Touhy made the statement that William Leader of the Hosiery Workers Union was one of the most prominent people in the Republican city administration of Mayor S. Davis Wilson of Philadelphia, and was also active in Labor's Non-Partisan League. Touhy said that the Communists could support Mayor Wilson and try to get Communists on the Republican ticket for lesser offices in that city. He also said that in the anthracite coal region the Communists can cer-

tainly get their people in many offices by entering the Democratic primaries in support of the machine of the Democratic Governor, George H. Earle, of Pennsylvania.

William Z. Foster reported on the trade-union question, saying in substance that the Communist policy, immediately after the Tampa convention of the A. F. of L. last fall, had been one of urging unity between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., but that since then conditions have changed. The center of gravity has shifted from the A. F. of L. to the C. I. O., as a result of the intensive organizational drive of the C. I. O. and its successes in the automobile and steel industries. The Communists must now take a more positive stand in support of the C. I. O., at the same time strengthening the party force and beginning a differentiation as far as tendencies to compromise and set up strike machinery are concerned. The Communists must be very careful not to go too far and isolate themselves from the C. I. O. leadership. They must proceed cautiously, for they cannot afford to go to the other extreme and accept uncritically everything done by the C. I. O. leadership, nor must they become carrying critics. The Communists can differentiate themselves from the C. I. O. leadership only by being the best organizers, and each individual Communist must show by his own example what real militant leadership actually is. Then when their actionaries act to discredit the Communists, it will not be possible for them to do so. However, if the attempt is made, the reactionaries will only expose themselves before the workers. While the center of gravity has shifted to the C. I. O., the Communists cannot neglect work in the A. F. of L., and in cases where reactionary A. F. of L. leaders act against the interests of the workers, the Communists must try to isolate them from the masses so that they will have no influence.

In discussing Foster's remarks, District Organizer Childs, of Chicago, stated that he had noted a marked change in the attitude of some of the C. I. O. leaders recently; that he had just received word from Chicago that at a regional meeting of the C. I. O. forces, someone from the Pacific coast had tried to raise the "red scare," and that Van A. Bittner, S. W. O. C. regional director in Chicago, had defended the Communists by saying they were his best organizers and that anyone who tried to raise the "red scare" was doing no real service for the C. I. O. Childs said that this is a decided change from several weeks ago, when the Chicago Communists thought that Bittner was one of the chief enemies of the party.

William Weinstone, of Detroit, said there is considerable red baiting in the United Automobile Workers Union in his district, but that he thought that John Brophy, director of the C. I. O., would soon intervene in the Detroit situation and put a stop to the redbaiting. Weinstone said that it is probable Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, would either abandon his attitude toward First Vice President Wyndham Mortimer and other radical leaders of the U. A. M. U., or be disciplined by the C. I. O. leadership. The inference drawn from Weinstone's report was that the disciplinary action would come from John L. Lewis.

On the trade-union situation it was decided that William Z. Foster will spend some time in Detroit and then proceed to Chicago. While in Chicago, he will work with the organizational drive. While there he will also give special attention to the development of an organizational campaign in the Chicago Stock Yards.

Earl R. Browder resumed the floor to discuss the peace movement. He said, in substance, that the European Communist comrades are very much disappointed with the United States peace policy, especially inasmuch as the American Communist Party did nothing to defend the League of Nations as an instrument that can be used for peaceful purposes. It is necessary to try to coordinate the American peace movement with the European peace movement and to utilize especially the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, as that pact is the property of the League of Nations and an American Secretary of State played a leading part in its formation. The Communist Party must also carry on agitation to define an aggressor in case of war and to do everything possible in the event of war to liberalize the Government. The peace movement, therefore, can also be made an important part of the general drive for a "People's Front" government. Much more must be done for Spain than has been accomplished. A decision was made to set aside the week of May 30 to June 6 to be known as "International Solidarity Week," during which time a campaign will be put on to raise funds for

the Loyalist government of that country and every effort must be put forth to make a success of this drive.

F. Brown discussed the Building the Communist Party proposal. He presented a gloomy picture saying in substance that the Communist Party membership increases very slowly, that its organizational strength is only an insignificant fraction of its actual influence and that the circulation of the Daily Worker and other Communist papers does not increase because most of the Communist Party members now working as trade-union organizers forget that they are Communists as well as trade unionists. One of the reasons for the slow growth of the Communist Party is that local campaigns are not developed so that the masses see the Communist Party in action. It is, therefore, necessary that all districts, sections, and units be activated. The general impression of all present seemed to be that the governing body of the Communist International is issuing orders in the form of a revolutionary policy and that the American Communists have nothing to do but to carry them out irrespective of their own individual ideas and wishes.

The CHAIRMAN. To understand that a little more fully, that is the report of the meeting, is it?

Mr. FREY. That is a report of the meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party held in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Made by a responsible person; made under such circumstances that there is no question about his responsibility?

Mr. FREY. I have as much reason to believe—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I can appreciate this situation, and the committee can appreciate it—that in dealing with this subject many people want to give information, but they wish to withhold their names, for obvious reasons, and yet at the same time, of course, the committee must exercise care and caution, because we cannot predicate a finding upon something that is not established as being thoroughly authentic; and I know you can appreciate that position on the part of the committee. For that reason I asked you if you were thoroughly familiar with the circumstances, and whether that report was made through very responsible sources.

Mr. FREY. It was made through a very responsible source; and I will say this now, and I will call attention to other meetings of the central committee of the Communist Party, and will read as I have now.

Up until a few weeks ago I was not at liberty to read what I have just read, and another matter which I will present to the committee. I took the question up with a responsible source of information, whom I have known for years, and in view of the importance of the committee's hearings, I was told to go ahead without permission.

In May of 1937 I did what is usually impossible for me—repeated almost three paragraphs of a meeting that had just taken place—the one I have just read to you. That led to the preferring of charges against certain parties inside of the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure we can appreciate that fact, and that point is the most difficult point that naturally confronts the committee. We have our sources of information, but in many instances, in order to get the information, the party who gives it declines to have his name used, and exacts a promise that his name will not be used, for many reasons. Many of them fear personal harm; some of them fear exposure, which will reveal the source of the information. But that document seems to be very important, and at a later date we will discuss the question of the authenticity of it. You and I will discuss the question, and members of the com-

mittee who are interested, and I am sure that whatever is told to this committee in confidence will be treated that way.

Mr. FREY. May I add this: It is not a question of fear altogether. It is a certain question of loyalty that you develop toward an individual whom you become intimately acquainted with and with whom you work. It is, secondly, this: That I have been interested in these subversive activities. I have been actively opposed to everything the Communist Party stands for. I have tried to secure information. I have established a certain reputation for judgment. I have been fearful in the last 2 or 3 years, owing to statements I would make in conventions in the American Federation of Labor, that my source of information would be dried up. Now that this committee is in session, I do not care whether I am able to get any more or not. What I have is going in the record. They can dry up on me and shut me off, if they are able to.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Mr. Toohy?

Mr. FREY. Pat Toohy is a coal miner. He was actively associated with John Brophy. He was appointed director of the C. I. O. by John L. Lewis. He was associated with Hapgood and a number of others who were dissatisfied with John L. Lewis as president of the Mine Workers, and was active in trying to organize a dual organization among the miners. Mr. Toohy was then a member of the Communist Party. He is not only a member but, as I read you this morning, he is now—I can't recall now, but I think he is a member of the national committee.

Mr. STARNES. Who is this Lena Davis that you have referred to in your testimony, who was at those meetings?

Mr. FREY. Well, I am not certain. I would have to go back over the list. I think she is, or was, a school teacher. I am not positive about that.

Mr. STARNES. Is she a social worker?

Mr. FREY. No; I think she is a school teacher. I am not positive about.

Now, I am filing with the committee instructions sent out by the central executive committee under date of June 24, 1937, to be read by all unit functionaries and unit bureaus, and the whole thing deals with how a member of the party is to be transferred, or how he can transfer himself, from one part of the country to the other; and it deals with leave of absence—that is interesting. [Reading:]

Leave of absence to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or to any other country is granted for 2 months only.

2. Applications for leave of absence must be made out on the regular application blank provided for this purpose. (See the enclosed form.) If you do not have a supply of these, please notify us at once and we will send you the desired number.

3. These applications for permission for leave of absence must be signed by the unit, section, and district organizers before they are forwarded to the central committee for final approval.

4. After the comrade is notified personally or through the district that his leave has been granted by the central committee he or she may begin to make preparations (purchase of ticket, securing of visa, etc.) to leave.

Then, of course, it recommends the purchase of all transportation through the World Tourists offices, which are controlled by the Communists.

I want to have the whole of that in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST

NEW YORK, N. Y., June 24, 1937.

TO BE READ BY ALL UNIT FUNCTIONARIES AND UNIT BUROS

DIRECTIVES ON TRANSFERS

1. All transfers must be made out on the transfer cards provided for by the central committee of which you should have a supply. (If not, let us know and we shall send you a supply.)

2. Fill out information on the cards. (It is particularly necessary to have the address where the comrade will stay in his new district, since many comrades fail to call at the district office, and we have no way of contacting the transferred member, and in some cases members have been lost to the party because of this.)

3. See that both the party name and real name of the comrade is given. Otherwise, the address is of no value, and the letters are returned.

4. The comrades should keep their books. Do not take books away.

5. The following information must be indicated on the transfer card: district number, section number, unit number, name of unit organizer, and book number. We will return all requests lacking this information.

6. Print the comrade's name, because it is frequently impossible to read the handwriting.

7. The transfer card should be endorsed by the section and district organizers, space for which is provided on the other side of the transfer card.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

1. Leave of absence to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or to any other country is granted for 2 months only.

2. Applications for leave of absence must be made out on the regular application blank provided for this purpose. (See the enclosed form.) If you do not have a supply of these, please notify us at once and we will send you the desired number.

3. These applications for permission for leave of absence must be signed by the unit, section, and district organizers before they are forwarded to the central committee for final approval.

4. After the comrade is notified personally or through the district that his leave has been granted by the central committee he or she may begin to make preparations, (purchase of ticket, securing of visa, etc.) to leave.

5. We recommend that all passenger tickets should be purchased through the World Tourists. In the event that there is no World Tourist agency in a given city or town, bookings may be made by communicating with the World Tourist office in New York City, at 175 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

6. Dues shall be paid up in the district by the comrade, to include the time covering the period of leave.

7. All comrades going abroad must report to the national office here in New York before sailing to leave his or her membership book, with dues fully paid up as stated above.

8. Comrades going on a 2-month leave of absence to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall absolutely make no effort to have this leave extended or to secure jobs in order to achieve such extension when they arrive in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. FREY. In December 1937, the central committee desired to secure an accurate record of all of the leading functionaries in the party; that is, the organizers, district, subdistrict, and other officers; and they sent out a questionnaire. This letter was sent to the proper official of the Communist Party in Chicago:

ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Chicago, Ill., December 7, 1937.

DEAR COMRADE: Enclosed you will find a questionnaire issued by the central committee. You are to bring your written life history based on the questionnaire, to the State committee to be held Saturday, December 11.

Any comrade who does not have this task complete by that time will be asked to take time off at the State committee meeting itself in order to complete it.

We urge, therefore, that you make every effort to complete this before you come.

You are to submit your history to E. Brown, and no one else.

Comradely yours,

STATE BUREAU,

(Under no circumstances are you to mail your history to the district office. In case you are not present at the State committee meeting, write us informing us as to when we can expect your history and we will give you information as to how and where to send it.)

Mr. FREY. I will file with the committee a photostat of this questionnaire, and add that I received a copy of this questionnaire before it was received by the Communist functionaries west of the Mississippi River.

(The questionnaire is as follows:)

QUESTIONNAIRE

ON THE LIFE AND ACTIVITIES OF LEADING PARTY FUNCTIONARIES

The following questions must be answered in full detail, point by point, in order that a full and complete picture of your life and activities shall be given to the party.

Every effort must be used to give correct and exact information. No vital points must be omitted.

Use separate letter-size sheets, the first of which shall start out as follows:

[Date]

Party and life history of -----
(Real name in full)

Main office or function in the party at the present time -----

A. SOCIAL POSITION AND ORIGIN

State date and place of birth. Date and place of birth of parents. If not born in the U. S. A., state when they came to this country and whether or not naturalized.

Is father living? If so, what is his age, occupation, now, and what was his occupation in the past. (Answer in detail.) If dead, how old at the time of death, and what was his occupation.

Is mother living? If so, what is her age? What is she doing at the present time? State social background of mother, whether or not a worker; what category; did she work after marriage?

What was economic status of family? What sources of income did it have? Describe your home environment. How many children in family, your place in family? Did you have a religious training? Do you have any religious affiliation? To what political parties did your parents belong?

When did you begin work? At what kind of work? Give complete history of the various jobs you have held, length of time at each job, etc. State name of company for which you worked, where located. State why you changed jobs; if you were fired from jobs, state reason. Have you ever had any other income except your wages? If so, from what source?

Have you had military service? In what branch? Reason for enlistment? Rank in service? What is the extent of your military knowledge? Did you play any part in the World War 1914-18? If not, what were you doing at this time?

If you are married, give brief biography of your wife (or husband), social background, political status, economic position, field work, when married, etc. If divorced, state when and for what reason. If married more than once, give details.

State number of brothers and sisters living. Their occupation, economic position, political affiliation, economic position of wife or husband, number of children in each family, etc.

How many children have you? State age and sex. Are they members of the Pioneers, U. C. L. or party. State whether or not in school or working. If working, state details, kind of work, place, etc. Are they members of any other organizations? If so, what kind. Are any members of your family sympathetic to the Communist Party? State details, whether or not they read the party press, vote the party ticket, etc. Have any of your relatives (parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins) ever worked for the Government in any capacity? Have you ever traveled outside of the United States of America? If so, for what purpose?

B. INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

Give full details about your education (nonpolitical). When did you enter school? How many years did you attend? Did you finish grammar school? High school? University? How many years in university? Have you attended evening classes or taken correspondence courses? State reasons for leaving school. What party education have you had? Evening classes? Independent study? Party schools? What literature have you read? In answering this question differentiate between what you have read and what you have studied. What propaganda work have you done in the party? What agitation? What have you written? With what languages, other than English, are you familiar? State extent of your knowledge, i. e., can you read, write, speak?

C. POLITICAL LIFE

When did you enter the revolutionary movement? Where? State fully your activities. Were you a member of the Socialist Party? The International Workers of the World? The Socialist Labor Party? Give full details. To what youth organization did you belong? When did you join the Communist Party? Where? Under what recommendation? Who was the district organizer? With what recommendation did you join? With whom were you associated in the party at the time you joined? State fully your activities from the time you joined until the present date. What mass work have you done? Where? What factory work? Have you ever been out of the party? Under what circumstances? For how long? When were you reinstated? State full details. What conventions, conferences of the party have you attended? Give full details. In what district have you been a member? In what cities, sections, units? What work did you do in each place? How many workers have been recruited into the party through your efforts? What position did you take in the chief periods of party life? State fully your position in the inner struggles of the party. Have you at any time associated yourself with an opposition group outside of the party? If so, state details, length of association, etc.

D. PARTICIPATION IN TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

To what trade union have you belonged? Name of local? When did you join? Where? How long in union? What offices did you hold in union? What paid positions? Present status in union? Date and extent of membership? What have been your union activities? What is your present union status?

To what other workers' organizations have you belonged, and what offices in them have you held? Give dates, whether paid or voluntary service, other details. Give the same information as of the present time.

Have you ever participated in Government bodies? Give dates, description of posts, other details.

E. REPRESSIONS AND PERSECUTIONS

Have you taken part in strikes and demonstrates? Give dates, places, and other details. Have you ever been arrested? On what occasion? For what cause? Have you ever been convicted? When? On what charge? What prison sentences have you served? Length of time in jail. Where? Were you tortured while in jail?

F. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

State chief party and mass organizations paid positions and places of work. Who can confirm the truth of the above statements? Name responsible party members familiar with the various phases of your activities as stated above.

RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE WITH YOUR ANSWERS PROMPTLY—SIGN THE STATEMENT

Mr. FREY. Now, it is an interesting document, because it is intended to give the party a fairly good line on the functionaries. There are the usual questions: Is your father living? If he is dead, when did he die? Is your mother living? What was the social background of the mother? What was the economic status of the family? What sources of income did it have? What was the home environment? How many children? When did you begin to work? Type of work. History of the various jobs held; length of time on each job; names of companies for which you worked; where located; why jobs were changed. If you were discharged, state the reason. Have you any other income except wages? If so, from what source? Have you had military service? In what branch? Reason for enlistment? Rank in service? What is the extent of your military knowledge? Did you play any part in the World War 1914-18? If not, what were you doing at that time? If you are married, give brief biography of wife or husband, social background, political status, economic position, field of work, when married, etc. If divorced, state when and for what reason. If married more than once, give details. Number of brothers and sisters living.

Now, here is some interesting information, if this were properly filled out.

"State number of brothers and sisters living. Their occupation, economic position, political affiliation," and so forth. That is not particularly interesting. They want to find out how many Government jobs are held. This information would be most valuable in securing knowledge of what was going on in Government departments and what was going into the record files which might be of service to the Communist Party.

"How many children have you? State age and sex. Are they members of the Pioneers, Y. C. L. or party? State whether or not in school or working. If working, state details, kind of work, place, and so forth. Are they members of any other organizations? If so, what kind? Are any members of your family sympathetic to the Communist Party?" Then they ask how the members of the family vote.

Then, under the head of "Intellectual Development and Education," that is, nonpolitical education, they ask whether they have any school or university degree, how many years they were in the university; whether they have taken correspondence courses and so on.

Then, under the head of "Political Life," they ask, "When did you enter the revolutionary movement? Where? State fully your activities." Then they ask whether they have ever been suspended, and, if so, when they were reinstated. Then they ask, "State fully your position in the inner struggles of the party. Have you at any time associated yourself with an opposition group outside the party? If so, state details, length of association, and so forth."

Then they ask if they have belonged to a trade union, and if so, what union; how long they were members, and whether they held office.

Then they ask, "To what other workers' organizations have you belonged and what offices in them have you held? Have you ever participated in Government parties? Give dates, description of posts, and other details." Then they ask whether they have taken any part in strikes and demonstrations and ask for the details. Then they also ask, "Have you ever been convicted? And if so how long they served as a result.

Mr. Chairman, I was asked to bring in some statement concerning the activities in our public schools and colleges. I am holding in my hand a report of a committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor, a committee of three, consisting of Mr. Thomas E. Burke, who was secretary of the Associated Plumbers and Steamfitters; Mr. G. M. Bugniacet; and myself, to listen to a dispute that had arisen in School Teachers' Union No. 5 of New York City, affiliated with the American Federation of School Teachers. As I am probably held to be without bias, I have no hesitation in bringing to you this one picture of an A. F. of L union which has lost its control to the Communist Party.

I make the request that much of this not go into the record, that is, this report, because I think it is wholly unnecessary to publish it in the record, although you are, of course, at liberty to use all of it.

What I want to call to your attention is that the School Teachers' Union, which was either the largest or the second largest in the national organization—that is the New York union—had little by little lost control to the Communist Party, and the Communist Party has secured control in the executive board, and those who were opposed to communism were unable to overcome the Communist control group, and they withdrew, they seceded and formed another organization.

Mr. HEALEY. When you say it was the second largest of the organizations, do you mean the second largest in the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. FREY. No; I meant the second largest in membership.

Mr. HEALEY. In what?

Mr. FREY. In the American Federation of School Teachers.

We had representatives of both groups, because there were two Communist groups in control of the union who divided up the territory between themselves.

We also had the president, Dr. Henry L. Linville, who had been the president of the union until the Communist control took place.

This is what came out in the hearing, that the executive board of this local No. 5 of the American Federation of School Teachers was composed of 33 members, and on this board there were 10 members who belonged to the rank and file committee. The rank and file committee is one of the Communist groups.

Care is taken in the appointment of committees to see that the rank and file group and the united progressive group are represented fairly. The two main committees, that is, the membership committee and the academic freedom committee, have cochairman, one chairman

being taken from the rank and file group and the other from the united progressives.

If my memory serves me correctly, the rank and file committee was the Stalinite committee and the united progressive group were the Lovestonite committee.

At that time—this report was made in 1936—the union was considering increasing the membership of their executive committee to 34. I do not know whether that meant one from each school or not, but I take it for granted that there was one member of the executive board from each school, and they had reached this agreement that on the council 15 members should be nominated by the rank and file group, and that meant they would be elected, and that 13 members should be nominated by the united progressives, and that 6 positions should be left open for independents. In other words, with the Stalinite Communists and the Lovestonite Communists on a council of 34, room was to be left for 6 independents.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Lovestone?

Mr. FREY. Lovestone was at one time secretary of the Communist Party. He fell out with Moscow and was replaced by Earl Browder. He has been spending much of his time in Michigan and is very hostile to the group of officers in the United Automobile Workers, who have had charges preferred against them and who have been expelled.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a teacher by profession or not?

Mr. FREY. I do not know his antecedents. This was in 1936.

I now come to 1938. The names have changed a little bit. They now call one group a majority slate and the other the independent slate.

I have here a copy of the New York Sun for Wednesday, June 15, 1938, which gives the result of the election of the members of the executive committee, and the majority group are those who were on the ticket of the Stalinites and the minority group are those marked in red. The minority group were on the ticket put up by Lovestonites, and there were perhaps one or two independents.

(The article in the New York Sun submitted by Mr. Frey is as follows:)

HENDLEY ELECTED BY BIG MAJORITY—DEFEATS "PROGRESSIVE" SLATE IN TEACHERS UNION

Charles J. Hendley, president of the Teachers Union, has been overwhelmingly reelected for another year, it was announced today by the organization. In the annual balloting Mr. Hendley and other candidates of the "administration" ticket scored against the opposition, or "progressive" ticket.

The voting went as follows, the name of the "administration" candidate being given first:

President: Charles J. Hendley, 2,884; Layle Lane, 352.

Vice president, elementary schools: Dale Zysman, 2,697; Florence Gitt'n, 498.

Vice president, high schools: Eugene Jackson, 2,720; Max Landau, 483.

Vice president, private schools: Rose Riegger, 2,697; Elsie Gluck, 484.

Legislative representative: Bella V. Dodd, 2,860; Simon Beagle, 357.

Recording secretary: Floretta K. Andrews, 2,619; Ruth Schechter, 580.

Secretary-treasurer: Louis J. Rosenthal, 2,705; Milton L. Hanauer, 459.

On the executive board are—

Adler Irving ¹	Mazen, Benjamin
Begun, Isidore ¹	Metz, Julius ¹
Citron, Alice ¹	Olson, Rose
Diamond, Max ¹	Prendergast, L. ¹
Fichandler, A. ¹	Price, Melva ¹
Flacks, David ¹	Rieber, Clara ¹
Greenfield, S. C. ¹	Rubinzahl, Bertha ¹
Hayett, William ¹	Ryan, Glarys ¹
Kassel, Morris ¹	Shapiro, Rebecca ¹
Kelter, Leonore	Spence, Lucille ¹
Lederman, Abraham ¹	Squire, Abraham ¹
Lewis, Cel'a ¹	Stern, Edna ¹
Lieberman, Esther	Tholfsen, Erling ¹

Mr. FREY. I want to say it does not follow that each one of those elected was a Communist, but it does follow that they had to run on the ticket which was prepared by agreement between the two factions of the Communist Party quarreling for control in Teachers Union No. 5 of New York City.

That union, which was a very splendid organization at one time, has been disrupted very largely, and it has lost much of its membership, and we have the teachers who believe in a union of their own, who cannot stand for this Communist control, now trying to function as an independent, local organization.

Mr. HEALEY. What is the present status of union No. 5, with whom are they affiliated?

Mr. FREY. They are affiliated with the American Federation of School Teachers, which, in turn, is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and, I think, if my memory serves me right, that Professor Davis, at one time a professor in Yale University, is now president of that organization. It is involved in a very difficult situation, created by Communist control in committees, and the dissatisfaction with conditions that exist.

Mr. HEALEY. Is the jurisdiction of that particular union confined to New York City?

Mr. FREY. There are local unions all over the country.

Mr. HEALEY. I mean that particular union.

Mr. FREY. Local No. 5 of New York City is confined to the metropolitan area.

Mr. STARNES. Are you prepared to give the names of schools and colleges in New York City or elsewhere in which it is known that there are teachers who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FREY. At the present time I am not prepared to submit that list, but if the committee desires me to secure it, I think I will be able to present it to you.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Frey, can you give the committee the strength of local No. 5 in New York City today, that is, the approximate strength?

Mr. FREY. No; I am without those figures at the time we referred to, in 1936; they previously had a membership of 2,300, and after the division came, because of Communist control, their membership dropped to around 1,500.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand it, there is a representative on this executive committee from each one of the schools in New York?

¹ Indicates names referred to above marked in red.

Mr. FREY. I am assuming that; that is my memory, that the number of members of the executive board of No. 5 was determined by the number of schools that had members of the union in them.

Mr. THOMAS. You assume from your statement that a majority of the members of the executive committee were either members of the Communist Party or were very friendly to the cause?

Mr. FREY. The majority of the members of the committee in 1936 were those who had been on the slate, either of the Stalinite group or the Lovestonite group.

Mr. THOMAS. And those members on the slate are selected by the entire membership of the local, each member of the executive committee is selected by the members of the local in the particular school he comes from?

Mr. FREY. No; the slate was made up by the Stalinite group and the Lovestonite group.

Mr. THOMAS. Who selects the slate; who elects the slate?

Mr. FREY. The teachers do.

Mr. THOMAS. The teachers do, themselves?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. So they were, then, in effect, either electing Stalinite group members or members of the Lovestonite group?

Mr. FREY. They had no option.

Mr. HEALEY. I am sure it is very interesting to the committee to have you develop this, and it will be interesting if you will develop it further and spend a little time on it.

Is that particular union, No. 5, made up of teachers of the public schools in the city of New York?

Mr. FREY. It is made up principally of teachers in the public schools.

Mr. HEALEY. That is, in the graded schools, the high schools, the public schools of the city of New York?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. When these slates were submitted to the union, I presume at the time they elected their officers, was there no other opportunity for members of that organization who were not Communists, to elect other officials of their union, other than those selected?

Mr. FREY. My understanding was that the Stalinite group and the Lovestonite group reached an agreement as to the number that each were to place on their ticket. They then became nominating committees, and as nominating committees in other organizations do not bring in a large number of names to be acted on, as you know, they merely bring in one name for each position.

Mr. HEALEY. They controlled the election machinery.

Mr. FREY. They controlled the election machinery, and it was because of that control that so many teachers resigned from local No. 5 and organized an independent union of their own.

Mr. THOMAS. Does not the same condition exist among some of the colleges in New York City, where Communists control the election machinery?

Mr. FREY. It is my understanding, but I have never made a careful study of the conditions in the colleges of New York City or elsewhere.

Mr. THOMAS. I think you will find that there will be witnesses before the committee within the next week or 10 days who will bring that out.

Mr. FREY. They probably will.

Mr. STARNES. We will be very glad if you will submit to the committee the names of educational institutions where they have Communist teachers or members of the faculties. If you can designate them I cannot imagine anything of more vital importance than to have that knowledge.

Mr. FREY. I think it is information that the taxpayers ought to have.

Mr. STARNES. I do, too.

Mr. HEALEY. As to this particular group you are referring to, are you in a position to furnish the committee with the names of those slates that were submitted by the communistic groups?

Mr. FREY. I feel reasonably sure I can secure that, because I am in correspondence with the former president of No. 5, Professor Linville, an outstanding educator and American citizen, and I am quite certain he will be very glad to give us that information.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you contend, Mr. Frey, that all of the members of that union whose names appear on those slates are Communists?

Mr. FREY. I hope I made myself clear that it does not follow that the names listed in the copy of the New York Sun which I have submitted are members of the Communist Party. But it does follow that they could not have been elected unless the Communist Party had put their names on the ticket.

In connection with their activities, colleges do quite a few things. I have some reports, and I know who sent them, but there is such a thing as having your files rifled, and I do not want to lose certain sources of information.

I have this report here which I will read. It is dated Chicago, July 26, 1938. I am reading this to show what has been going on and how, apparently, Communists have been at work. It says:

On July 22d and 23d, a conference was held at Ida Noyes Hall of the University of Chicago, 1212 East Fifty-ninth Street, for the purpose of discussing changing problems facing white-collar organizations. This conference was under the auspices of the summer school for office workers and a group of white-collar union organizations. A copy of the program, which is attached hereto, will show that the deliberations of the conference were more or less directed by Communist Party members. One of those in attendance at the conference was Marjorie P. Pollit, an Englishwoman and wife of Harry Pollit, who is a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

I may say that Harry Pollit is one of the most active leaders of the Communist Party in Great Britain, and has been for a number of years. I had to cross swords with him once or twice on the other side.

This report goes on to say:

Mrs. Pollit is in this country as an exchange student and is attending sessions at the summer school of the University of Chicago. This woman has the reputation of being what is known as a "professional student;" that is to say, she takes special courses at universities in various parts of the world. It is understood among Communists that she really is engaged in Communist propaganda work for the Communist International.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any definite proof that she is engaged in such work, that you can offer the committee?

Mr. FREY. No; I have nothing that she has written, and I have no record of anything that she has said. I merely have the record that

is contained there, that she is a professional exchange student, and attends classes in universities all over the world.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any record of her having delivered any lectures in this country?

Mr. FREY. No; I have no record of that.

I am filing with the committee, for the record, the legislative program of the Communist body adopted by the central committee at its plenary session November 1936. It deals with the trade-union and political program and other matters.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ADOPTED BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENARY SESSION NOVEMBER 1936

On November 3 the people voted overwhelmingly against Wall Street and for a better life. This vote was a mandate to the Roosevelt Government to achieve very definite social improvements during the coming 4 years.

But the setback given to reaction will not bring any benefits for the workers, farmers, and middle-class people, unless these masses follow it up by developing enforcing a concrete program for labor action, social legislation, and peace.

During the election campaign President Roosevelt made many promises to the impoverished masses. But the people must not rely upon the Government of itself to fulfill these promises. To translate the people's mandate into flesh and blood, the masses generally must build up and use their economic and political power in the months to come. Higher living standards, greater democracy, world peace, cannot be won without mass pressure upon the Government and the employers.

The workers must push forward their demands for higher wages and improved conditions, organize the great masses of unorganized workers, re-unite the American Federation of Labor.

The people must formulate their own legislative program, and exert pressure upon the Government to enact this into life. They must hold broad state and national legislative conferences. They must organize a progressive bloc in Congress and in the State legislatures. They must build the Farmer-Labor Party and lay the foundation for the People's Front against Wall Street, reaction, and fascism. Only by vigorous independent organization and action on the economic and political fields can the people carry through their mandate.

The destiny of the people is in their own hands. Now is the time for the big push against reaction, fascism, and war. Now is the time to put the people's election mandate into effect.

TRADE-UNION PROGRAM

1. *Labor unity.*—Build a strong and united American Federation of Labor based on industrial unionism. Prevent the A. F. of L. split, provoked by the executive council, from spreading. Support the Committee for Industrial Organization. Re-unite the trade-union movement. Unify the working class. Unite the organized workers with the millions of unorganized.

2. *Wages and conditions.*—Demand higher wages to meet the rising cost of living. Demand shorter hours, better working conditions, rest periods, vacations with pay; abolish speed-up. Demand equal pay for equal work for Negroes, women, and youth.

3. *Organization.*—Organize the millions of workers in steel, auto, rubber, agriculture, and all mass production industries. Bring the Negroes, women, and youth into every union. Support the organizing drives of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Organize every shop, craft, and industry. End the shame of yellow-dog contracts and company unionism. Every worker a union worker. Every city a union stronghold.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

1. *Thirty-hour week.*—Without reduction in pay and with trade-union wage rates. An adequate minimum annual wage to all workers. (Support the Connery bill with amendments as above.)

2. *Collective bargaining, with right to organize and strike.*—Abolish company unions, spy and stoolpigeon systems. Impose penalties on employers guilty of discharging workers for political and union activities. (Amend National Labor Relations Act to compel employers to recognize labor unions.)

3. *Social insurance.*—For the unemployed, the aged, the disabled, and the sick, based on the workers' unemployment, old-age and social-insurance bill, with compensation to all unemployed, and pensions for those 60 years or over, equal to former earnings but not less than \$15 per week; maternity and health insurance for all expectant mothers and all injured workers or victims of occupational diseases. Extend the drive for the workers' bill while supporting amendments to Social Security Act to cover all workers now excluded, repeal present tax on wages, and to put the entire cost on the Government and employers.

4. *Civil liberties.*—Repeal all Federal legislation infringing upon political rights and freedom of assemblage, guarantee freedom of press and radio. Outlaw the Black Legion, Ku Klux Klan, vigilante gangs, and other terrorist organizations. Release all political prisoners. Repeal all sedition, criminal syndicalist, and teachers' oath legislation. Put teeth into the Federal anti-injunction law to prevent judges, sheriffs, and employers from breaking strikes and curbing labor organization. Abolish poll taxes and all other anti-democratic interference with the right to vote. Full political rights for women.

5. *Supreme Court.*—Reaffirm the constitutional power of Congress to pass all labor and social legislation without interference from the Supreme Court. Amend the Constitution to deny the Supreme Court power to nullify social and labor legislation.

6. *Negro people.*—Equal rights to jobs, the full right to organize, vote, serve on juries, hold public office. Abolish segregation and discrimination. Establish heavy penalties against floggers, kidnapers, with the death penalty for lynchers. Enforce the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. (Support the Wagner-Costigan antilynching bill, with appropriate amendments.)

7. *Unemployment relief.*—Provide moneys to the States and municipalities to maintain adequate relief standards. Expand the W. P. A. Increase the W. P. A. wages by 20 percent; establish a \$40 monthly minimum. Grant the right of collective bargaining and trade-union rates to W. P. A. workers. Place representatives of the unemployed on all W. P. A. policy boards.

8. *Farm mortgages.*—End farm evictions and foreclosures. Establish a long-term moratorium on all needy farmers' debts. Relief for needy and drought-stricken farmers. Refinance farm loans at nominal interest with a fund of \$3,000,000,000, raised by taxes on high incomes, inheritances, and corporate wealth.

9. *Cost of production.*—Guaranteed to the farmer, which would give him a higher standard of living. All Government boards to be under the democratic control of farmers, labor and consumers. (Support amended Thomas-Massingale bill.)

10. *Tenant farmers and sharecroppers.*—To be provided with land by the Government, and long-term loans for seed, farm implements, feed, etc. Make every tenant a landowner with right to home, chattels, and guaranteed standard of living.

11. *Soil conservation.*—Amend the Soil Conservation Act; prevent crop reduction; put program under the supervision of farmers' organizations.

12. *Taxation.*—Sharply graduated taxes on incomes over \$5,000 a year. Increase the tax on corporate profits and surpluses. Tax all tax-exempt securities and large gifts and inheritances. Repeal all consumers' sales taxes.

13. *Working conditions.*—Abolish sweatshops, curb the speed-up and child labor, furnish adequate protection for women, erect proper safeguards against industrial accidents and diseases. (Support appropriate amendments to the Walsh-Healy law and the Connery and O'Mahoney bills.)

14. *Public works program.*—Appropriate \$6,000,000,000 for a Federal public works program to provide jobs for the unemployed, to clear the slums, furnish housing at low rentals, build schools, hospitals, provide health and recreational facilities, rural electrification, etc.

15. *Banks.*—Nationalize the entire banking system. Guarantee the savings of small depositors. Lower rates on loans to small business men. Democratize banking control through representatives of labor, consumers, farmers, and small business men.

16. *Monopolies.*—Curb monopolistic practices harmful to labor, consumers, and small business people. License all corporations through the Federal Government and compel them to observe minimum hour and wage regulations. Grant long-term credits and loans to small business men. (Support the O'Mahoney licensing bill with appropriate amendments.)

17. *Housing.*—Create a national housing authority. Build dwellings available to families of low income. Establish trade-union rates and conditions on all construction. Protect tenants from discrimination because of race or political opinion. Furnish grants of money and loans to small home owners for new dwellings and prevent foreclosures.

18. *Youth.*—Maintain, extend, and democratize the National Youth Administration. Provide work, opportunity, and education, through the American Youth Act. Abolish child labor. (Support the child-labor amendment to the Constitution.)

19. *Foreign-born.*—Re-establish the traditional American right of asylum for political refugees. Stop deportations. Penalize anti-Semitic propaganda.

20. *Veterans.*—Provide them with uniform and adequate pension allowances and hospitalization.

21. *Railroads.*—Stop the consolidation policy until the jobs of hundreds of thousands of railroad workers are protected; demand full crews and the 30-hour week. (Support the Wheeler-Crosser bill with amendments proposed above.)

22. *Marine.*—Repeal provisions of Copeland "fink book" bill allowing permanent discharge book and unlimited power to revoke seamen's certificates. Amend ship-subsidy bill to take away arbitrary powers of marine commission which can be used against labor organizations and marine workers.

23. *Election laws.*—Make Federal election machinery uniform throughout the country. Abolish antiquated electoral college and elect President directly.

24. *Education.*—Appropriate \$500,000,000 for a Federal program to extend the public educational system. Guarantee free education and financial assistance to youth and children through Federal and State aid, with control remaining in the lower communities.

PEACE PROGRAM

1. *Peace policy.*—Develop a consistent peace policy based on the principle that the United States can be kept out of war only by keeping war out of the world.

2. *Spain.*—The Government should permit the sale of supplies and arms to the legal and friendly Spanish government. No supplies should be sent to the Fascist rebels. The people must give full support to Spanish democracy and build the organizations which are actively supporting the struggle against the fascists.

A. *Latin America.*—Abolish the Monroe Doctrine; recognize the complete equality of the Latin American countries; no intervention in the internal affairs of the small nations of the Western Hemisphere. Work for the collaboration of the American nations, for peace in the Western Hemisphere, based on collective security and collaboration with the peace forces of the world.

4. *Far East.*—Develop a genuine peace policy in the Pacific in close collaboration with the Soviet Union and the Chinese people, to stop the aggression of the Japanese militarists.

5. *General.*—Prohibit the sale and delivery of goods and the granting of loans to nations engaged in a foreign war contrary to the provisions of the Kellogg Peace Pact. Strengthen all measures for collective security and pass effective measures to this end which will lead to cooperation with the Soviet Union, the League of Nations, and all peace forces of the world, against the aggressions of Germany, Italy and Japan. (Amend the present Neutrality Act to keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world.)

6. *Imperialist intervention.*—End American intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries and the Philippines. Free Puerto Rico and give it complete independence. No recognition of the Japanese conquests in Manchuria and China and the Italian rape of Ethiopia.

7. *Armaments.*—Divert the billions spent for war preparations to support the suffering unemployed and to finance needed social, health, and educational legislation.

8. *Military training.*—Abolish compulsory military training of youths, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and the Citizens' Military Training Camps.

End military control in the Civilian Conservation Corps. (Support the Nye-Kvale bill).

9. *Munitions industry*.—Nationalize the entire munitions industry.

10. Build a great people's peace movement of trade unions, farmers' organizations, churches, youth societies, fraternal orders, women's clubs, and all other mass organizations, to check the advance of American reactionary and Fascist war-makers, and to bring pressure upon the Government to adopt such policies as will make America an effective force for peace throughout the world.

The foregoing is a practical program of demands and action for the people. The Communist Party, as the fighter for socialism, the only real way out of the chaos of capitalism, supports these demands of the people. It pledges to work with all progressives for their realization.

The Communist Party calls on all workers, farmers, and middle-class people, who wish to strengthen the forces of labor and the independent power of the people, to join the Communist Party, the party of peace, progress, and socialism.

Build the People's Front against reaction, fascism, and war.

Join the Communist Party.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, *Chairman*.

EARL BROWDER, *General Secretary*.

MR. FREY. I will file with the committee for the record a report on a meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party held in New York City December 4 and 6, 1936. In it there is considerable self-examination of the weaknesses that had developed in carrying out their program, and statements made by Browder and by Gebert, who was doing special work in steel organizing, and others.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

New York, December 8, 1936.

I quote below a rather long but important summary of the meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party held in New York last Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, December 4 to 6, inclusive. This summary gives a very clear idea of the labor program of the Communist Party, the Committee for Industrial Organization, and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee:

"The meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (plenum) began about 11 a. m., Friday, December 4, and ended shortly after 11 p. m. Sunday morning, December 6. There were five sessions in all. Three Friday—morning, afternoon and evening; two Saturday—morning and afternoon; and a banquet Saturday evening; and three Sunday sessions. All except the Friday evening session were held on the third floor of 50 East Twelfth Street. The Friday evening session was held at Stuyvesant Casino, Ninth and Second Avenue. The banquet was held at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East Fourth Street.

"All sessions Friday were taken up with reports and discussion. Browder opened the session with a report on election results and tasks before the party. In nearly 3 hours he went over results and analyzed the outcome of the election along the line of his article, which is to be published in the Communist International, and the statement of the central committee on the elections, published in the current number of the Communist. He claimed that the defeat administered to London was a victory for 'the people' of the country and a definite setback to fascism. The victory of Roosevelt can be followed up by developing mass struggles in the basic industries of the country; the growing determination of the masses to resist the effects of the crisis can be seen in the developing strike wave. Strike action is taking new forms (sit-down strikes, sympathetic movements of workers in support of strikes that do not directly affect them). These new forms develop spontaneously, and it is up to the Communists to function as a coordinating force and direct this spontaneous movement into effective channels that will lead to united action in a number of industries. The election campaign showed that labor can throw its forces effectively into political action and influence the course of American political life. The American Labor Party in New York can and must be made the starting point for developing here a powerful independent political labor movement. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Iowa Farmer-Labor Party (the only two in the country organized on a State scale) will play an increasing role in mobilizing sentiment in the Middle West for a national Farmer-Labor Party movement.

"The greatest weakness in the Communist campaign, Browder declared, was the fact that there was not one mass struggle developed during the whole course of the campaign. Consequently we cannot boast of having really taken full advantage of the campaign for the simple reason that one of the fundamental tasks of any party calling itself Communist must be to use political campaigns. Now we have the task of throwing our full forces into the drive for organization of the unorganized, fully supporting the C. I. O. campaign and strengthening our position, already strong, in key positions—Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Gary, the iron range in steel; Detroit, Cleveland, in auto; Akron, in rubber. Special attention must be given to the South, especially in Birmingham and vicinity. As to coal, it is essential that the greatest efforts be made to prepare for action April 1. Roy Hudson will make a special report on marine, but no one can possibly underestimate the need of winning the demands of the maritime workers. There were but 10 of the central committee who participated in discussing Browder's report on Friday afternoon.

"In the evening (Friday), Jack Stachel made a 2-hour report on the A. F. of L. convention in Tampa. He explained how the party group worked at Tampa. Out of 250 resolutions introduced at the Tampa convention, 80 of them were 'ours.' The number of party members who were delegates this year were about the same as last year. But we should not regard that as standing still, because last year many of our party members who were delegates came from unions that are now with the suspended C. I. O. group. Hence the fact that, in spite of these suspensions, the Communist strength was equal to that of last year, shows a definite advance of our forces in the labor movement.

"However, there was no improvement in the work of the party members. There was no fraction meeting of the party delegates until Thursday evening (2 days after the convention opened). Then later that same evening there was a meeting of progressive attended by approximately 70 delegates. There were 21 party members who were delegates. During the convention 2 more delegates were recruited to the party, making a total of 23. However, another weakness was the fact that few party members were from international unions (only one, in fact) and only two from central labor unions.

"There were 18 party members from Federal locals (small locals consisting of people belonging to trades and occupations not covered by any international union), and 5 were from the Agricultural Workers Union. But this does not really reflect the strength of our party in the A. F. of L., but rather shows that the district organizations, and first the district organizers, did not make sufficient effort to get delegates from central labor bodies. Also some were elected from central bodies, but since the organizations did not have money enough to send them they did not get to Tampa. Hence, with but 23 members—18 of whom were from Federal locals and 5 from workers' locals—the party fraction could not make much of an impression upon the A. F. of L. convention.

"The whole emphasis was put upon preventing a split at Tampa. President Howard, of the International Typographical Union, did not arrive until several days after the convention had started, and we Communists consider he made a very grave mistake in not attending the sessions as he was entitled to do. J. C. Lewis, of Iowa, put up a fairly good fight, but our people could make no headway with attempts to influence him in support of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. George L. Berry, of the Pressmen's Union, did not fight for the suspended unions as well as he might have done. Frank Martell, of the Detroit Federation of Labor, made some goods in favor of the C. I. O.

"Our tasks now are to do everything possible in the local unions, in the central labor bodies, and internationals to prevent a split. The door is left open for negotiations. The executive council of the A. F. of L. can lift the suspensions, but it cannot expel without calling a special convention. At the same time, members of the suspended unions can still have representations in State federations of labor and in central labor bodies.

"There are two possibilities for the C. I. O.: (1) To launch a new labor federation, and (2) to campaign for unity. This latter we proposed to aid in every possible way. Our task is to fight for unification, and through our work we have shown very good results. Our work in steel is producing results, and our organizers have the confidence of the C. I. O. leaders and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee leaders, particularly Clinton Golden, who, in Pittsburgh, confers regularly with Comrades Gebert, Powers, Ben Carruthers (Negro organizer), and other party members active in the drive. Other comrades will deal with this phase of the work.

"We have got to overcome weaknesses of work in central labor unions and actually insist upon our members working as a fraction. For instance, in the New York Central Labor Union we have about 100 party members who are delegates, but half of them do not attend, which shows an underestimation of this work. In Chicago Federation of Labor we have some 20, and there is not one floor leader in the group, which shows that we do not seriously approach the problem of developing leaders in the unions and in the central bodies.

"Next, B. K. Gebert (Bill), who is doing special work in the Pittsburgh steel region, spoke, reporting on the Pittsburgh district. The steel campaign started 5 months ago, and there are now more than 100,000 enrolled in the union. But the locals are only beginning to function. Our party members in many places—Johnstown, McKeesport, Monessen, McKees Rocks—are leaders of the locals, and in those places there is considerable vitality in the steel drive. We are taking action to strengthen the whole work in these weak spots and will hold a conference of party members active in the drive in that section within the next few weeks—not later than the first or second week in January.

"At a special steel conference held by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee with leaders of the C. I. O. the deadline was set for February 15, to get a majority of steel workers in the union. Johnstown had already passed this 50-percent mark. In McKeesport in 2 weeks recently we recruited 2,400 members; in Monessen in 2 weeks we recruited 1,400. Reports from Birmingham show that we are recruiting at the rate of approximately 250 a week.

"One of the weaknesses that prevailed in the past is being overcome; that is, we are attracting many native and skilled elements, but still the greater part of our recruits are from the foreign-born, unskilled, and semi-skilled workers. Now the tide is turning and we can expect a big influx of native skilled workers.

"Further decisions made by Steel Workers Organizing Committee were to hold a national steel conference in March, embracing the Steel Workers Organizing Committee proper (that is, the amalgamated locals) representatives from company unions, draw up final demands, chief of which are the 30-hour week, with \$5-a-day basic wage. These demands will meet with response, according to Gebert, because the 10-percent increase granted by the steel trust, far from satisfying the men, only convinced them that with further organization they can get much more; hence these demands will appear realistic and attainable to the majority of the steel workers.

"In addition to the steel action there is also the preparations of the miners for action April 1. With steel reaching a climax on that date and with textile moving toward a conference for a new national agreement, and with rubber and auto developing new forms of struggle, the perspective for a mass strike movement is very good. It is too early yet for us definitely to set a date, but generally our aim is to try to bring the present drive to a climax about April 1.

"Many of our section organizers are now working for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and we have the confidence of the leadership generally because we have shown an example of good work.

"Other speakers on this point were Rose Wortis, of the Needle Trades, one Stone, of Chicago (who is active on the South Side). The next discussion was taken up by section organizers. John Steuben, of Youngstown, talked boastfully about achievements there, stating that they were closely approaching the 50-percent figures and that by February 15 they would make the grade.

"The first thing done the next day (Saturday) was to select commissions for various industries to prepare detailed proposals for approval of the Politbureau (Political Bureau of the Communist Party), and to be submitted to the district for action. These commissions are (1) steel, (2) auto, (3) textile, (4) rubber, (5) marine. Most of the day was taken up with meetings of these commissions. All of them were calculated to get the maximum action of the party organizations, the mass organizations, etc., in the various drives. The steel commission, under Gebert's chairmanship, aims to see that the delegates to the steel conference in March are militant and that they press for common action with the coal miners. Other commissions worked along the same line and representatives of the central committee are to be assigned districts so they can aid in developing the work until spring.

"More details will be sent tomorrow regarding further actions of the plenum—such as organization reports; report on war and the summary by Browder."

Mr. FREY. I have a report of a meeting of the leading elements, the leading groups of the Communists in New York City, May 8, 1937,

at which the main questions considered were the peoples' front, the trade-union question, the peace movement, and the building of the Communist Party in America.

In this you will find reference to the Paris conference of last year. (The document referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST

NEW YORK, N. Y., *May 15, 1937.*

A special meeting of the leading elements of the Communist Party of the United States of America, was called in New York by National Chairman William Z. Foster and National Secretary Earl R. Browder to discuss the decisions made at the Paris conference of the several Communist parties throughout the world. This Paris conference was held in that city during the third week of April and was attended by Communist leaders from quite a number of nations.

The New York meeting of the American party leaders was held on Saturday, May 8, on the ninth floor of 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City, and was attended by Clarence Hathaway, Jack Stachel, Israel Amter, F. Brown (real name Alpi), and Roy Hudson, members of the central executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America; Lena Davis (real name Chernenko), district organizer for New Jersey; John Williamson, district organizer for Ohio; Pat Touhy, of Philadelphia; Morris Childs (real name Chilovski), district organizer for Illinois; William Weinstone, district organizer for Michigan; Harry Gannes and Harry Raymond (the latter two on the editorial staff of the Daily Worker); and several others who were not identified.

Foster and Browder laid down four matters for consideration by the group, to wit:

1. The people's front.
2. The trade-union question.
3. The peace movement.
4. Building of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Earl R. Browder reported on the people's front proposition. In substance, his remarks were as follows: That he, William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, and James Ford were the official American representatives to the international conference held in Paris last month; that the principal Communist parties of the world were represented at the conference; and that the Soviet Government and the Communist International were represented by Kossov, Manuilski, Kuusinen, Bela Kun (former Communist director of Hungary); Korsonova (wife of Yaroslowsky); Stassova (international head of the MOPR, or International Labor Defence); Palmer Butt, of England, and Pieck, of Germany. Robert Minor and James Ford stayed in Europe, and are now in Spain helping to improve the spirit of the American section of the International Brigade fighting for the Loyalist Government of Spain.

The Paris conference was unanimous in agreeing that the American Communist Party's conception of the people's front was too narrow; that it is no longer possible to assume that a real people's front can be raised in the United States simply by trying to build farmer-labor parties. It is necessary to broaden the people's front policy so that the Communists can have an immediate perspective, as they cannot wait for the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party but must begin now to work toward a people's front. That means that the Communist Party must take advantage of the present favorable conditions and work inside of the Democratic Party because there are elements in that party that are anti-Fascist, progressive, and really democratic. Developments to date show that such penetration of the Democratic Party in the United States is possible and produces good results. This is shown in the results of the last elections in the State of Washington, where the Communist Party candidates ran with others in the primaries on the Commonwealth Federation ticket, and four Communist legislative candidates were elected. By combining with other progressive forces in the State of Washington, the Communist Party has shown in a small way what a people's front will be able to do. These Communist Party candidates in the State of Washington were elected as Democrats, and the same thing can be done in many other States.

The Communist Party must work with Labor's Non-Partisan League, headed by Maj. George L. Berry, recently appointed United States Senator from

Tennessee. The Communist Party can also do some effective work in certain places in the United States in the Republican Party, especially in those States like Wisconsin and Minnesota, where the Republican Party has left-wing elements.

The decision of the Paris conference was that each case in the United States must be decided upon its merits, with particular consideration given to the special local situation. In those States where the Communist Party cannot enter candidates of its own, it can and must support the candidates who are real progressives. One of the most effective means of getting Communist Party candidates into office is to utilize the unions organized by John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization and get the latter to endorse Communist Party candidates on old-party tickets.

Labor's Non-Partisan League can become the main stream heading to class political action, just as the C. I. O. is now the main stream for organized labor. It must be said quite frankly that the Communist Party shall not spend time trying to build up labor parties and farmer-labor parties until the American labor movement is ready for it. By working with Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Communists can be in a position to play a leading part in launching a Nation-wide Farmer-Labor Party when conditions develop to such an extent that the masses of the workers realize that they can progress no further by staying in the old political parties.

The possibility of, and the opportunity for building a people's front in this country in the immediate future and may never be better to the extent that the Communists are able to penetrate and influence the elements that still support the Democratic Party. To that extent also the party will be able to push President Roosevelt and his administration more to the left, obtain more social legislation, carry further the organization of the unions in the basic industries and lay the basis for a powerful class party that can be launched at the proper moment.

Browder's report of the decisions of the Paris conference shocked many of his hearers because it was more or less of a reversal of American Communist Party strategy. It was accepted, however, without adverse comment, as an order from higher authority. Privately, a number of those present remarked that such a proposal, if submitted a year ago, would have resulted in the expulsion for opportunism of those suggesting it. Touhy, Brown, Hudson, Davis, Williamson, and Weinstone discussed Browder's report and endeavored to show how excellently that policy would work in given localities.

Touhy made the statement that William Leader, of the Hosiery Workers Union, was one of the most prominent people in the Republican city administration of Mayor S. Davis Wilson of Philadelphia and was also active in Labor's Non-Partisan League. Touhy said that the Communists could support Mayor Wilson and try to get Communists on the Republican ticket for lesser offices in that City. He also said that in the anthracite-coal region the Communists can certainly get their people in many offices by entering the Democratic primaries in support of the machine of the Democratic Governor, George H. Eyrle, of Pennsylvania.

William Z. Foster reported on the trade-union question, saying in substance that the Communist policy immediately after the Tampa convention of the A. F. of L. last fall had been one of urging unity between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., but that since then conditions have changed. The center of gravity has shifted from the A. F. of L. to the C. I. O. as a result of the intensive organizational drive of the C. I. O. and its successes in the automobile and steel industries. The Communists must now take a mere positive stand in support of the C. I. O., at the same time strengthening the party force and beginning a differentiation as far as tendencies to compromise and set up strike machinery are concerned.

The Communist must be very careful not to go too far and isolate themselves from the C. I. O. leadership. They must proceed cautiously, for they cannot afford to go to the other extreme and accept uncritically everything done by the C. I. O. leadership, nor must they become carping critics. The Communists can differentiate themselves from the C. I. O. leadership only by being the best organizers, and each individual Communist must show by his own example what real militant leadership actually is. Then when their actionaries act to discredit the Communists, it will not be possible for them to do so. However, if the attempt is made, the reactionaries will only expose themselves before the workers. While the center of gravity has shifted to the C. I. O., the Communists cannot neglect work in the A. F. of L., and in cases where

reactionary A. F. of L. leaders act against the interests of the workers, the Communists must try to isolate them from the masses so that they will have no influence.

In discussing Foster's remarks, District Organizer Childs, of Chicago, stated that he had noted a marked change in the attitude of some of the C. I. O. leaders recently; that he had just received word from Chicago that at a regional meeting of the C. I. O. forces some one from the Pacific Coast had tried to raise the "red scare" and that Van A. Bittner, Steel Workers Organizing Committee regional director in Chicago, had defended the Communists by saying they were his best organizers and that anyone who tried to raise the "red scare" was doing no real service for the C. I. O. Childs said that this is a decided change from several weeks ago when the Chicago Communists thought that Bittner was one of the chief enemies of the party.

William Weinstone, of Detroit, said there is considerable "red baiting" in the United Automobile Workers Union in his district, but he thought that John Brophy, director of the C. I. O., would soon intervene in the Detroit situation and put a stop to the "red baiting." Weinstone said that it is probable Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, will either abandon his attitude toward First Vice President Wyndham Mortimer and other radical leaders of the United Automobile Workers Union or be disciplined by the C. I. O. leadership. The inference drawn from Weinstone's report was that the disciplinary action would come from John L. Lewis.

On the trade-union situation it was decided that William Z. Foster will spend some time in Detroit and then proceed to Chicago. While in Chicago, he will work with the organizational drive. While there he will also give special attention to the development of an organizational campaign in the Chicago Stock Yards.

Earl R. Browder resumed the floor to discuss the peace movement. He said, in substance, that the European Communist comrades are very much disappointed with the United States peace policy, especially inasmuch as the American Communist Party did nothing to defend the League of Nations as an instrument that can be used for peaceful purposes. It is necessary to try to co-ordinate the American peace movement with the European peace movement and to utilize especially the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, as that pact is the property of the League of Nations and an American Secretary of State played a leading part in its formation. The Communist Party must also carry on agitation to define an aggressor in case of war and to do everything possible in the event of war to liberalize the Government, as the only guarantee for real peace is an anti-imperialist government. The peace movement, therefore, can also be made an important part of the general drive for a people's-front government. Much more must be done for Spain than has been accomplished. A decision was made to set aside the week of May 30 to June 6 to be known as International Solidarity Week, during which time a campaign will be put on to raise funds for the Loyalist Government of that country and every effort must be put forth to make a success of this drive.

F. Brown discussed the building-the-Communist Party proposal. He presented a gloomy picture, saying in substance that the Communist Party membership increases very slowly, that its organizational strength is only an insignificant fraction of its actual influence and that the circulation of the Daily Worker and other Communist papers does not increase because most of the Communist Party members now working as trade-union organizers forget that they are Communists as well as trade-unionists. One of the reasons for the slow growth of the Communist Party is that local campaigns are not developed so that the masses see the Communist Party in action. It is, therefore, necessary that all districts, sections and units be "activated."

The general impression of all present seemed to be that the governing body of the Communist International is issuing orders in the form of a revolutionary policy and that the American Communists have nothing to do but to carry them out, irrespective of their own individual ideas and wishes.

Mr. FREY. I have here a report of a plenary session of the central committee of the Communist Party held on Friday, June 18, and continuing over the 19th and 20th, 1937, in New York City. Among those in attendance were William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, Robert Minor, Ella Reeves Bloor, Frank Brown, Charles Krumbein, and Israel Amter; Phil Frankfield, Pat Toohey—that is

the same Toohy that we hear so much about, although he is not as important as he might seem to be from the frequent reference to him.

Mr. THOMAS. What is Mr. Amter doing at the present time?

Mr. FREY. Well, I think in the membership of the national committee of the Communist Party submitted this morning I read Israel Amter as one of the members and gave special work to which he was assigned.

Others present here were Ned Sparks, Paul Crouch, William Weinstone, Morris Childs, Jack Johnstone, Max Bedacht, William F. Dunne, John Steuben, V. J. Jerome, William Schneidermann, Robert Hall, James W. Ford, Ben Carreathers, Margaret Cowl, and Alfred Wagenknecht.

At the plenary session there was a long consideration given to the great changes that were taking place in the Democratic Party and the fact that the Communists must find a way to combine the existing Farmer-Labor parties with the growing progressive movements inside the Democratic Party and, to some extent, inside the Republican Party. I feel the members of the committee should read, even though I am not doing so at this moment, this record of this plenary session, because it has a very important bearing on what I am eventually coming to.

I have not come to that part yet.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it very long?

Mr. FREY. It is somewhat lengthy. There are six pages of it.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST

NEW YORK, June 24, 1937.

The central committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America held a plenary session in Beethoven Hall, 66 East Fourth Street, New York City, beginning at noon on Friday, June 18, and continuing through Saturday and Sunday, June 19 and 20, until 11 p. m. on the latter date. Most of the members of the central executive committee were present, and in addition there were a number of leading Communists who were specially invited. Among those in attendance were: William Z. Foster, national chairman; Earl R. Browder, national secretary; Jack Stachel, Robert Minor, Ella Reeves Bloor, Frank Brown, Charles Krumbein, and Israel Amter, all of New York; Phil Frankfield, district organizer, Boston; Pat Toohy, district organizer, Philadelphia; Ned Sparks, district organizer, Pittsburgh; Paul Crouch, district organizer in the Carolinas; William Weinstone, district organizer, Detroit; Morris Childs, district organizer, Chicago; Jack Johnstone, in charge of trade-union work, Chicago; Max Bedacht; William F. Dunne, now assigned to Montana; John Steuben (correct name, Rijak), district organizer, Youngstown; V. J. Jerome, of Los Angeles; William Schneidermann, district organizer, San Francisco; Robert Hall, district organizer, Birmingham; James W. Ford, New York; Ben Carreathers, of Pittsburgh; Margaret Cowl, wife of Krumbein, but herself a Lithuanian whose maiden name was Unjus; Lena Davis (correct name, Chernenko), district organizer, Newark, N. J.; and Alfred Wagenknecht, district organizer, St. Louis.

The only report made at the Friday afternoon session was that of Browder. It dealt with the "Building of the people's front in the United States of America." Browder consumed about 3½ hours, and his report was the only order of business at the opening session.

The sessions of Saturday and Sunday were held at the national headquarters of the Communist Party, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

In the report made by Browder, he dealt at length with the experience of the French and Spanish people's front movements and also discussed the recent Soviet treason trials, stating that these trials indicate that the Fascist powers would resort to any means possible to weaken the Soviet Union, which is the bulwark of peace throughout the world. Browder was not very clear on the meaning of the "purge" of the Soviet Red Army high command, and ridiculed

reports that there is disagreement between Josef Stalin and the Soviet Commissar of War, Voroshilov.

Browder said it was necessary for Communist Party members everywhere to pursue an uncompromising position against Trotskyists. He cited the fact that the Community Party members in Chicago who are working as Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizers had taken a proper stand against Trotskyism. Two Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizers in Chicago are Trotskyists, and immediately after the South Chicago shooting on May 30 took the position that it was the fault of the Communists that the massacre occurred because the Communists insisted upon the march on the Republic Co., South Chicago plant. Browder said that Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizers, Joe Weber and Jack Rusak (both Communists), and others took the floor at a meeting of the Chicago district Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizers and stated plainly that they would have nothing to do with the Trotskyists or any others on the organizers' staff who repeated the slanders of the Chicago Tribune and other Steel Trust sheets, nor would they sit on a committee that had on it people putting forth such police propaganda. Browder said that non Communist Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizers followed the lead of the Communist organizers, and finally Regional Director Van A. Bottner, of Chicago, stated that anyone who followed a policy of repeating the "red bating" of the Tribune could send in his resignation at once and it would be accepted. Browder said that the Trotskyists among the organizers then backed down, but they are on their way out.

This experience in the Chicago district, Browder said, shows that it is necessary for Communists to speak plainly and to expose people who are always trying to split the forces of labor, even to the extent of doing the work of the Liberty Leaguers in order to gain their ends.

Browder praised the progress of the Committee for Industrial Organization and said that this leads directly to a consideration of the "people's front" in the United States. He said that the Farmer-Labor Party, conceived as the American equivalent of the "people's front" in France, is taking shape before our eyes and is growing within the disintegrating two old parties. He said even John L. Lewis supported Hoover as late as 1932, and Lewis also supported Hoover in 1928 and Coolidge in 1924. This Farmer-Labor Party, however, will not spring up over night, he said. Its base must be the Committee for Industrial Organization unions. Many of the Committee for Industrial Organization unions are in the transition period between the two old parties and the Farmer-Labor Party.

Browder said consideration must be given to the great changes taking place in the Democratic Party and the Communists must find a way to combine the existing Farmer-Labor parties with the growing progressive movements inside the Democratic Party and, to some extent, inside the Republican Party. In the elections the Communists can sometimes enter the Democratic primaries—and sometimes even enter the Republican primaries—and then when Communists are nominated on these tickets, they can wage successful campaigns to place them in State legislatures, in aldermanic seats and even in the United States Congress. In places where the Communists enter the primaries they cannot, of course, allow the Democratic vote to be split by supporting small, ineffective farm-labor or labor party movements. Some people may try to set up such ineffective parties for the purpose of embarrassing the main movement of the Communist Party. Such ventures the Communists must resist and, if necessary, openly fight against them, as the Communists realize that carrying on campaigns in opposition to real progressives on old party tickets has gotten them nowhere.

Continuing, Browder said that of late the Socialist Party is again beginning to develop the basis for closer unity of action with the Communists, and, in cooperation with Labor's Non-Partisan League committees, the two workers political parties (Communist and Socialist) can wield great influence in the 1938 congressional elections.

Browder also dealt at some length on the need of building the Communist Party and increasing the circulation of the Daily Worker. He quoted figures showing how the party membership lags behind the general advance of the labor movement as expressed in recent strikes.

At the Saturday morning session, held in the party headquarters in New York, William Z. Foster expressed his misgivings that everything would work out as well as was pictured by Browder on the previous day. Foster said that the most necessary thing is to build up the Communist Party, and not to forget

the need for differentiating between the Communist Party and the Committee for Industrial Organization. Communists should not be deceived, he said, by the fact that the threat of some Committee for Industrial Organization leaders to make a "red purge" a couple of months ago has been set aside. John L. Lewis is still John L. Lewis and only the movement of the workers compels Lewis to adopt other tactics for the moment. Communists can and must support Lewis now, but they can have no guaranty from him or anyone else that they will not be made the goats at some future time. Foster said that many copies of the Daily Worker now look like Committee for Industrial Organization publications and they can be read in vain for any semblance of Communist leadership in the labor struggles or directions as to mass struggles.

Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, who came in late, disagreed with Foster and defended the Daily Worker.

William Weinstone discussed the situation in the Detroit area, particularly with reference to the strikes in the automobile industry and the situation in the State of Michigan, as an example of how the "people's front" is developing there. He said Governor Murphy is trying to put into effect the people's mandate given to President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party at the last election. Murphy is in such a position that he can dominate the progressive political movement in the State. Weinstone said that Murphy does not seem to be the same Murphy who, as Mayor of Detroit, aided Henry Ford's strike-breaking policy in every way. Because of the situation in Michigan, he said, the Communist Party is experiencing a good growth and if all places were like Detroit there would not be such alarm about the slow growth or, as in some places, the decline of the Communist Party.

William F. Duane, who is now stationed in Butte, Mont., stated that there is a deep schism in the Democratic Party of that State. He said that Senator Burton K. Wheeler was put in the Senate by the Silver Bow, Mont., leaders of the Trades Council in cooperation with the friends of former Socialist Mayor Duncan of Butte. Senator Wheeler's attacks on President Roosevelt's Supreme Court program, he said, have lost him much support. He said that he was going to consolidate that opposition inside the Democratic Party and put up a full slate of candidates in the next election to defeat the Wheeler crowd.

Binkley, of New Orleans (who arrived late), stated that the remnants of the Huey P. Long machine in Louisiana were being reached by the Communists in the cities of New Orleans and Baton Rouge; that in the South the only hope for the Communists to get in office is through the Democratic machinery inasmuch as Louisiana, like other Southern States, is a one-party State. If one is not a Democrat, he does not amount to anything there.

Others in attendance at the session of the central committee dealt with local conditions in their respective localities and attempted to show how favorable the situation is in their districts for putting into effect the policy of boring from within the Democratic Party.

Charles Krumbein, Israel Amter, and Max Bedacht and a number of leaders of the needle trade unions—among them Rose Wortis, Ben Gold, and Irving Potash—discussed the situation in New York. They all showed how it was necessary to support Labor's Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party (composed of right-wing Socialists), who are all behind the reelection of Mayor La Guardia. They stated it is understood that Senator Wagner will not be a Tammany candidate for mayor, inasmuch as President Roosevelt does not want the Federal administration involved in a local New York election.

Pat Toohy, of Philadelphia, and Ned Sparks, of Pittsburgh, talked at great length, praising Governor Earle of Pennsylvania in much the same manner that Weinstone praised Governor Murphy of Michigan.

The whole group attended a party on Saturday night, and many of them got very intoxicated and admitted that a lot of what they stated was said to give lip service to the policy of the American Communist Party—that it is unquestionably dictated to conform to the interests of Soviet Russia. They admitted that Josef Stalin does not want to antagonize any of the great democracies nor offend President Roosevelt, Premier Chautemps of France, or Great Britain.

In the final session of Sunday, Earl R. Browder summarized the discussion and praised the comrades for beginning to put into effect the policy of the "people's front" in the United States. The central committee made only one decision, and that was to start daily Communist papers in Chicago and San Francisco by January 1 next. The Chicago paper will be known as the Mid-West Edition and the one in San Francisco as the Pacific Coast Edition. The central com-

mittee considered that by making these papers organs of the "people's front" support might be obtained from many sources—the implication being that even the Democratic political machine might aid in such ventures.

MR. FREY. Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not know just what my duty, as a witness before this committee, and my responsibility as an American with a knowledge of international complications, should prompt me to do.

I have here a report which was made at a special meeting of the political bodies of the Communist Party held at party headquarters January 6, by an individual. It has to deal with the report made to the central committee of the Communist Party by a representative who had been sent to Mexico and deals with the unhappy situation there.

I shall not read it or put it in the record. I will turn it over to you to make such use of as your judgment justifies.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will receive it and decide later whether to make it a part of the record or not.

MR. FREY. I have reports of three meetings of the district committee of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania. In them I am particularly interested in the statements that Martin Young, Communist Party district organizer, made. One is dated July 5; one is dated July 17; and one July 29. I would like briefly to read from each one and then file all of it for the record, with the committee.

(Mr. Frey read from the document which, in full, is as follows:)

COMMUNIST

PITTSBURGH, PA., July 5, 1935.

The Communist Party in district No. 5, Pittsburgh, Pa., held a picnic in Adams Grove, with about 4,000 present. Negro and white workers from mines, mills, and shops participated in this picnic.

Martin Young, the Communist Party district organizer, called the Communist rally to order and reported on the C. F. activities in this district; that the Communist Party is growing fast now, organizationally and politically, and that a number of new members were recruited from trade-unions and fraternal orders, due to the fact that the Communist Party is supporting the C. I. O. and helping to strengthen other trade unions. The Communists are not only helping the C. I. O. to organize, but are directing other organizations, fraternal and trade-unions, and company unions, in organizing the workers into the C. I. O. unions; also helping and directing steel strikes for the C. I. O. We Communists believe trade unions should be used for one purpose, to protect and defend the interests of the workers; and we Communists don't want to capture or control the trade unions, but we hope to exercise our influence in all the trade-unions and fraternal orders and win the workers confidence and respect of trade-union and fraternal-orders membership because the millions of workers organized in the trade-unions have, not only economic strength, but political strength and we can become a major factor in determining what kind of government there shall be in the United States, and with their support, fascism will never find roots in our Nation.

Jim Egan was introduced as a C. I. O. organizer and member of the central committee of the Communist Party. He reported that all the workers organizing in the C. I. O. unions and the workers from all trades coming to the C. I. O. want to be organized, while others are forming C. I. O. unions without C. I. O. organizers, and before long there will be only one C. I. O. union for all the workers in the U. S. A. supported by the progressive and Communist Party forces in building a popular front of the American people against reaction, and for the unity of white and Negro, native and foreign born, against facism and a real standard of American living.

Tolentire was introduced next. He stated that to become a better fighter we must join the Communist Party and arm ourselves with the revolutionary teachings to guarantee our happiness, safety, and security. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people here, and whenever they grow weary of

the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it and institute a new government. We can direct toward this end when the majority of the American people desire to do so. We Communists have this right.

Next was Earl Browder. He stated that because of the Communist activities in trade unions a number of workers joined the Communist Party. We Communists must continually support the drive of the C. I. O. to unionize not only the steel workers but all workers in all trades and industries under the C. I. O. leadership. But the economic royalists are trying to raise the "red scare" to drive a wedge into the C. I. O. It is unfortunate that Governor Earle should have fallen for their propaganda by asking the C. I. O. to drive communism from its ranks. We, also, are committed against violence in the steel union drive, but this violence was not committed by Communists, but by the economic royalists to throw the blame on us. We ask them to arrest the Communist who blew up the water line, but they can arrest nobody, because if they arrest anybody they must arrest themselves, and they won't do that. By them the slander was often emitted that the Communists want to wreck the trade unions, but this no longer gets much attention from trade-union members, because the workers know that members of the central committee of the Communist Party are elected as local union organizers and officials, and they know that we don't want to use the unions for our own purpose. It is true that we Communists believe in the revolution and workers' government, but we are more interested in building strong unions first and getting higher wages and better conditions, and in building a powerful Farmer-Labor Party, a party that would be neither Socialist or Communist, but would have the support of all the trade unions and all progressive Democrats, the farmers and small businessmen, the Socialists and the Communists. This is our new aim and plan of work toward the Communists and people's front, to seize political power and destroy the Fascists, and the day will come when the laboring people will take over all the industries and will abolish exploitation and profits, and will run industry in the interests of all who work. This is now what the Communist Party proposes to do. Also, increase Communist literature to the workers and Communist Party recruitment in trade unions.

Speaking then adjourned.

(Mr. Frey read in part from the document which is in full as follows:)

COMMUNIST

PITTSBURGH, PA. *July 17, 1937.*

The district committee of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania, with the approval of the central committee, called a district Communist Party conference, on July 17 and 18, at 805 James Street, N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa., with about 250 delegates present.

Meeting was called to order by Martin Young, a district organizer for the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Ben Careathers was proposed as conference chairman, and called the meeting to order at 11:30 a. m.

The report was that there is a big improvement and gigantic progress being made by the Communist Party in Pittsburgh district, under the leadership of Martin Young; that the Communist Party is Americanized, as 90 percent of the Communist Party delegates were young Americans, who can provide leadership for the Communist Party and to the working class people here; through their leadership the Communist Party can recruit American-born workers that will actively participate in the struggles of the workers under Communist leadership in the Pittsburgh district. The foreign workers and the members of the Communist Party are looking for American-born Communist leadership, and the native-born workers will not follow foreign-born Communist leaders as they would native-born Communist leadership. They are discussed by the workers in mines, mills, and shops.

Martin Young, Communist Party district organizer, made a report that the Communist Party is progressing in the Pittsburgh district; that they have a Communist Party membership of 1,500 here and new members are recruited every day. The Communist Party penetrates all trade unions, political, and other organizations, in developing the people's front in the United States of America. The political role is far from being fully developed; it is only taking shape in the C. I. O. and the Democratic Party, and will lead up to the Farmer-Labor Party. The Communist Party supports the C. I. O. 100 percent, and the

Democratic Party against the reactionary Republicans. They will support all progressives in the Democratic Party and work against reactionary Democrats. Therefore, the Communist Party is asking all Communists, Progressives, and liberals and labor movement to register Democratic, because the Communist Party adopted the policy to work through the Democratic Party for the control of that party through its members. The C. I. O. is less inclined now than before the 1936 election to launch a new party now. The Communist Party will make the fullest possible use of the Democratic Party in the primary election by giving full support to all anti-Fascist and Progressive candidates that are for progressive social and labor legislation.

But to perform these growing tasks we first have to recruit increasing numbers of new members and keep them actively engaged in Communist Party work so that they will not drop out but be the guiding force in political and trade-union work. To further strengthen the Communist Party we must overcome the "red scare" from the among the "reds," which weakens the recruiting into the party. The most important fields for recruitment today are the unions of the C. I. O., the I. W. O., Negroes, and farmers. We will have to establish prestige and authority among the masses and grow in influence and membership. We will also have radio broadcasts to explain to the workers what progressives we will support on the Democratic ticket in the final election, for the people's front in America, as the surest way of defeating fascism and war.

In discussion, all delegates reported improvement in recruiting into the Communist Party local union officers and other native-born active workers in steel and shops, who now participate in Communist activities in trade unions and in the Democratic Party, where numbers of Communists and Communist sympathizers will run for offices in the coming elections on the Democratic Party ticket to carry out the workers' demands, in the name of the Progressive Democratic Party.

The meeting adjourned at 7 p. m.

(Mr. Frey read from the document which in full is as follows:)

COMMUNIST

PITTSBURGH, PA., *July 29, 1937.*

A party conference was held on the North Side, Pittsburgh, Saturday and Sunday; the chairman of the meeting being Tony Minerich; Martin Young gave the main report; 300 were present. Young's report said:

The steel corporations are discrediting the C. I. O. by various means, through their propaganda and agitation. They are trying to break down the morale of the steel workers and the C. I. O. intends to win the strike by holding out the key men from the mills and by keeping the miners on strike to avoid shipment of coal. He said that the party people within the C. I. O. have been quibbling on small issues—\$15 to \$40 organizing jobs—that this must stop and they should give full cooperation and make a real drive to bring these people into the union who have not joined.

In Johnstown there is being organized a citizens' organization and in the ads put in the papers it was titled "Common Sense." Those people who have been doing that are forces like Mayor Shields, of Johnstown, who is a criminal and was in jail—he is the direct force behind organized vigilantes in Johnstown of small-business people and farmers.

The conference passed a resolution to print 50,000 leaflets to be put in the hands of the workers exposing the "Common Sense" organization.

He also spoke on the coming election and primaries, stating that this year more than ever they are going to put aggressive forces into office. The C. I. O. intends to elect the Governor of Pennsylvania and capture all key cities by putting in mayors like Scully, of Pittsburgh, and eliminating fellows like Shields, of Johnstown, and the Governor of Ohio, Davey. In McKeesport the party regards Joe Baron and Chuck Davis for the candidacy for mayor. Through this way they are going to put in a lot of aggressive leaders and pass bills such as the McGinnis bill, which would do away with organizations fighting unions and stop scabs from taking jobs. That this year they had no aggressive forces to force this bill through, but next year they hope to have.

This year the party must change its leadership in the units, sections, and districts; they want to put in leadership of the party people working in the mills, presidents of lodges, etc. They don't want the old leadership to argue with the new leadership, because of the change, but they should give the new

leadership aid. The new leadership must be put in because they have the masses of workers with them and we must work with them.

In discussion, Andy Novak, of McKeesport, stated that in McKeesport, since they took George Powers out, they have been without a leader of the party, but the party has been growing and they have been doing good work. They have 40 recruits in the mill where he works. (Don't know offhand where he works.) They have leading people in the lodge and they are starting a real campaign there to put Davis and Baron into office. The party membership is growing and every day, due to workers being socialized, the party is becoming more of a real force in McKeesport.

Another discussion was a report from a delegate who just returned from Spain. He was wounded in battle over there. His name was Shamrock. He was asking for the support of the boys in Spain, for cigarettes and money. He told of quite a few incidents, one where 3,000 volunteers, with 1,500 shot-guns and rifles, stood off a well-equipped Italian Army; when one man fell another picked up his gun and continued. He made a very effective speech on giving aid to the Spanish Loyalists.

There is going to be a meeting of the Western Pennsylvania Democratic League on Friday evening, July 23, at 8:15 p. m., daylight saving time, in the Mayfair Hotel, Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, in preparation for filing papers for offices for candidates in the coming election.

Mr. FREY. I have here a copy of an affidavit—because there have been questions raised as to what was being said—made by Reese J. Highfield, dated the 17th of September 1936, in which Mr. Highfield reports on what Earl Browder said at a meeting which he attended in Akron. It is very interesting politically, brings in the Farmer-Labor Party movement, and I will file that for the record without reading, if it is agreeable.

(The affidavit referred to is as follows:)

AKRON, OHIO,

Summit County, ss:

Personally appeared before me a notary in and for the county of Summit, one Reese J. Highfield, who, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is of legal age, that he resides at 775 Excelsior Avenue in Akron, Ohio; that he is a member in good standing of the Akron Typographical Union and that on or about January 15, 1936, he was invited to attend a private conference at the Portage Hotel, Akron, Ohio, held in a room occupied by one Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, that at approximately 4 p. m. he did attend this conference at which, to the best of his recollections, the following persons were present: Lloyd Holmes, member of Firestone Local, No. 7, United Rubber Workers; Leslie Cutler, member of Akron Typographical Union, No. 182; Harry Eagle, president of Mohawk Local United Rubber Workers; Earl Browder, secretary for the Communist Party in the United States; James Keller, Akron district organizer for the Communist Party; a Mr. Williams believed to be from Cleveland, and the Communist organizer from Canton, Ohio, whose name he does not recall.

That this meeting was continued until about 6:15 p. m. and that at this meeting plans were made and outlined by Mr. Browder for the formation of a farmer-labor party. That Mr. Browder said the Communist Party over a period of years tried to form, through its own ranks, an organization which could later be turned into a farmer-labor party but that they had met with defeat, but that he had arrived at a new conclusion whereby he proposed to use the labor unions to form the nucleus for the formation of such an organization to be known as the farmer-labor party, the Communist Party to remain in the background but to guide and control the organization.

That his plan was that a resolution be introduced in the Central Labor Union at Akron inasmuch as this was virgin territory due to the rapid formation of trade-unions among the rubber workers; that he went on to explain that by having the Central Labor Union adopt this resolution, which Mr. Keller would prepare, once this was accepted a committee would be appointed at the Central Labor Union for the purpose of calling a conference or convention of trade-unions in the district and then set up at the convention a slate of candidates who would run for the various county offices on the Farmer-Labor ticket; that a later convention could be called throughout the State. Mr. Browder further stated that he was contacting trade-unions throughout the entire country and

setting up through central labor unions this farmer-labor organization, such as he proposed in this conference should be done with the aid of the persons named herein. After the district convention was held in Akron and a slate of candidates named, a like convention could be held in other sections of the State, provided they were successful with other central labor unions in Ohio. That about August they should be able to call the State convention, at which time, Mr. Browder said, they could in all probability still be able to select candidates to run from the district for the office of Congressman and United States Senator, and if they worked fast enough might be able to put a Presidential candidate in the field on the Farmer-Labor ticket.

That the same evening Mr. Browder held a meeting in the ballroom of the Portage Hotel at which approximately 100 persons, members of the trade-unions, were present by invitation; that he himself was present but that because of the large number he is unable to recall who they were at this meeting; that at this meeting Mr. Browder talked on the support the Communist Party had given the trade-unions through the publications owned and controlled by the Communist Party, and pointed out that space in these publications could be used freely to promote the Farmer-Labor Party.

That Mr. Browder later spoke at a public meeting in Central High School Auditorium at which he himself was present; that Mr. Browder spoke on *Craft Unions v. Industrial Organization*, or *William Green v. John L. Lewis*, and that he said he believed Green was wrong and that the craft unions should go along with the Lewis set-up and that eventually one big union should be formed for everybody.

That he made a number of statements against the Republican and the Democratic Parties but did not mention the Socialists, and dwelt extensively on the Farmer-Labor Party stating that by this means all the ills of the country would be cured, as it would bring about the equal distribution of wealth.

Affiant further states that it is a matter of record in the Central Labor Union at Akron, Ohio, that Lloyd Holmes and Harry Eagle have been the promoters of the Farmer-Labor Party and that the exact plan and resolution as proposed by Mr. Browder was carried out, which the records of the Central Labor Union will show.

That when he was fully aware that this movement was nothing more than a new method whereby the Communists sought to use the trade-labor movement as a tool to seize control of the United States Government, he washed his hands of the entire matter; that he has since been offered a 3 months' trip to Russia with all expenses paid by the Communist Party so that he might learn first hand about the Soviet Government, become better informed and be more useful to the Communist Party; that this offer was made in the presence of witnesses by a representative of the Communist Party and that it was declined.

Further the affiant saith naught.

(Signed) REES J. HIGHFIELD.

Sworn to and subscribed in my presence this 17th day of September, 1936.

[SEAL]

MARGARET C. MOSS, Notary Public.

My commission expires February 10, 1939.

Mr. FREY. Mr. Chairman, I do not think I shall finish with my material tonight, because I feel that some of it should be read.

This document has to do with part of the Communist Party activity in connection with the organizing the steel workers and the steel-workers strike. It contains some of Foster's comments as published in the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party.

It has a brief list of Communist organizers on the C. I. O. pay roll. I put that in before I had completed the list that you already have.

It has two important documents. One is the outline for organizing steel, prepared by W. Z. Foster; and the other instructions by the Communist Party to the young Communist League in connection with carrying out Foster's steel-organizing program.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Frey, you said very little about the Workers Alliance over the last few days; are you going to get into the Workers Alliance?

Mr. FREY. Yes; I am working that way. I have been trying to lay a documentary foundation for what is coming and I am just beginning to give you what is coming now.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection you made a statement this morning with reference to the fact that money was coming to this country from Russia, through regular international banking channels; funds from the Russian Government or from Russian Government sources for use by individuals in this country in furthering Communistic propaganda?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Can you supply this committee with the names of the banks and of the individuals to whom this money was sent?

Mr. FREY. No; unfortunately I cannot. My authority for that statement is Mr. John L. Lewis, and I read from Senate Document 14, Sixty-eighth Congress, 1924, as evidence that that was so. The document goes on to say that they have all of that, and I presume Mr. Lewis would gladly give to the committee the information which the United Mine Workers have, indicating that his statements, as introduced by Senator Lodge and made a Senate document, were backed up by evidence.

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that for one individual to stand up hour after hour before a committee is very wearisome.

Now, I have here a mimeograph copy of Outline of Organizing Methods in the Steel Campaign, by William Z. Foster.

NOTE.—These propositions are to be taken in connection with the general organizing strategy and tactics outlined in the pamphlet, Unionizing Steel.

That was prepared by Mr. Foster.

I do not know that I will read any of this. I may read a few lines, call your attention to certain sections. It deals generally with organizational forms and functions; how to operate, and calls attention to the use of central labor bodies and supporting committees formed among fraternal organizations, churches, and elsewhere.

Included in that was the organizing of the foreign-language fraternal organizations. That is not the official name of the organization, but in the steel towns there are a large number of fraternal organizations of foreign stock and using their native tongue. Those were felt of great importance to the steel organizing campaign.

A member of the central committee of the Communist Party who used Phillip Murray's organizing headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa., but without receiving compensation from the C. I. O., organized this fraternal group. This document refers to that. It deals with mass agitation and the methods they use.

It gives instructions on the use of printed matter and its distribution, and the wearing of buttons and the use of the radio; the forming of radio listeners' clubs with mass meetings and demonstrations, and how these meetings should be worked up; how they should be conducted; how important it is to get prominent out-of-town speakers to address the workers.

It calls attention to the necessity for mill-gate meetings and parades and music.

It deals with individual recruitment under the mass organization program and establishing a chain system of organizing. It deals with open recruiting and how to work upon the steel workers to arouse their interest; and how local demands made by the workers,

whether granted or rejected by the company, can be turned to good organizational material.

What to do in case of members discharged for union activity and it has to do with special group work among American whites and Negroes. It gives considerable attention to how the foreign-born should be worked with, in particular, and how what they call youth and the young commerce league can be made of direct value in connection with organizing the workers in the mills.

It deals with how the women can be used and how the most militant among them should be drawn into all union activities of the general organizing force.

It discusses company unions and deals with special organization work among the unemployed and the W. P. A.

How to make use of fraternal organizations in steel towns.

It deals with the churches, and I quote briefly:

In many instances strongly favorable sentiment to the organization campaign will be found among the churches in the steel towns. This should be carefully systematized and utilized.

Organizers should be sent to the churches to speak from the pulpits. If possible, labor Sundays should be organized, with organizers speaking in many churches simultaneously throughout the whole community.

Sympathetic priests and preachers should be invited to speak at meetings in the organization campaigns.

It is interesting that this document which must have received much attention was the Communist Party contribution to the organization of steel. As a matter of fact, they began the organization of steel and had set up organization committees before the C. I. O. did. They anticipated what was coming and like practical men they got in on the ground floor and have tried to stay in ever since.

My secretary calls attention to the fact that I said this was a mimeographed copy. It is a photostat copy and I offer the whole of it for the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

OUTLINE OF ORGANIZING METHODS IN THE STEEL CAMPAIGN

By William Z. Foster

NOTE.—These propositions are to be taken in connection with the general organizing strategy and tactics outlined in the pamphlet *Unionizing Steel*.

I. GENERAL

1. The steel workers cannot be organized by agitation alone; it requires thorough organization work to unionize them.

2. The work must be coordinated and planned—per organizer, per locality, per day, per week, etc.

3. Not mechanical blueprint tactics, but flexibility. The degree to which the proposals below can be applied depends on local conditions, the workers' mood and strength of organization, the attitude of the bosses and the Government toward the campaign, etc.

4. The work must be carried on upon the basis of an energetic drive, not spontaneously and spasmodically. Sags in activity and loss of momentum are very dangerous in the drive.

5. A strong discipline should prevail all through the campaign, but each unit must develop a healthy initiative, based on a healthy trade-union democracy.

6. A central aim must always be to draw the largest possible masses into participation in all the vital activities of the union; membership recruitment, formulation of demands, union elections, strike votes, strike organization, etc.

7. Self-criticism at all times is absolutely indispensable to the working out of proper tactics.

8. High morale among the organizers and enthusiasm and confidence among the workers are indispensable conditions to the success of the work.

9. Organizers do not know how to organize by instinct, but must be carefully taught.

10. Every organizer and unit in the campaign must be activated at all times, the whole organizing force moving forward as one machine to the accomplishment of its goal of building the union.

11. Hard work and sobriety are basic essentials for success. Chair warmers and irresponsibles should be made to feel unwelcome in the organizing crew.

12. Every step taken in the campaign must have as its definite purpose the recruitment of new members. The main slogan now is "Join the Union."

II. ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

1. STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZING FORCES

The organizing forces of the steel campaign should be organized on the following general basis:

(a) The paid organizers in the localities and districts should be formed into definite committees, each with a secretary and subcommittees for publicity, Negro, youth, women, and defense. They should hold regular weekly meetings at established times and places.

(b) A corps of volunteer organizers should be created. Each paid organizer should be commissioned as a captain of a crew of volunteer organizers and be immediately responsible for their work.

(c) Each local of the Amalgamated Association should appoint an organizing committee of several members.

(d) In the company unions informal organizing committees should be set up to organize the company union membership into the Amalgamated Association.

(e) Organizing committees should be set up in the various steel mills and their departments, functioning either openly or privately as conditions dictate.

(f) The central labor unions and other unions (especially the railroad organizations) should set up local committees to support the steel drive and to organize their own trades. The steel drive should aim at 100 percent organization of all workers in the steel towns.

(g) Similar supporting committees should also be formed among fraternal organizations, churches, and elsewhere, where active sympathizers can be found for the steel campaign.

(h) These local union, mill, and other organizing committees should meet together weekly (so far as it is practical) jointly with the paid and volunteer organizers.

(i) One or more national conferences of all the local unions and organizing forces should be held to coordinate the whole campaign of organization.

(j) Periodic meetings of organizers should be held to study concrete methods of mass agitation and organization.

2. STRUCTURE OF UNION

(a) Local unions should be formed on the principle of one mill, one union. In large mills the local union should be subdivided into branches according to main departments, but the local union branches kept linked together by a broad representative committee.

(b) In localities and districts the local unions should be joined together into steel councils based upon a broad rank and file representation.

(c) The obsolete constitution of the Amalgamated Association should be adapted in practice to permit of this form of industrial union.

3. FUNCTIONS AND TASKS

(a) Organizers should not work haphazardly. They should each be given very specific tasks and held responsible for their fulfillment, specified individuals being charged with the work in certain mills, language groups, company unions, etc.

(b) The principles of Socialist competition should be introduced to stimulate the work of the organizers, to create friendly organizing rivalry between worker and workers, department and department, mill and mill, town and town.

(c) The greatest care should be taken to guard against spies and provocateurs entrenching themselves in the organizing crew and official leadership of the union, but the organizers should avoid starting a "spy scare."

(d) Care should be taken to protect all lists of members and other important documents. Loss of such lists to company sources is highly demoralizing to the workers, and careless organizers should be disciplined.

(e) An absolutely strict control should be maintained over the finances, as loose financial methods always constitute a grave danger in large organizing campaigns.

(f) The headquarters of the organizing committee and the union should be located convenient to the mills, but not directly under the eyes of the mill office.

(g) Organized protection of organizers, officers, local headquarters, etc., should be provided for in local situations of acute struggle.

(h) All organizers should submit detailed weekly reports on the activities.

III. MASS AGITATION

The main objectives of the educational work should be to liquidate the fear and pessimistic moods among the workers; to convince them of the necessity for trade-unionism to win their demands, and the possibility for success in the present campaign; to rouse the enthusiasm, confidence, and fighting spirit of the workers; to win public sentiment behind the campaign.

1. SLOGANS

The mass of workers support the drive and join the union in order to improve their conditions by securing the satisfaction of their most urgent economic demands. This elementary fact should never be lost sight of. The whole campaign of agitation must be based upon the popularization of the sloganized major demands of the workers, together with their local demands. The whole steel industry should be saturated with these slogans. The economic demands of the union should be finally formulated and adopted at a broad national rank and file conference and then ratified by huge local mass meetings everywhere in the steel areas.

2. PUBLICITY—PRINTED MATTER

The publicity material should be short and concrete, with concise facts about conditions in the industry and arguments for organization. Occasionally it should be printed in the most important foreign languages, the foreign-born workers liking to read their native languages even when they speak and understand English.

(a) Handbills should be issued regularly by the local organizing committee and upon occasion by the various local unions.

(b) Bulletins should be issued regularly by the local organizing committee, giving local news of the movement, and especially stressing the progress of the campaign in other localities.

(c) House-to-house distribution on a mass scale should be organized for handbills, bulletins, and other literature.

(d) A circulation as extensive as possible should be secured for the weekly paper, Steel Labor.

(e) Advertisements in the local papers are valuable and should be used regularly for important announcements to the steel workers.

(f) Every means should be exercised to secure favorable write-ups in the local press on the campaign.

(g) Stickers are effective, but care must be exercised that they do not become a nuisance and antagonize public opinion, by being stuck up indiscriminately.

(h) The wearing of union buttons in the plants is a very important organizing force, but care must be taken to see that it is not introduced until there is sufficient mass support and that the proper time is seized upon for its introduction, in order to prevent discharges of workers.

(i) Advertisements in movies in small towns are often practical.

(j) Posters and window-cards should also be utilized on special occasions.

3. RADIO

The radio is an extremely important means for organizing workers in an industry such as steel, where the company maintains terrorism against the workers attending open meetings. The radio takes the union message directly into the workers' homes, avoiding the censorship of the bosses' spies.

(a) Local broadcasts should be organized weekly or semiweekly as one of the basic means of mass agitation.

(b) Where radio time cannot be secured in the given steel localities, often the objective can be gained by using the radio in nearby towns.

(c) Radio listeners' clubs should be systematically organized on a wide scale, as many steel workers have no radios.

(d) Radio speeches should be carefully prepared and should give a direct stimulus to joining the union.

4. MASS MEETINGS, DEMONSTRATIONS, ETC.

The actual gathering together of workers in mass meetings and demonstrations is fundamental to the carrying on of a successful organization campaign. It gives the workers confidence bred of their own numbers, and it enables the organizers to reach them personally with their educational appeal and organization methods. But such meetings, to achieve the best success, must be of the broadest mass character. This means that they have to be thoroughly prepared, and all the batteries of publicity, organizers, etc., should be coordinated and devoted to their organization. The entire agitation among the workers should aim directly at holding such mass meetings. One good mass meeting is better than two dozen bad ones.

(a) The general mass meetings should be called not only under the auspices of the local organizing committees, but also on a mill or department scale of the local steel unions and in special cases by the Central Labor Unions and other sympathetic organizations.

(b) Meetings should be held especially in the popular neighborhood halls, where the workers' fraternal lodges meet, where they dance, where their weddings take place, and where they are generally accustomed to going.

(c) Great effort should be made to bring the maximum number of women and children to the mass meetings.

(d) The question of mass meetings in company towns and in localities where the right of assembly is curtailed presents special problems. The danger of discharge of the workers makes it necessary that if mass meetings are held in such localities they must first have a broad basis of organization among the workers, and a wide preliminary publicity.

(e) At mass meetings, it is important to get prominent out of town speakers to address the workers.

(f) Mill gate meetings should be held regularly at noontime and at change-shifts where local conditions permit.

(g) Very effective can be small delegations of steel workers from one town or district to another, and large mass delegations of workers from organized mills to visit unorganized mills.

(h) Parades in steel towns are very effective in arousing the workers, provided they are well organized and have real mass support. Auto demonstrations are easily organized and are effective agitational means.

(i) Music is important in a mass organizing campaign. Sound trucks should be freely employed in the mill gate and street meetings. An extensive use should be made also of bands in mass meetings and street demonstrations. Platform singing should also be employed and mass singing wherever possible.

(j) Social affairs such as smokers, boxing matches, card parties, dances, picnics, various sports, etc., should be organized to establish contacts with the workers, especially in localities where more open mass work is difficult.

IV. MASS ORGANIZATION

1. INDIVIDUAL RECRUITMENT

Individual recruiting is the base of all immediate organizational work in the steel industry. It is fundamentally important in every steel center and may be the only form for the time being in company union towns and elsewhere where terroristic conditions prevail. An elementary aim in the campaign should

be to activate the greatest numbers of workers to do this individual button-hole work. The tendency common in organization campaigns to leave the organization work solely to the organizers or to recruitment in open meetings should be combated.

(a) The chain system of organization is one of the best means of individual recruitment. By this method, workers undertake personally to organize their friends or to furnish the names of their friends so that they can be approached by other organizers. There should be a check-up on all this work.

(b) The list system can also be effective in difficult situations. By this method trusted workers, volunteer organizers, women, etc., will get lists upon which to collect the signatures and fees of workers in various organizations, etc.

(c) Individual recruitment should be organized, so far as possible, according to department and mill.

(d) Thorough organizational arrangements should be made for signing up new members at social affairs, radio listening groups, small home meetings, in fraternal lodges, etc.

(e) Key men in shops, fraternal organizations, etc., should be given close attention and all efforts made to sign them up, but this work shall not be done at the expense of broad organization work amongst the masses.

2. OPEN RECRUITING

(a) Open recruitment should be carried on at all mass meetings, except where special conditions prevail that may expose the workers to discharge. Well-organized crews of clerks should be on hand to sign up the new members, issuing receipts on the spot. Often large numbers of potential members are lost through neglecting this elementary preparation.

(b) Locals should hold mass meetings in their respective jurisdictions and sign up new members. There should also be special meetings held for the various crafts, where necessary. Often workers will join at such meetings when they will not sign at large, open mass meetings. It is very important from an organizational standpoint that the local unions and their branches be set up as soon as practical and regular dues systems established. This impresses the workers with the seriousness and stability of the movement.

3. RECRUITMENT IN STRUGGLE

(a) The presentation of local demands to the company can be utilized to facilitate organizational work. If the demands are granted, the workers feel they have won the victory and can easily be brought into the unions by aggressive organization work; if on the other hand, the demands are rejected, the resultant anger amongst the workers can also be translated readily into organization.

(b) Departmental and local strikes in this early stage in the organization campaign may be very dangerous. They should be avoided, especially in mills of the biggest steel corporations now when the union is still weak. Where strikes occur, no time should be lost in formally enlisting all the workers into the union.

(c) Discharge cases for union activity should be taken care of immediately. Delay is very injurious to the workers' morale. While a vigorous fight for the reinstatement of the discharged workers goes on, these workers must be given relief in some form. Care should be exercised in the development of the organization work in the shops not to provoke discharges.

(d) Defense cases should also receive immediate attention, as it is demoralizing to the mass of workers to see their militant elements go to jail and nothing done for them. Especially vigorous campaigns must be made against all attempts at deportation of foreign-born workers. This emphasizes the need to build the I. L. D. in the steel centers.

(e) In case of a stubborn suppression of the right of assembly in steel towns, the union forces, in addition to using every legal channel for the restoration of their rights, should not hesitate at opening a free speech fight on the streets to force the city authorities to grant the workers halls. Such activity greatly awakens the workers and prepares them for organization and it should be supported by a very active recruitment drive.

(f) The boycott can often be effectively used against hostile businessmen and professionals in steel towns and thereby to stimulate the organization campaign. In districts where the Amalgamated Association is strong (and

there are other well established unions of miners, railroad men, etc.) the boycott can also be successfully applied against antiunion newspapers, chambers of commerce, and city administrations.

(g) In the election campaign, all candidates should be called upon to state their position regarding the steel campaign in their public meetings.

(h) The organization forces should take up concretely the question of placing demands upon the city and State authorities in connection with civic rights, etc.

V. SPECIAL GROUP WORK

1. AMERICAN WHITES

This group is highly strategical in the industry, comprising most of the skilled workers, and also in the social life of the steel communities. Special efforts must be made to fight against employer-cultivated craft union, company union, antiforeigner, anti-Negro, and anti-red tendencies amongst these workers. Active work should be carried on in their many organizations such as the American Legion, various fraternal orders, etc. Among the organizing crew there should be many American-born skilled steel workers.

2. NEGROES

It is absolutely essential that the large number of Negroes in the industry be organized. For this, special Negro organizers are imperative. Prominent Negro speakers, including those of the National Negro Congress, should be brought into the steel districts to address the meetings. When necessary, special meetings of Negroes should be called. The Negroes should become members of the regular local unions with full rights. Close attention should be paid to bringing them into responsible posts in the unions and in the organizing crew. There should also be immediately developed an active campaign all the prevalent Jim Crow practices in the town and local steel industry. Special demands for Negroes must be formulated and widely popularized. Local organizations of Negroes should be enlisted in support of the campaign.

3. FOREIGN-BORN

The foreign-born workers still form a very large mass of the steel workers and require special methods by the organizers. There should be organizers speaking the principal foreign languages of the mills. Literature must be issued in these main languages. Special methods shall be put forth to organize the militants amongst the foreign-born workers and systematic recruitment work in the many fraternal and other organizations that exist amongst this group of workers.

4. YOUTH

In order to organize this highly important section of the working masses in the steel industry, it is necessary to use certain special methods in addition to the system of the general campaign. Youth demands should be formulated and widely popularized. A corps of youth organizers should be developed. Youth committees should be set up in the organizing crew and in the local unions. Special meetings and mass delegate conferences of the youth should be held and attention given to cultivating sports activities of various kinds amongst the youth. Systematic organization campaigns should be directed to the youth members of the Young Men's Christian Association and such organizations. The connections of the American Youth Congress should be utilized to organize the youth throughout the steel industry.

5. WOMEN

The women relatives of the steel workers are a vital factor in the steel industry. They should be organized into ladies' auxiliaries of the Amalgamated Association. The most militant among them should be drawn into all the union activities of the general organizing force. Special meetings and mass delegate conferences of women should be held with prominent speakers, special literature dealing with women's problems, etc. There should be a corps of women organizers in the field, and the women's clubs and other organizations in the steel industry should be stirred into activity in the campaign.

6. The steel corporations will make every effort to destroy the solidarity between the various groups of workers in the steel industry and thus to defeat them all by attempting to divide them upon political, racial, religious, and national lines. In order to combat this campaign, the most essential thing is to keep the question of the economic demands and the need for a solid trade-union aggressively in the forefront. Under no circumstances should the campaign leadership allow itself to be dragged from this main line.

VI. COMPANY UNIONS

The company unions can be developed into a strong force for building the Amalgamated Association. In doing this the work should be based upon the following general principles:

(a) The organizing crew and Amalgamated Association must maintain a strong initiative in the industry by an intense advocacy of its slogans and very active organization work. In this manner the union must be made the center of all movements of the workers against the employers. To maintain such an initiative by the union forces is fundamental. Only in this way can the union crystallize the discontent of the workers into organization and reap the full advantage and credit of such concessions as may be given by the company either direct to the workers or through the company unions. Otherwise such concessions can have the effect of checking the campaign, as the employers plan them to do.

(b) All activities within the company unions should be undertaken with flexible tactics in the sense of utilizing the company unions as an auxiliary force to the building of the trade-union, with the aim of eventually incorporating the company union membership into the Amalgamated Association.

(c) The general policy in the company union should be directed toward bringing the masses into conflict with the bosses, to awaken the workers' fighting spirit, to demonstrate to even the most backward workers the insufficiency of company unionism, and thus to give a stimulus to the campaign to organize the Amalgamated Association. This should be the policy rather than to make important settlements through the company union with the bosses and thus create illusions that the company unions are effective and that the trade-union is not necessary.

(d) In submitting major demands to the companies, therefore, the company union should put forward the main union demands and stand by them firmly, thus identifying themselves with the union organizing campaign and making clear to all the need of the trade-union to back up these elementary demands. So far as possible all important concessions from the company should be won directly by the union or under its immediate leadership, in order to avoid the strengthening of company-union illusions.

(e) Minor shop demands should be freely submitted by the company unions, efforts being made at the same time to develop the local company-union forces into shop grievance committees of a semitrade-union character and in close cooperation with the Amalgamated Association. Local strikes should be avoided, especially in the early stage of the campaign and in the major steel plants.

(f) The organizing crew and the Amalgamated Association should give active support to all the major and minor demands submitted by the company unions to the employers. Only in this manner can the workers be made to understand that whatever concessions they may secure through the company union are due to the activity and strength of the trade-union organizing campaign.

(g) Efforts should be constantly made to have the company unions in practice break with their narrow constitutions by holding mass local and district conferences, by issuing independent papers and bulletins, by meeting off company property, etc.

(h) In cases where the organization campaign is strong and the workers are in a militant mood, trade-union speakers should be invited to company-union meetings and vice versa. Joint trade-union company conferences should eventually become possible and necessary.

(i) In all this work in the company unions the basic conditions for success are, first, for the organizing forces to maintain in the company union an active campaign of education, exposing the maneuvers of the companies and stressing the need for trade-unionism; and secondly, to prosecute in the company unions an aggressive campaign of organization, by recruiting keymen, setting up of

organizing committees in shops, activating of company-union members, drawing in of company-union representatives into trade-union conferences, meetings, etc.

(k) In working out the company-union policy the great danger to avoid is that of the organizing forces of the trade-union losing the initiative and hence the leadership of the masses of the company unions. The main source of this danger would be, first, failure of the union to come forward militantly with the advocacy of its demands and active organization work; and second, to take a stand-off attitude toward the company unions and fail to give them the necessary leadership.

VII. SPECIAL ORGANIZATION WORK

1. UNEMPLOYED—WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

It is important that the strongest bond of solidarity be developed between the employed and unemployed steel workers. This is necessary in order to help the organization work at present and to establish a complete solidarity in the eventuality of a strike.

(a) The organizing forces of the Amalgamated Association should give active support to the demands of the unemployed and Works Progress Administration workers, and should extend support in building the Workers Alliance and other organizations of the unemployed and relief workers.

(b) Representative unemployed workers should be engaged as organizers and brought into all the trade-union organizing committees. Volunteer workers should also be recruited from among the unemployed and relief workers.

(c) Mass conferences, demonstrations, etc., of the unemployed should be stimulated to popularize the steel campaign.

(d) Representatives of the organizing crew should visit all organizations and meetings of the unemployed in order to make direct connections in behalf of the organizing campaign.

2. FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

These organizations play a vital role in the steel towns, especially among the foreign-born workers. It is very important to develop a strong educational and organizational campaign among them. Among the measures necessary are the following:

(a) There should be national and local mass conferences held, in which these organizations should recruit members for themselves as well as for the Amalgamated Association.

(b) There should be committees set up in the local organizations of these fraternal bodies in order to systematically recruit the steel-worker members into the Amalgamated Association.

(c) There should be an exchange of speakers between the meetings of the fraternal organizations and the union. They should send fraternal delegates to each other's conferences and gatherings.

(d) The fraternal organizations should assign organizers to the steel campaign.

(e) The organization campaign should make free use of the halls of the fraternal organizations; and in cases of suppression of civil rights, these may be the only halls available.

(f) Educational material on the steel drive should be systematically furnished to the press for the fraternal organizations.

3. CHURCHES

In many instances strongly favorable sentiment to the organization campaign will be found among the churches in the steel towns. This should be carefully systematized and utilized.

(a) Organizers should be sent to the churches to speak from the pulpits. If possible, Labor Sundays should be organized, with organizers speaking in many churches simultaneously throughout the whole community.

(b) Sympathetic priests and preachers should be invited to speak at meetings in the organization campaign.

(c) Active work of recruitment should be developed in the local religious organizations, articles should be prepared for publication in the religious press, etc.

(d) In case of suppression of civil rights, meetings may sometimes be held in church premises.

4. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Steel organizing work along similar lines to the above can, and should be, carried on effectively in local branches of such organizations as the American Legion, the National Union for Social Justice, the Townsend movement, farmers' organizations, cooperatives, etc.

In the steel towns the organizing crew should pay special attention to sending speakers into all organizations and meetings of professional and business men, in order to break down so far as possible the opposition of those elements to the organization of the steel workers.

Mr. FREY. I have here a photostat of instructions sent out shortly after this steel organizing program had been issued by Foster, by the Communist Party to the Young Communist League. I will just quote a brief sentence:

Comrade Foster, in his pamphlet on organizing the steel workers and in his outline for organization campaign, has already taken up all the vital questions for the successful organization of the steel workers. Here we only supplement some specific party tasks.

Then it goes on to tell what these specific tasks are for the Young Communist League.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

THE PARTY AND THE UCL IN THE STEEL CAMPAIGN

From the time of its formation the Communist Party has stood in the forefront in the fight for the organization of the unorganized. The outstanding leaders of the party are identified with the most important campaigns to organize the unorganized in the last two decades. The chairman of our party, Comrade Foster, was the leader of the last big campaign to organize the steel industry, the outstanding campaign in the history of the American labor movement. It is therefore no accident that our party is today giving major attention to mobilizing support to the organization of the steel workers. In this campaign our party, in the spirit of its traditions, better equipped than ever to give real assistance to the struggles of the workers, realizing the historic importance of this campaign, can and must play an important role in the steel campaign. And only if our party does play this role can the campaign be successfully carried through in the interests of the steel workers and of the entire labor movement.

The interests of the Communists and the interests of the labor movement as a whole is inseparable. This is to increasing circles of the masses already a well-known truth. It will, through our further activities and the experiences of the masses, become the truth for the majority of the people, for the millions. It is in this spirit that we must approach and work out the tasks of the party in the steel campaign.

Comrade Foster, in his pamphlet on organizing the steel workers and in his outline for the organization campaign, has already taken up all the vital questions for the successful organization of the steel workers. Here we only supplement some specific party tasks.

Our party as the revolutionary party of the working class naturally has tasks that, at the present stage of the development of the labor movement, are far in advance of the tasks that the labor movement as a whole is now undertaking. Our tasks are twofold. First, to utilize our knowledge, experience and our forces to assist the workers in their everyday struggles for their economic demands, for the civil liberties, their rights, in the struggle against fascism and war, in the building of the united front and the people's front to achieve these immediate aims. Second, to educate the masses and through their experience to convince them of the necessity to struggle for the abolition of capitalism, to fight for socialism as the only possible means to achieve a full and lasting solution of their problems.

The successful carrying through of the first task and, of course, the fight for socialism, both of which are organically connected, are impossible without a strong Communist Party. The stronger the Communist Party is among the steel workers, the more the chance for a successful organizing campaign and

the winning of the immediate demands of the steel workers. And the fight for socialism is inconceivable without the steel workers, the most susceptible to our program because of their position in capitalist society, being in the very forefront in the struggle.

What greater opportunity has ever opened up before us to build our party than the present situation in steel. The workers always more approachable with out program in periods of their greatest activity, the steel workers the most basic section of the American working class—this offers to us the opportunity to root ourselves in this important section of the American working class. Success here will inevitably increase our strength and influence among wide circles of other sections of the working class.

The test of our material assistance to the successful steel campaign, the building of the united and people's front against reaction and war, in the fight to make our party the party of the American working class, will to a large extent be measured by the extent of the strengthening of the party in the steel industry. And this in turn will depend on how we carry through our tasks in the steel campaign, and by the conscious efforts that we make to build the party in the course of these activities.

1. (a) The party in the steel districts must organize all of its work with the steel campaign in the very center. This means the following districts: Pittsburgh, Philadelphia-Baltimore, Cleveland-Youngstown, Chicago-Gary, Buffalo, West Virginia, Alabama, as well as in the steel sections of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, etc.

(b) The party committees (district, section) should have a plan for the campaign mapped out, to be regularly checked as to progress, assign special organizers from among its best forces.

(c) Periodic conferences of the party organizers directly involved in the campaign as union organizers, together with the party organizers in the steel areas, should be held regularly, on a section and district scale. Regular conferences on a national scale will also be called.

(d) Special party literature dealing with the steel drive, for union building, on popularizing the demands; the issues should be published regularly. In this manner the steel workers will see in our party their own organization that helps them, even though they may not yet accept the Communist program in general. Literature should also be published on the general issues of the labor movement with specific application to the steel workers and their campaign for unionization, as well as literature of a more advanced but popular nature dealing with the program of the party.

The Daily and Sunday Workers, the language press, as well as shop papers, special leaflets, should be used to reach the steel workers.

Our literature should not fail to make a special appeal to the various sections of the steel workers, answering their special problems, such as those of the native American, Negro, foreign-born, and young workers.

2. Special attention should be paid by the party to build the united front of the Communists and Socialists for joint action in the steel campaign. Though the forces of each may be small, joint action will greatly multiply their strength and make the left forces a big factor in the campaign.

3. Tasks of the party in the steel areas:

(a) First of all tasks is the full mobilization of our forces to help in the campaign of the steel organization campaign. Unless this is done we will be unable to reach the steel workers with the other issues successfully, aside from the fact that it will weaken the campaign of organization. Here the outline of Comrade Foster should be made available to all active workers and should guide them in their work.

(b) Fight for the unity of the American Federation of Labor—the fight for the unity of the trade-union movement, the exposure of the splitting policy of the American Federation of Labor, the fight to maintain the unity of the local labor movement even in the face of the suspension of the Committee for Industrial Organization unions, is one of the essential tasks that must be carried through by our party in the steel districts, in the interests of a successful mobilizing of full support for the steel campaign, and to overcome apathy among steel workers resulting from the threatened split in the labor movement.

(c) The party's election campaign, the central issues of the campaign, the struggle against reaction, the policy of the people's front—the building of the Farmer-Labor Party should be skillfully and systematically brought to the steel workers. This should be made as much as possible a part of the steel campaign

itself. The issues raised, the economic demands, the fight for the right of organization, for civil liberties, etc., should be brought to the steel workers in a manner that it becomes part of their struggle against company unions, the company town domination, the spy system, etc. Special attention should be given to the local conditions running on workers or labor and Farmer-Labor Party tickets.

(d) Party building should be organized and systematically approached. In addition to party meetings, literature, and other mass approaches, there should be developed systematic personal contact work, with a specific aim to influence and win for the party definite workers to the party. In this work the organizers engaged full time in the steel campaign, who are party members, can and must play an important role in winning the best workers to the party.

Different methods applicable to the various situations should be used in the party recruitment. This includes classes for nonparty workers, special conferences on a small scale, work through the fractions in the various mass organizations consisting primarily of steel workers, house-to-house work especially through canvassing during the election campaign.

Mr. FREY. Last year the Steel Workers Organizing Committee held their first convention, and I have a list of 59 delegates to that convention who were members of the Communist Party, including Vincent Favorito to whom I called your attention this morning.

Four of them were subregional directors in the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. What is that document again? I did not hear what you said.

Mr. FREY. This is a list of 59 delegates to the last convention of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee last year who went there as members of the Communist Party and who had received instructions as to how they were to carry out the Communist program.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

Communist Delegates to S. W. O. C. Convention

Name	Lodge	Place
Balint, Ales		Cleveland, Ohio.
Balint, David		Do.
Blumberg, Leon	1068	South Chicago, Ill.
Barron, Joe	1029	McKeesport, Pa.
Cook, Joseph		South Chicago, Ill.
Clowes, Phil		
Cope, Elmer		
Chandler, Joe		
Church, H. R.		Warren, Ohio.
Carlton, B. T.	1340	Do.
Curtiss, A. E.		Do.
Dorwalski, John (subregional director)		Chicago, Ill.
Downing, James	1211	
Favorito, Ben		Cleveland, Ohio.
Favorito, Vincent		Do.
Furline, Jack		Do.
Fagan, Charles		Youngstown, Ohio.
Garciar, John W.	73	Warren, Ohio.
Galleghar, James		Youngstown, Ohio.
Harper, Harry	1557	South Chicago, Ill.
Irwin, Clarence		
Kimibly, George (colored)	1066	Gary, Ind.
Kozlowski, Max	1445	Joliet, Ill.
Mrywonos (organizer)		Do.
Koval, Joseph	1405	McKeesport, Pa.
Kuselmer, George		Do.
Kiki, Steve		Do.
Leonard, James	1014	Gary, Ind.
Lewis, Leo		
Lepola, Nick	1338	Niles, Ohio.
Malis, Victor	1072	Gary, Ind.
Morgan, Don	1167	South Chicago, Ill.
Martin, Mike (subregional director)		Chicago, Ill.
Moore, Thomas		Youngstown, Ohio.
Napoli		Cleveland, Ohio.
Patterson, George	1181	South Chicago, Ill.

Communist delegates to S. W. O. C. convention—Continued

Name	Lodge	Place
Rusak, John.....	1066	Gary, Ind.
Salopek, Anthony.....		Duquesne, Pa.
Slanie, Peter.....		Cleveland, Ohio.
Schuan, Elmer.....		Do.
Sturror, Henry.....		Do.
St. Mary, George.....	1066	Gary, Ind.
Stewart, James.....	65	South Chicago, Ill.
Sorocco, R. (subregional director).....		Roseland, Ill.
Shambalos, E. L. (organizer).....		Chicago Heights, Ill.
Steuben, John.....		Youngstown, Ohio.
Scarapine, Dominic.....		Do.
Tracy, George.....	65	South Chicago, Ill.
Vaughn, Theodore.....	1066	Gary, Ind.
Walker, Preacher.....		Cleveland, Ohio.
Weber, Joseph R. (subregional director).....	2006	Chicago, Ill.
Wines, Harry.....		Warren, Ohio.
Yurotovich, Gus.....	1033	South Chicago, Ill.
Danko, John.....	1147	
Gebert, George.....		
Powers, George.....		
Shane, Tom.....		
Comorre, Pat.....	¹ 1669	Los Angeles.
Scharbo, Charles.....		

¹Cambridge.

MR. FREY. I have here a copy of a call for the steel workers conference to be held in Slovenian Hall, Fifty-seventh and Butler Streets, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 25. The main speaker was Philip Murray, chairman of the S. W. O. C.

On the steering committee was B. K. Gebert, who is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party and the head of the Communist steel committee under W. Z. Foster.

On the general committee in connection with that meeting was Max Bedacht, general secretary and one of the members of the secretariat of the central committee of the Communist Party, which is composed of Bowder, Foster, and Bedacht. So the Communists were breaking into that meeting addressed by Mr. Phil Murray with a reasonable amount of success.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

CALL FOR THE STEEL WORKERS CONFERENCE

SLOVENIAN HALL, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

October 25th, 1936, 1:00 P. M.
57th and Butler Street.

The main speaker will be Philip Murray.

Steering committee: B. K. Gebert, John Gasunas, George Witkowiec.

General committee: This committee will call the conference of delegates—Organizations represented; additions to this committee: Croat Benefit Union, John D. Butkiewicz, president; Slovak Association, Nick Movac, president; Slovenian Evangelical Alliance, St. Seman, president; Lithuanian American Grand League, John Gasunas, president; Slav Benefit Association; Western Pennsylvania Federation, An Horvat, An Bavilar, delegates; Serbian Federation, B. K. Pekich, general secretary; Slovenian Catholic Union, John Dechman, delegate; International Workers Order, Max Bedacht, general secretary; Cooperative Distributors, Inc., E. J. Lever, president; South Slovenian Catholic Union, Dr. F. J. Arch, delegate.

MR. FREY. Here is a photostatic copy of a circular issued by the Lake County Communist Party in connection with the beginning of the or-

ganizing of the steel workers with Communist participation. I will file this for the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

INFORMATION ON THE STEEL FRONT

We greet the agreement of the Amalgamated Association and the Committee for Industrial Organization (John L. Lewis, president) to organize the steel workers on the industrial union basis. We are confident that the steel workers will greet this agreement by joining the Amalgamated Association (A. A.) by the thousands. The A. A. lodges in Lake County can become the driving force in beginning the organizing campaign by setting up joint councils of action that will direct the activity of this drive. The Central Labor Union of Lake County and all locals of the American Federation of Labor should be invited to take part in the present drive by giving financial and other assistance. Forward to the unionization of the steel industry.

The momentous agreement, by which the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers agreed to enter the Committee for Industrial Organization and to give the C. I. O. control of the campaign to organize the steel industry, reads in full as follows:

1. AFFILIATION

"The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers hereby agrees to affiliate with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

2. STEEL WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

"The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall be composed of such persons as are named by the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, in accordance with authority granted to him by the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall consist of a chairman and secretary-treasurer and such additional members as are deemed necessary by the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, two of whom shall be from the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

3. POWERS

"The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall be a policy committee, to meet periodically at the call of the chairman of the committee as conditions and circumstances warrant.

"The Steel Workers Organizing Committee shall have power to handle all matter relative to the organizing campaign, other than the issuance of charters. The committee and the officers of the Amalgamated Association shall have exclusive power to deal with the steel companies in order to reach agreements, but this shall not abridge the rights of the Amalgamated Association in the execution of current wage agreements.

"The Amalgamated Association shall not take any action affecting the organizing campaign without first consulting and obtaining the sanction of the chairman of the committee. The committee shall not interfere with nor attempt to direct the other duties of the officers of the Amalgamated Association.

"The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee may establish such advisory committees, consisting of representatives of labor organizations who may contribute funds to the committee for prosecution of the campaign.

4. FINANCES

"The Committee for Industrial Organization shall contribute such sums of money, up to \$500,000, as conditions of the organizing campaign warrant. The disbursement of funds shall be made by the secretary-treasurer, subject to rules promulgated by the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee.

5. DUES AND INITIATION FEES

"The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee shall have power to grant dispensation from the payment of initiation fees to all persons joining the Amal-

gated Association during such time as it deems advisable. If the committee changes this policy all initiation fees collected shall be placed in its treasury for campaign purposes.

"Dues shall be fixed at \$1 monthly per member, and dues payments shall begin upon a date fixed by the committee. If deemed necessary by the committee money collected as dues shall be used in the campaign.

"Nothing contained in this paragraph shall abridge the rights of the Amalgamated Association in its relations with lodges now working under wage agreements with employers.

6. TERMINATION OF CAMPAIGN

"The details incident to the termination of the campaign of organization and the disbanding of the committee shall be within the province of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee and the Committee for Industrial Organization, acting jointly.

"For the Committee for Industrial Organization: John L. Lewis, chairman; John Brophy, director; Phillip Murray, Thomas Kennedy.

"For the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: Thomas G. Gillis, vice president; Edward W. Miller, vice president; Joseph K. Gaither, vice president, and Louis Leonard, secretary-treasurer."

Information bulletin issued by the Lake County Communist Party, 1634 Broadway, Room 202.

Mr. FREY. I am filing for the record an article appearing in the Daily Worker, of March 1, 1936, which is William Z. Foster's comment on the unionizing of the steel industry. I will introduce that article without reading it.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

APRIL 17, 1936.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER'S COMMENT ON UNIONIZING STEEL INDUSTRY

[NOTE.—This article appeared in the Daily Worker, issue of March 1, 1936]

The proposal of the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis, to contribute half a million dollars and the services of trained organizers to a campaign to organize the steel workers is of vast significance. It represents the sharpest challenge to the policies of William Green and other craft union bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor, as well as to the Steel Trust and to open-shop industry in general.

The United Mine Workers of America is playing a leading role in the Committee for Industrial Organization. The committee's proposal shows that the miners' union at last realizes the necessity for organizing the steel industry, the central fortress of the open-shop interests of the United States. The United Mine Workers of America realizes now that neither it nor any other union is safe while the steel industry remains unorganized. This is real progress, and had the United Mine Workers in 1919 understood the importance of organizing the steel workers as well as it does now, that job would have been easily successful.

In understanding the work of organizing the steel workers, attention should be paid to the lessons of the 1919 strike as well as to those that the steel workers have learned since.

ORGANIZATIONAL BASIS OF CAMPAIGN

The first fundamental to bear in mind is that the workers must be organized upon the principle of one industry, one union. They must never forget that the steel bosses won in 1919 because they fought as a unit, while the workers' solidarity was weakened by their division into the 24 unions participating in the campaign. This must not happen again. The steel workers must resist every effort to divide them into craft unions. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, is now proposing an organizing campaign in steel on the basis of many unions. This would be disastrous and ruin the campaign at the

outset. The whole labor movement must absolutely insist, as well as the steel workers themselves, that the steel workers be organized in one union.

The proper approach to the campaign is on the basis of organizing the workers into the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. It is true that this union is dominated by the Tighe-Leonard clique, who betrayed the 1919 strike, and who have been a constant barrier in the way of the organization of the steel workers ever since. But these ultra reactionaries can, and must be circumvented. They must under no circumstances be allowed to control and wreck the organizing campaign.

STEEL WORKERS' LEADERSHIP

To prevent this misleadership from destroying the steel workers' movement, two things are necessary: Firstly, the organizing campaign must be built on the basis of local committees of steel workers, including the company unions, these to be linked together on a national scale in a committee that will direct the whole movement. Secondly, the Committee for Industrial Organization should itself pay special attention to the campaign, and see to it that no interference is permitted from the Tighe-Leonard wreckers. At the coming convention of the Amalgamated Association these unspeakable fakirs should be dumped altogether, unceremoniously, if no means can be found to get rid of them sooner.

The Committee for Industrial Organization should hold itself directly responsible for the success of the organizing work. Not a cent, and not an organizer should be turned over to the control of the Tighe-Leonard machine, or any chair-warming organizing crew that may be sent in by the American Federation of Labor. If the American Federation of Labor organizers attempt to split the workers into crafts the Committee for Industrial Organization and steel workers organizing committees should appeal to the industrial solidarity of the workers, and call upon them to refuse to join only the Amalgamated Association.

The selection of good organizers is of great importance. Live wires must be picked out. There are plenty of potentially capable organizers among the ranks of the steel workers themselves, who will show real results in a vigorous organization campaign. There must be a real break made with the chair-warming, hotel-sitting methods of usual American Federation of Labor campaigns.

AN AGGRESSIVE SIMULTANEOUS NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

So much for the question of the type of unionism to be built. Now for the second important consideration, how to carry on the campaign.

The whole nature of the problem of organizing the steel workers dictates that the work must be carried on simultaneously in all the principal steel centers: Pittsburgh, Bethlehem, Chicago, Gary, Birmingham, Pueblo, etc. At the outset of the campaign in 1918 I proposed such a sweeping national organizational drive. If it had been adopted the steel industry would have been successfully organized in a few weeks' time. But it was not adopted, as the 24 organizations gave our committee the ridiculous sum of \$100 and told us to go to work in one city. Briefly stated, the campaign which I proposed in 1918 was the setting up of local committees in every important steel center. These committees should then simultaneously call a series of mass meetings during the same week in practically every steel center in America. These meetings to be highly publicized by parades, full-page newspaper advertisements, movies, huge literature distribution and every other known means of agitation on a mass scale.

REVERT TO TERROR

This general plan holds equally good for today, and if applied vigorously must result in setting the whole mass of steel workers into motion within a few weeks' time, and in making the organization of the steel workers a reality. The steel workers want organization, and if appealed to properly will respond in mass. The Committee for Industrial Organization and steel workers' organizers should absolutely reject the usual stupid American Federation of Labor policy (which wrecked the 1919 campaign) of starting to work in one locality "to show the workers what we can do." It is the basic necessity of the organization campaign that the movement be carried through on this national basis with

the utmost vigor, utilizing every known means, of mass agitation all over the country at one time.

It is more than likely that the steel barons will revert to their policy of 1918-19 of suppressing free assembly in the steel towns in order to check the growth of the organization. If so, the proper way to meet this suppression is by a direct violation of the anti-free speech regulations of the petty autocrats in the steel towns.

A FIGHTING MOVEMENT

The third major consideration to be borne in mind in organizing the steel workers is that the movement must be based upon a perspective of active struggle. Organizing the steel industry is a serious proposition. It means to assault the main industrial fortress of finance capital in America. It is criminally stupid to believe that such a task can be accomplished by mean of a slick maneuver with Roosevelt or some other so-called capitalist politician friend of labor. The workers must get into this campaign with a definite understanding that they have a fight ahead of them, and they can only win through by virtue of the solidarity of labor.

In the 1919 campaign President Wilson, a "friend of labor" showed by his refusal to insist upon Judge Gary meeting with the steel committee, and by his attempts to postpone the strike, that he was against the organization of the steel workers. President Roosevelt in 1934, when he destroyed the splendid movement of the steel workers at that time by having the whole matter referred to his conciliation committee, where it was quietly slaughtered and the steel campaign wrecked, showed no less clearly than President Wilson beforehand, that he is a hostile influence to the organization of the steel workers.

The steel workers, therefore, at the outset must write on their banners, "No reliance on Roosevelt." They must rely only on themselves and on organized labor, in general.

MINERS, RAILROAD WORKERS IN FIGHT

It is necessary that the masses of workers, especially organized labor be mobilized to back up the steel workers. In first line, this means that the United Mine Workers of America must put everything it's got into the fight. It must be prepared to strike if necessary with the steel workers in order to insist on recognition of their union and the settlement of their demands. It is also of the most vital importance that the railroad workers be drawn into the struggle. So that when the steel workers strike there will not be a ton of coal or iron ore going into the mill, or a ton of finished steel coming out. There must be no more stupid business of the miners and the railroad workers standing aside as they did in 1919, and allow the steel workers to be cut to pieces by all the forces of the Government and the Steel Trust. The miners and the railroad workers should be drawn into the organizing committees of the steel industry from the beginning.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNISTS

The Communists have many differences with John L. Lewis and other leaders in the Committee for Industrial Organization. We disagree with their propagation of capitalist illusions among the workers, their lack of a class-struggle policy, their reliance on Roosevelt, their failure to support the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, etc. But we will give them 100-percent cooperation and support, as we would any other trade-union leaders, in a militant campaign to organize the steel industry. This is such a fundamentally necessary task that every worker, regardless of his political opinions, has the duty to lend every assistance for its success.

The Communist Party, on the basis of many years of active struggle on behalf of the unemployed and for the organization of the workers in the mills, has developed a wide following among the steel workers. It calls upon these to participate with all their forces in the campaign to organize the steel workers that is now being developed. The Communists' interests are inseparable from those of the masses of the workers. Their enemies are the same. They will show this in the steel campaign.

Mr. FREY. I would like to introduce a brief quotation from an article in the Sunday Worker of August 16, 1936. I think it is the

Sunday edition of the Daily Worker. It has to do with the steel workers organizing, and the part I would like to quote is this:

COMMUNISTS FOR DRIVE

The Communist Party calls on you to join the union. It asks your support for the drive of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. The Communist Party says that the organization of the steel workers means more bread in your homes and better education for your children.

The Communist Party makes this appeal to you without any apologies. It is the party of the workers, and a part of the American labor movement. The bosses, in their attempt to stop the union movement, raise the "red scare," talking about the Communists as though they are some foreign force injurious to the workers. Who are the Communists, anyway? The great majority of the members of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. are native-born American workers, with the same hopes that you have—the same desire to better their conditions.

The Communist Party always fights for the demands of the working people. Long ago, it raised the banner of industrial unionism for the steel workers. For years, it has fought for the right to organize, for the abolition of the vicious spy systems, for the improvement of wages. That is why the steel bosses and their stool pigeons raise the cry of "red."

Of the railroad workers, we ask that they rally to the support of the steel workers. To the miners we make the same appeal. Already have they shown their deep interest in this drive. We ask them to intensify their cooperation. To all American workers we request the fullest aid to the great steel campaign.

The language I have just quoted indicates that the Communist Party was the one that was organizing the steel workers, and that they had assumed the whole responsibility. To a great extent they did assume some responsibility.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is 20 minutes past 4 o'clock, and I have been talking continuously now for about 6 hours. If the committee will permit, I would like to end my testimony for today at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will meet at 10 o'clock in the morning. Mr. Frey will conclude his testimony by noon, and our next witness will appear at 1 o'clock, tomorrow afternoon.

The committee stands adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 4:30 p. m., the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, August 16, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Frey, you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. FREY, PRESIDENT, METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—Continued

Mr. FREY. Mr. Chairman, when the committee adjourned I was offering evidence of the active and prominent part which the Communist Party took in the steel organizing campaign and the steel strike.

To complete that, I am submitting three statements from the Daily Worker, the official publication of the Communist Party, by William Z. Foster, in connection with the same subject. For the purpose of the record, I merely want to have those portions that are marked on the sheets reproduced.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

[Strike Movement in Mass Production Industries—Daily Worker, January 6, 1937]

FOSTER STRESSES UNITY IN STEEL FIGHT STRATEGY

* * * * *

The industrial form of the C. I. O. unions conducting the struggle in these industries lays a solid foundation for a unified command and the vital strike unity; nevertheless a danger threatens from the craft-union leaders of the American Federation of Labor. These reactionaries, although they, themselves, for years have done nothing to organize the mass-production industries, are extremely antagonistic toward the Committee for Industrial Organization doing the job. They assume a dog-in-the-manger attitude. It is more than likely, therefore, that they will inject themselves into the situation and try to inveigle a fringe of the skilled workers into their many disconnected craft unions.

Such an action would be a crime against the steel, auto, and other workers, as it would seriously split their ranks and weaken their fighting force. But no one familiar with the shady history of the reactionary A. F. of L. leaders would be surprised to see them adopt such a disruptive course. They have done it time and again in the strikes of independent unions. The danger is all the greater inasmuch as the trust magnates, happy to see the workers dissipate their strength fighting each other, would greet and encourage the craft-union leaders and their splitting tactics. Nor would such a development be unwelcome to the Roosevelt administration as offering a prolific source of slippery compromises.

The introduction of craft unionism into the mass production industries by the A. F. of L. leaders should be resisted militantly by every progressive force in the whole labor movement as a strike-breaking policy. This resistance should be supported by an aggressive campaign to educate the unorganized masses as to the historical failure of craft unionism in the mass production industries, and by a call to these workers not to join the craft unions but to affiliate themselves with the C. I. O. industrial unions.

If, nevertheless, the craft unions should succeed in establishing themselves by the time the strike takes place, they must be dealt with on a united front basis, and unity of action sought in this manner. They should be drawn into the strike on a full cooperative basis with the industrial unions. This means that they ought to be allowed and induced to send regular delegates to the strike committees, and likewise to their subcommittees for relief, defense, publicity, etc., and that they should also participate in the mass picketing and other mass strike activities. The craft leaders would object to this, so it would have to be done over their heads by direct appeal to the members. Only in the unlikely event, however, that the craft unions should become real factors in a given industry would it be practical to make the resultant trade union agreement of a united front character.

In the developing great strike movement at all cost there must be prevented the shameful but all too common spectacle of union strikebreaking; that is, of one or more unions striking while the others work. The solidarity of labor demands that the craft unions stay out of the mass production industries and leave the field to the industrial unions. For them to enter these industries at this time could serve the interests of no one but the great trust magnates and reaction generally.

[Strike Movement in Mass Production Industries—Daily Worker, January 10, 1937]

METHODS OF ORGANIZATION VITAL TO WINNING STRIKE

By William Z. Foster

* * * * *

In previous pages I have discussed various forms of cultivating a high degree mass strike activity—the holding of democratically elected local, district, and national rank and file prestrike conferences to formulate and popularize the workers' demands and to elect the union officials, the taking of a national mass strike vote, democratic participation in the broad strike committees, general voting upon all settlement proposals, etc. To these measures should be added the necessity of holding frequent mass meetings during the strike: mass parades of strikers; mass marches of men, women, and children from district to district and mill to mill; the sending of small delegations, or flying squads of workers, from one area or industry to another; the teaching of the strikers to sing labor songs in their meetings and demonstrations; the development of sports activities for the youth; the holding of social affairs, etc.

But the most important of all forms of mass strike activities is mass picketing. Good picketing is a decisive factor in every big strike—that is why employers are so rabidly opposed to it. Picketing is usually grossly neglected in the ordinary A. F. of L. strike, only a few of the workers carrying it on, and then merely in a desultory fashion. The consequence is a great loss in the holding power of the strike. The best way to conduct picketing is on a mass basis. Not only should all the strikers be mobilized for picketing, but their women and children as well. In addition, prominent liberals and others should be brought into the strike areas from the outside to march in the picket lines. Where one or more industries are striking, joint picketing should be organized. The unemployed can play a most important role in picketing, and the members of nonstriking unions should also be systematically drawn into the work. Women's and children's picket lines should be organized on special occasions. This system of broad mass picketing raises enormously the political level, enthusiasm, and resistance power of the strikers. It has been used effectively in many I. W. W. and T. U. U. L. strikes, by the more progressive A. F. of L. unions, and by many unions in foreign countries. If and when the steel strike comes the progressive C. I. O. should adopt the modern, effective system of mass picketing.

The picket line should be well organized, not mere crowds of workers. It should be under the control of the picket committee, which is a section of the strike committee. The picketers should be organized into squads, each squad

headed by a carefully selected captain. All strikers should be required to do their bit at picketing. The youth especially should play a big role in the organization of the picket lines. The picket committee must maintain pickets around the mills at all times, whether or not they are trying to operate with scabs. Especially must there be great mass picket lines on Monday mornings and upon all occasions when attempts are being made to bring scabs into the mills. Often the difference between bad picketing and good picketing is the difference between a lost and a won strike.

[Strike Movement in Mass Production Industries—Daily Worker, Jan. 13, 1937]

TOWARD A PEOPLE'S FRONT—HISTORIC TASKS ARE FACING PROGRESSIVE LABOR LEADERS

By William Z. Foster

* * * * *

ROLE OF THE C. I. O.

The C. I. O., led so progressively by John L. Lewis, is doing a historically important thing in carrying on its vigorous campaign to organize the armies of exploited workers in the mass-production industries. As we have seen, this campaign has within it possibilities for a fundamental strengthening and reorganization of the whole American labor movement.

The C. I. O. has become the actual leader of the trade-union movement. The executive council of the A. F. of L. has shown itself opposed to this vital organization work and, because of its narrow craft union and personal interests, has refused for many years past to do the organizing that the C. I. O. is now undertaking. Had it so desired, the A. F. of L. could have easily organized the steel workers during the war, or during the Coolidge period of prosperity, or during the strike upheavals under the N. R. A. in 1933-34. But the A. F. of L. wanted nothing to do with the organization of the steel workers. And worse yet, now that the C. I. O. unions, which are awake to the basic importance of this task to themselves, and all other workers, are proceeding to accomplish the organizing work that the executive council has so long neglected or prevented, the executive council actually suspends them, one-third of the whole labor movement, from the A. F. of L. and thus traitorously splits labor's forces in the face of the enemy. Never, even in the shady history of the A. F. of L., has misleadership sunk to lower levels. The A. F. of L. executive council has surrendered the actual leadership of the trade unions into the hands of the C. I. O.

The Communist Party heartily supports the C. I. O. organizing campaigns in steel, automobile, rubber, glass, textile, etc., and it mobilizes all its forces to assist in this work. It extends this aid for the same reason that it supports every forward movement of the workers wherever it may originate or what form it may take, whether it be a strike, an organization campaign, the carrying on of independent working class political activity, or what not. The Communist Party has no interests apart from those of the working class, and every victory of the workers is a victory for the Communist Party.

MR. FREY. It is my understanding that Mr. Homer Martin, the president of the United Automobile Workers, is to testify as to Communist activities within that organization. For that reason I will introduce but little matter, leaving to Mr. Martin a more complete statement.

I will say, however, that the International in Moscow is very much interested in the part that the Communist Party took in the automobile and steel organizing campaign and the automobile and the steel strike, and for the record I am introducing a clipping from the New York Tribune of March 22, 1937. It was published in the Communist International Magazine No. 2 and says, among other things:

During the entire strike Communists were active in a leading role. They conducted many-sided work in helping strikers, collected money, and carried out demonstrations of solidarity.

(The newspaper clipping referred to is as follows:)

From New York Tribune, March 22, 1937

MOSCOW PRAISES REDS FOR AID IN AUTO STRIKE

Moscow, March 21 (U. P.).—K. Redmill, writing in The Communist International Magazine, No. 2, today praised the "work of Communists in the General Motors strike" at Detroit and Flint, Mich.

"During the entire strike," he said, "Communists were active in a leading role. They conducted many-sided work in helping strikers, collected money, and carried out demonstrations of solidarity.

"The Communist Party, through its central organ, The New York Daily Worker, gave advice on how to conduct the struggle and in many instances this advice was adopted."

Mr. FREY. Mr. Martin will testify as to the part they played; so I will use but little of that.

The Communist Party took a very active part in the last convention, the second convention, of the—

Mr. MOSIER (interposing). Mr. Frey, pardon me a minute. Referring back to the steel strike, do I recall correctly that yesterday you offered a list of names of some of the alleged Communists who participated in the steel strike in Ohio?

Mr. FREY. Saturday I submitted a lengthy list of some 280 Communists who had been on the pay roll of C. I. O. organizations as organizers. They are designated, and those that worked in connection with organizing the steel campaign and the strike were all designated as S. W. O. C., and that is the record.

Mr. MOSIER. All right; thank you very much.

Mr. FREY. There are two angles to the present unhappy situation in the automobile workers' union. One is due—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Mr. Frey, may I interrupt for just a minute?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You mentioned just a few seconds ago Homer Martin.

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask whether you have been in conference with Homer Martin in the recent past.

Mr. FREY. I have not been in conference with Homer Martin. I have met the gentleman only once, and that was when he and I debated the question of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. before the Town Hall in New York many months ago.

There are two disrupting factors in the automobile workers at the present time. One consists of the bulk of the membership who very much resent the Communist control that was secured of national offices. The other is an internal fight between two factions of the Communist Party. With that I do not want to deal. Mr. Martin will. All that I desire to call your attention to is a complete report of their last meeting, which I am submitting—my report of what went on. I merely read this to the committee [reading]:

Before the United Automobile Workers Union convention opened in Milwaukee, the Communist Party members held a fraction meeting or caucus at Eagles Hall in that city. There were present at this caucus Wyndham Mortimer, Ed Hall, Walter Reuther, and about 90 delegates to the convention who were actual Communist Party members. Also present were William Weinstone, Michigan secretary of the Communist Party; Jack Stachel, of New York, a

member of the central committee of the Communist Party; Morris Childs, of Chicago, Ill., secretary of the Communist Party; Ned Sparks, district organizer in Milwaukee of the Communist Party; Jack Johnstone, of Chicago, a member of the central committee; Roy Hudson, of New York, a member of the central committee; B. K. Gebert and Louis Budenz, the latter a member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker.

(The report referred to is as follows:)

SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

NEW YORK CITY, *September 1, 1937.*

Below are a few sidelights on the second convention of the United Automobile Workers of America held last week in Milwaukee:

From beginning to end the real convention took place behind the scenes, in caucuses, hotel rooms, and tap rooms. President Homer Martin, of the United Automobile Workers Union, and Organizational Director Richard Frankenstein, leaders of the administration or progressive group in the union, were the beneficiaries of the advice of Jay Lovestone, of New York, leader of the so-called Trotskyist radical group in this country. Lovestone was present in Milwaukee during the entire convention with his trade-union expert, George F. Miles. Both Miles and Lovestone attended most of the caucuses of the Martin-Frankenstein group.

Since Martin controlled a majority of the delegates to the convention, which he had lined up before the opening day, Lovestone advised a drive to eliminate the regular Communist Party members in the leadership of the so-called unity faction, led by Vice Presidents Wyndham Mortimer, of Flint, Michigan; Ed Hall, of Milwaukee, Wis.; and Walter Reuther, head of the west side local of the union in Detroit. Lovestone's policy was to eliminate Mortimer, Hall, and Reuter and thus strengthen the position of the Trotskyist group behind Martin. There is no question that Martin and Frankenstein, influenced by Lovestone, were prepared to clean house of the Communist group, and it is equally true that up to a month before the convention the Mortimer-Hall-Reuther faction was trying to get rid of President Martin.

The first fight between the two factions in the United Automobile Workers Union dates from a series of sit-down strikes last winter and spring. At that time President Martin advocated a policy of legality and was opposed to sporadic strikes. Martin urged careful organizational preparations in the shops and the mobilization of a citizenry of towns where automobile plants were located to secure their sympathetic support of the strike movement when and if the workers left the plants. Vice President Wyndham Mortimer, who is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States, working under the direction of the Communist Party and more especially under that of William Weinstone, Michigan secretary of the Communist Party, urged a policy of developing sit-down strikes as a means of more quickly and effectively organizing the automobile workers.

It will be recalled that at the height of the General Motors strike President Martin was sent on a roving tour of small towns in Indiana and Ohio with the full approval, if not the connivance, of John L. Lewis. Being sent away from the scene of the strike at such a critical time alarmed President Martin and he immediately made peace with John Brophy, director of the C. I. O., who had been sent to Detroit by John L. Lewis to establish a sort of receivership over the top leadership of the Automobile Workers Union. When Martin became reconciled to Brophy, Lewis himself then seemed satisfied to have Martin continue as president of the union. However, Lewis wanted some guarantees that President Martin would not become unruly by leaning toward more careful strike action. Lewis and Brophy, to secure these guarantees, then supported the launching of a drive against President Martin by the Communist group led by Mortimer, Hall, and Reuther. The idea was not to scuttle Martin at the Milwaukee convention but to surround him with vice presidents all with equal power to that of Martin so that the clique would be able to tell him what to do and when to do it.

When President Martin, much to the surprise of John L. Lewis and the Mortimer-Hall Reuther faction, lined up a majority of the delegates to the convention, the latter faction was forced to change its policies. As stated before, the Mortimer-Hall-Reuther faction is Communist-controlled but disguised

that fact by calling themselves the "Unity Group," as, under the guise of unity, they thought they could save their own necks and possibly build a fire under Martin during the course of the convention.

When the central committee of the Communist Party in New York learned about a month ago that Martin controlled a majority of the delegates to the convention, the Communist leadership then began what they called an "examination" of the party's policies and called Weinstone, the Michigan secretary of the party, on the carpet charging him with "leftist excesses," etc. The fact is, Weinstone was only carrying out the policy of the central committee of the Communist Party, but it did not work out, so Weinstone had to take "the rap."

Before the United Automotive Workers' Union convention opened in Milwaukee, the Communist Party members held a faction meeting or caucus at Eagles Hall in that city. There were present at this caucus Wyndham Mortimer, Ed. Hall, Walter Reuther, and about 90 delegates to the convention who were actual Communist Party members. Also present were William Weinstone, Michigan secretary of the Communist Party; Jack Stachel, of New York, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party; Morris Childs, of Chicago, Ill., secretary of the Communist Party; Ned Sparks, district organizer in Milwaukee of the Communist Party; Jack Johnstone, of Chicago, a member of the central committee; B. K. Gebert and Louis Budenz, the latter a member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker.

This Communist group decided they should make a fight to maintain the positions of Vice Presidents Mortimer and Hall; to place the five vice presidents of the United Automobile Workers' Union on a salary basis, and to provide salaries for all members of the executive board. This would place 24 people on the pay roll of the United Automobile Workers' Union. This Communist plan was carried out in the convention, but not without a fight.

After the first Communist Party caucus in Milwaukee it was decided to call together in another caucus all supporters of the Mortimer-Hall "Unity" faction. This group numbered more than 400, the great majority of whom, however, were not Communist Party members but sympathizers with the program proposed by the Communist or "Unity" group.

Mortimer, Hall, and Reuther worked closely with Ora Gassaway, a personal representative of John L. Lewis; Ray Edmundson, president of the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers and C. I. O. director in that State; and David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. On the evening of August 25, Charles S. Zimmermann, president of the powerful New York Local No. 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and a leading Trotskyite and follower of Lovestone, arrived in Milwaukee to use his influence on Dubinsky.

On the same day (Wednesday) a load of Communist leaders came from Chicago, among them Joe Weber, Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer in South Chicago; Harry Shaw and Jack Johnstone, who had in the interim returned to Chicago. Upon the arrival of the Chicago group, another Communist Party caucus was called, to which only the top elements were invited. Those present were Jack Stachel, Roy Hudson, William Weinstone, Ned Sparks, Wyndham Mortimer, Ed Hall, Walter Reuther, and B. K. Gebert. They met in a private home near the auditorium where the convention was being held. At this Communist caucus it was decided that Vice Presidents Mortimer and Hall, of the United Automobile Workers' Union, should have a plain talk with Gassaway and Edmundson, of the United Mine Workers, and insist that the latter two persuade John L. Lewis, who was to address the convention on Friday, the 27th, to openly plead for the retention of the Communists Mortimer and Hall on the executive committee and as vice presidents of the United Automobile Workers' Union at full pay. The same evening Mortimer contacted Edmundson and Gassaway and secured from them a promise to talk to Lewis.

On Friday morning Lewis' appearance was the signal for a staged demonstration, each faction trying to outdo the other in a noisy reception. President Martin, who knew that Lewis was originally involved in the scheme to relieve him of his office, introduced Lewis as "the world's greatest labor leader."

Lewis in a long speech worked up to a climax by assailing President William Green, of the A. F. of L., landing on Henry Ford and making an appeal for unity.

It is expected that there will be repercussions as a result of the maneuvering of the two factions during the convention, due to the fact that John L. Lewis' stepping into an inner conflict in one of the C. I. O. affiliated organizations demonstrated that he is assuming the role of dictator. Already some of the

A. F. of L. leaders are beginning to take advantage of the situation, and it is probable that disclosures made by them will tend to slow up affiliation with the C. I. O. on the part of unions now excluded from the A. F. of L.

OFFICIAL FAMILY—AUTO WORKERS UNION

Note: Those marked "unity" are in the Communist camp, or are strongly supported by Communists.

Homer Martin, president, progressive.

George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer, unity.

Wyndham Mortimer, vice president, unity.

Ed. Hall, vice president, unity.

Richard T. Frankenstein, vice president, progressive.

R. J. Thomas, vice president, progressive.

Edward N. Wells, vice president, progressive.

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE BOARD

Walter Reuther, Michigan, unity.

Leo La Motte, Michigan, unity.

Morris Fields, Michigan, progressive.

Loran Hauser, Michigan, progressive.

Tracy Doll, Michigan, progressive.

Lester Washburn, Michigan, progressive.

C. E. Madden, Michigan, progressive.

Ellsworth Kramer, Toledo, Ohio, unity.

Paul E. Miley, Cleveland, Ohio, unity.

R. E. Reisinger, Cleveland, Ohio, unity.

F. J. Michel, Racine, Wis., progressive.

C. H. Millard, Oshawa, Ontario, progressive.

Michael Gallo, Baltimore, unity.

Russell B. Merrill, South Bend, progressive.

Frank Tucci, Tarrytown, N. Y., progressive.

Delmond Clarey, Los Angeles, progressive.

Mr. FREY. These names were included in the report of the Communist leaders endeavoring to direct the Communist's activities. They were the representatives of the central committee of the Communist Party meeting in the convention city, so that they could use their influence to have things go their own way.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Frey, may I ask you a question just out of curiosity? Do you have any figures on what percentage of the controlling element of the Communist Party are citizens of the United States?

Mr. FREY. No; I have not.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, it is true it is not, that some of them in control are not citizens of the United States?

Mr. FREY. It is true.

I will not submit for the record—because my time is short—a report of a meeting of the political bureau of the central committee of the Communist Party held in Cleveland, Saturday, April 17, 1937. My only comment on this document, which I file for publication, is that unfortunately I read that while we were having our conference in Cincinnati, while I hurriedly sipped a cup of coffee in the morning, and quite accidentally—because I am without that type of memory—I quoted three paragraphs of that report from memory when I took the floor in our convention. There was a member of the central committee of the Communist Party there in the hall. He rushed to the telephone. All I know is that he called up New York; but what I do know is that charges of treason were filed against an individual in the office of the central committee. It hap-

pened, however, that the individual was not the one that they were hunting for.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST

NEW YORK, April 23, 1937.

The political bureau of the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States called a special meeting in Cleveland for Saturday, April 17. Due to the delay in the arrival of some of the leaders invited, the meeting did not convene until 9 a. m., Sunday, April 18. It was held in the Jewish Labor Center, Fifty-fifth and Scoville Streets, Cleveland. Among those present were Jack Stachel, F. Brown (real name Alpi), Clarence Hathaway, Elizabeth Lawson, and Harry Raymond (of the Daily Worker staff), from New York; William Weinstone, district secretary for Michigan; John Williamson, district organizer for Ohio; Ned Sparks, district organizer for Pittsburgh; John Stenben (real name, Martin Rijak), section organizer for Youngstown; June Croll, from the women's department of the national office in New York; Morris Childs, district organizer for Illinois; I. Amter and Charles Krumbein, district organizer and district secretary, respectively, for New York; and Jack Johnstone and Rober Minor, members of the central executive committee of the Communist Party. There were several others present, who were not identified.

Elizabeth Lawson (whose real name is Elsa Block) was formerly a student of the University of Minnesota and recently was editor of the Southern Worker, using the pen name of "Jim Mallory"; June Croll, of the women's department (whose real name is Sonia Croll), was formerly the wife of Carl Reeve, son of "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor, but is now the wife of Langston Hughes, radical Negro poet of Boston. Quite a number of others were invited but could not be present because of the pressure of work in their respective communities.

In opening the session Stachel stated that the purpose of the meeting was to endeavor to clarify a number of problems, among them:

(1) The political situation in the light of the Supreme Court decision on the Wagner Act; (2) the prospect for further work by the Communist Party in the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L.; and (3) the party position today on the Negro question. Despite the poor attendance, because of the short notice, it was decided to discuss these matters and then direct the political bureau to prepare a letter to district and section committees on the results of the discussion. The first reports on the political situation were made by Stachel and Brown.

Stachel stated that while the Supreme Court, by a five to four vote, upheld the Wagner Labor Relation Act, it is not possible to rely upon the whims of one judge, and therefore the campaign to support President Roosevelt's proposals to enlarge the Supreme Court must go on. It is necessary even to go further and demand legislation curbing the power of the Court, even if enlarged, by removing from it the power to review social legislation when passed by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress. He further said that it is necessary to cover certain phases of the second point under discussion (work in the C. I. O. and A. F. of L.) in connection with the Court's decision. It is necessary to recognize that reactionaries in Congress will begin a barrage against the labor movement by trying to interpret certain sections of the Wagner Act as legalizing compulsory arbitration, outlawing strikes, and railroading to prison without trial those who refuse to abide by unsatisfactory decisions. Under the present practice anyone violating provisions of the decisions of the Federal courts can be brought in for contempt and denied a jury trial. There is not much danger of this happening at present, he said, but there are forces trying to amend the act right now so that it will be a more effective weapon against labor.

The Communist Party job is to try to introduce amendments in Congress that will strengthen the prolabor sections, and some of the leading comrades have recently had conferences with Senator Lundeen, of Minnesota, on the possibility of such amendments. While Senator Lundeen was in the lower House he introduced the Unemployment and Social Security Act that was written by the political bureau of the Communist Party and presented to him through the unemployment councils. It may be possible to get such amendments introduced by some such roundabout method at this time. Congressman Maury Maverick is also amenable to influence by groups close to the Communist Party, and he can be used to aid in putting over the program in the House of Representatives.

Instead of discussing each report separately, it was at this point decided that

all reports would be rendered and thereafter the group assembled would enter into a general discussion of them.

Brown (Alpi) then submitted his report, stating substantially that he would have to deal principally with the second point (concerning further work in the C. I. O. and A. F. of L.), stressing the reactionary possibilities of the Wagner Act and the need for arousing great mass protests against such Fascist legislation as the Sheppard-Hill industrial mobilization plan. He characterized the Sheppard-Hill bill as a great threat to labor. It must be understood that some of the top leaders of the C. I. O.—certainly Van A. Bitner, regional director of Chicago, and probably even John L. Lewis, aided by Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Charles Howard, of the Typographical Union—will back President Roosevelt's interpretation of the Wagner Act as something guaranteeing industrial peace. Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, is talking that way and is trying to provoke a fight with any of the officers or members of his union suspected of affiliation with the Communist Party, especially Vice President Wyndham Mortimer and the latter's supporters in the new United Automobile Workers Union in Detroit and Flint. There are also reports that the C. I. O. leaders working in St. Louis and vicinity have started attacks against known Communists.

This means that the time may not be far distant when the C. I. O. leaders will join President Roosevelt in an antistrike move, declaring that the organizational drive of the C. I. O. and the victories in the steel and auto industries and the advance in other industries, combined with the legalization of the Wagner Act, make it unnecessary to carry on further strike action. This is a great danger to the Communist Party and it is not prepared for such a move at this time. That is why this political conference was deemed necessary. The Communist Party must be able to devise ways and means of differentiating itself from such tendencies; otherwise the workers will be caught unawares and in a situation where the C. I. O. and the Government will work together against strike action by the workers. Thus far the Communist Party has gone along with the C. I. O. in working to build the organizations, and the party organizers have become trade-union people pure and simple and have neglected to bring the campaigns of the party to the membership of the unions. The Communist Party must be brought forward as such. That does not mean that it should expose its members working as organizers or those employed in the shops and mills, but it does mean that these party members must work closely with the section and district committees of the Communist Party and that realistic and convincing literature must be put out to counteract reactionary tendencies.

The party must be more energetic about party recruiting and must be free to bring into the party the best workers with whom it comes in contact in the course of organization work. It is essential that these policies be kept as secret as possible because if Lewis, Hillman, and the others were to learn of them it might sharpen the situation in an unpleasant fashion. Hence those present at this meeting of the political buro must exert the utmost care in carrying this part of our proposals to leading party members in the districts. While there are always dangers involved in correcting such abuses of party life, it would be a much greater danger to let things go as they have been going lately.

While Brown was speaking Vice President Wyndham Mortimer of the United Automobile Workers Union arrived and Weinstein announced that it would be advisable to have Mortimer participate at once in the discussion, inasmuch as both he and Mortimer must be back in Detroit by Sunday evening. Hence it was decided to discuss the two reports made and take up the Negro question later.

Mortimer confirmed Brown's statements regarding President Homer Martin of the United Automobile Workers Union and said that Martin had proved himself to be very weak and would get little support, if any, from John L. Lewis; that Lewis had little respect for any leader who could not control his own union. Mortimer said that he was sure Martin could be defeated by his own membership if it came to a show-down. He said further that there is developing a sharp situation in Flint and that is why it is essential that Communist Party leaders from Detroit return as quickly as possible, because when they are absent for any length of time suspicion is aroused. He gave this as a reason why it is necessary to keep the time and place of Communist Party

meetings secret. In many instances in Michigan they find it necessary to hold meetings after midnight. Mortimer agreed with Brown that Communist Party members doing organizational work for the C. I. O. must realize first that they are Communist Party members with additional responsibilities. He thought the differentiation could be made on issues that immediately concerned the workers and that we need not fear bringing the most energetic and class-conscious workers into the party because then, if a break does come, the Communists will be in a position to obtain wide support and possibly defeat any attempt to victimize the Communists, who have unquestionably done the best work and borne the brunt of the hard knocks up to this point.

Weinstone, in discussing the situation, said he did not think that any open break would come so long as Green and the A. F. L. are attacking John L. Lewis and the C. I. O.—and there are no indications that this fight will end soon. However, he favored the beginning of a differentiation, saying that some talk is heard that “we have settled with the extremists among the industrialists, now we must deal with the extremists in our own camp as we do not want any extremists on one side or the other.” Weinstone said that this talk comes from people not very eminent in the councils of the C. I. O., but it does show that there must be some such talk going on above or it would not be voiced down below. He also criticized the calling of this Cleveland conference, saying that those in the party headquarters in New York ought to know that the tasks in the districts throughout the country are such that it is impossible to function if one has to be on call at a moment's notice whenever it pleases the comrades left in the central office. It would be better if more members from the central headquarters in New York spent most of their time in the districts and let the clerical workers in New York take care of national office routine. He favored political bureau meetings in places nearer the center of mass activity than New York, but said that there must be more time given to arrange to attend such meetings.

John Steuben (Martin Rijak) agreed with the last statement of Weinstone and said that conditions in Youngstown are such that he should not have been expected to leave there.

Jack Johnstone, discussing the situation in the Chicago district, said that that area is a most difficult one; that in his whole territory, which includes several States, he is having difficulty in making comrades working in the unions remember that they have Communist Party duties to perform as well.

John Williamson, from Ohio, and Ned Sparks, from Pittsburgh, stated that conditions in their respective districts were similar to those in Johnstone's Chicago district.

Robert Minor gave a long agitational talk on war and industrial conscription and also agreed with everything everybody else had said, including the need for more careful preparation for meetings called by the political bureau.

Others made statements agreeing with the policy of making a fight to amend the Wagner Act, and directed attention to the fact that the reactionary tendencies of that act have been understated. They looked upon the Wagner Act as a bigger advance in the hands of reactionaries in the direction of legislation that will make effective industrial mobilization which can be used even if the Sheppard-Hill bill is never passed. The opinion was expressed that it is an old trick of those who introduce Fascist measures to cloak them with professions of friendship for labor. It was also stated that so far as John L. Lewis and Charles Howard are concerned, they have spent most of their lives breaking strikes and there is no reason to believe that they would not resume those roles the moment they think it is safe to do so and at the same time insure the retention of their leadership.

Hathaway disagreed with some of these latter statements by saying that the Communist Party cannot base its attacks upon what certain people did in the past, but must realize that such persons might have learned lessons; and the best guaranty that they will not break strikes is to strengthen the rank and file of the union with the understanding that they have secured their concessions through struggles and they can only hold these concessions and gain more through more struggles. He said that so far as the mobilization plans were concerned the Government does not need to pass any special laws, but will merely set aside everything in the way of laws favorable to labor in case war should come; and that is why the Communist Party must wage a special struggle against war and not shout that every move is in the direction of war, because if war really does come no one will really believe the party. In brief, Hathaway's argument was against crying “Wolf.”

The report on the Negro question was made by Elizabeth Lawson after the luncheon recess. She said that many have demanded to know what has happened to the slogan of the Communist Party, "Self-determination for the Black Belt of the South," but they must realize that although that slogan is still correct as propaganda the party cannot gain much now by making it a slogan of action. There are 392 contiguous counties extending from South Carolina to Louisiana where the Negroes are in absolute majority and thus constitute an oppressed nationality. At this time the Communist Party work in the South must be toward the unity of the Negro and the white man, especially in agricultural areas. It must struggle against segregation, Jim Crowism, and lynching. The party must still use this self-determination slogan, but it must not make the mistake that self-determination means the Negroes in the South must rule themselves. She said this mistake was made by Comrade Jim Allen, who did considerable work in the South. (Jim Allen, whose real name is Sol Auerbach, was a former teacher in the University of Pennsylvania, but was discharged about 1927 or 1928 for negligence in his classes.) The self-determination slogan means that since the Negroes are in the majority in the southern counties they should rule the white minority as well. Self-determination of the Negroes is not today a slogan of action, but it can readily become such in case of war, when the imperialists try to conscript Negroes. It must be remembered that in the last war Negroes were hanged in Brownsville, Tex., for mutiny. The Negroes do not want to go to war, and under such conditions the slogan of self-determination would be a revolutionary one inasmuch as it would seriously impair the military plans of the imperialists.

There was very little discussion of Miss Lawson's report, as nearly everyone present took it for granted that what she stated was right. Elizabeth Lawson (Elsa Block) is not a member of the central committee of the Communist Party. She has worked for years among Negroes. She was formerly the wife of a student of the University of Minnesota named George Megler or Melcher. The latter has been a party member for many years and is now assigned to very secret work in one of the Government departments. It is understood he has held this Government position since 1928. Elizabeth Lawson, then his wife, boasted so much about Megler's secret activities that in 1929 she was shipped to Moscow for fear she would endanger his work. While there she studied the Negro question, and since that time has worked continuously among the Negroes. It was reported that whatever mysterious work George Megler is doing, it is of such a character that it will take a number of years for him to complete it. While his place of employment was not mentioned, the inference from remarks made is that he is in one of the executive departments in Washington.

The sessions of the political buro adjourned at 7 o'clock Sunday night.

Mr. FREY. The only material in connection with the Automobile Workers' Union which I want to file with the committee is a publication known as "The Great Sit-Down Strike." It was prepared by William Weinstone, who is a member of the central committee. He has an impressive record. His name is William Wolf Weinstone, and he is district organizer of district No. 7, Communist Party, headquarters, Detroit. He has had direct charge of party activities within the Auto Workers' Union from the beginning. Among those reporting to him are Maurice Sugar, who is the counsel for one group of the auto workers, and has been a candidate for office in Detroit on the Communist ticket; also active with him are Roy Reuther, Walter Reuther, William Raymond, and Wyndham Mortimer.

He was born in Russia; joined the Socialist Party in this country in 1915; one of the first members of the executive committee of the Communist Party. When the central committee was created, he became one of the leaders, and has remained in that capacity since. He was one of those arrested at the Bridgeman, Mich., raid, in 1922. He organized the International Workers' Aid, becoming its first secretary. The group is now known as Friends of Soviet Russia.

He is a member of the educational committee of the Workers School. He was a candidate on the Red Party ticket in New York City in 1932. At one time he served as editor of the Daily Worker, the Communist Party daily. He is a director of the Communist Holding Co., which covers the properties at 50 East Thirteenth Street and 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City. These addresses are the national headquarters of the Communist Party.

Naturally a man in that position speaks with authority.

In connection with his report on the automobile organizing campaign and the automobile strike, if time permitted, I would like to read more than I will be able to. I merely quote now from page 36:

In the first place must be mentioned the work of the Communist members of the union as well as the work of the Communist Party itself.

What were the activities of the Communists? The Communists and the Communist Party gave the most loyal backing and support to the strike, to the aims, policies, and activities of the union and the C. I. O. The Communists worked ardently and earnestly in helping to build up the union and tried in every way possible to properly prepare the strike so that it would rest upon a strong foundation. In the strike itself the Communists sought to imbue the strikers and the workers generally with the greatest discipline, organization, and perseverance. There is no doubt that where the Communists were active and took an outstanding part, particularly at the most decisive points of the struggle, there the strike was strongest, and this made for the success of the whole battle.

I quot again from page 38:

The existence of groups of Communists within the shops was undoubtedly of great help because thereby a core of experienced people were in the shops to help in the solution of the new problems connected with the sit down. The shop form of organization, the shop groups (units), has more than justified itself. Where the party organization paid attention to these units, there the efforts of many years of work were fully rewarded.

Page 45:

In conclusion, the strike of the automobile workers reveals the new forces that are at work within the country, forces which are driving toward an extension and strengthening of the labor movement and which are welding also the unity of the working class and of all progressive-minded people, a process which is giving rise to the growth of a real people's movement—a real people's united front—a movement which will embrace also the most aggressive revolutionary-minded section of the working class—the Communists and the Communist Party.

This is guarded language, but in view of the evidence I have already submitted, the committee will understand what Mr. Weinstein meant when he spoke of the assistance given. The assistance was partly the introduction of the sit-down plants of the trained officers of the Communist Party—trained to carry on that kind of work; also the mass picketing was partly carried on by the trained representatives of the Communist Party, trained in those methods of mass demonstrations, which have already been placed before the committee.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Frey, could I ask you a question?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you think that the Communists were responsible for the sit-down strikes?

Mr. FREY. Probably more than any other group. They were influenced by what had taken place in France. In France there had

been a trade-union movement, a part of the International Federation of Labor. There was a large outside group of Communists. The Communists endeavored to break into the French trades-union movement immediately after the armistice in 1918. It was not until recently that they were able to bring about a united front, so that the Communists who led groups of the organized workers in France, who were more numerous than the trade-union groups, now dominate the policy of labor in France, and almost dominate what the Chamber of Deputies can do in connection with France's principal problems.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, the growth of the Communists in France was very sudden and unexpected, was it not? It did not occur until after the World War, and it was ridiculed for a long time in France?

Mr. FREY. Ridiculed with one exception. The president of the Metal Workers' Division, occupying much the same position in the French trade-union movement as I do here, was keenly aware of what the introduction of communism in France would mean to a legitimate trades-union movement. He was the outstanding trades-union official in French labor who, all the time, day in and day out, warned French labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not he the one that they designated "Red Baiter?"

Mr. FREY. Oh, they called him worse things than that. That was a mild term.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the Communists practically in control of the labor movement in France now?

Mr. FREY. I would say this: That the officers of the French Federation of Labor are not in the position to take any decisive action on policy until they have found that the Communist leadership will go along with them.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the situation in Great Britain? Have they been able to keep the Communists out?

Mr. FREY. The British trades-union movement has from the beginning taken much the same position as the American Federation of Labor, and while there is a Communist Party in England, some of the members of which even get into Parliament, outside of being very noisy, they are unable to attract a sufficient following to make them a definite factor.

My purpose has been principally to indicate the Socialist or the Communist infiltration into unions, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. I have three publications here. One of them is a Trotskyite publication; another is a Communist publication; and the other is an anarchist publication. All of them deal with one subject—the method by which the Communist Party was able to secure control of the Office and Professional Workers' Union of the C. I. O. I have been unable to mark all of these items. I think that the reporter should go over merely those sections which deal with that specific thing, so far as the record is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FREY. There is no use in putting it all in.

The CHAIRMAN. No; we must cut it down.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

Re: Office & Professional Workers Union, C. I. O. affiliate.

Find attached a page from the July 9 issue of the New Leader. In the marked column it shows that the large group of office workers belonging to this organization and residing in San Francisco, withdrew and affiliated with the A. F. of L. The reasons given for this withdrawal from the C. I. O. group, was that the Office Workers Union was completely dominated by the Communist Party.

CP FOUGHT ON THREE FRONTS BY C. I. O. UNIONS

C. I. O. Office Workers Union in San Francisco deserts to A. F. of L., charging "Communist Domination"—Martin firm on expulsions.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Upheaval on three fronts in the C. I. O. in California, Michigan, and upper Minnesota, on the issues of alleged undemocratic practices and Communist Party domination, is the story of chief interest this week in the split labor movement.

In San Francisco the C. I. O. Office Workers Union deserted to the A. F. of L. on this issue; in Michigan President Martin of the United Automobile Workers reaffirmed his determination to drive the Communist Party agents from the union, and in Minnesota timber workers regained their old A. F. of L. charter after, they assert, their organization was nearly destroyed by C. I. O. organizers.

As a result of these experiences over a hundred representatives from every organized house in San Francisco voted unanimously to affiliate with the A. F. of L. "The experience of the office workers in battling this dictatorship has been an excellent laboratory in which to see the Communist Party in operation," the document concludes.

JULY 23, 1938.

Find attached a page from the Socialist Appeal of June 11, 1938.

This is the Trotsky section of the Communist Party paper, and marked article has to do with the Communist control over the Office Workers Union.

OFFICE UNION SESSION STERILE UNDER GAG RULE

Stalinist leadership concentrates on keeping opposition silenced at Washington Office Workers' session.

The Stalinist-controlled United Office and Professional Workers' Union, C. I. O., held its second national convention at Washington, D. C., May 18 to 22. The Stalinists made it plain beforehand that they intended to achieve "unity" at the convention. It developed that "unity" was to be achieved by the systematic exclusion of anyone who might take exception to their reactionary program.

This aim was carried out so effectively, and the meeting became so sterile and devoid of dissent, that President Merrill found it necessary to persuade the delegates to comment on the various canned proposals. Taking him at his word, some of the delegates took the floor. But when they naively dared to raise objections they found themselves caustically rebuked by the same Merrill. One proposal after another went through with record speed. Sporadically, however, the embarrassing quietude would be broken by some hardy soul—in correction of a typographical or grammatical error. The chairman repeatedly slurred through requests of negative votes, knowing it was a waste of breath.

The tragic rubber stamp character of the convention once more confirmed the aims of the Stalinists in the United Office and Professional Workers of America and in every union cursed with the blight of their control. Minorities, however substantial their numbers, are consistently denied representation in the leading bodies of the union. Every obstacle is placed in the path of a minority member seeking participation in the organizational and general life of the union.

Nevertheless, beneath the surface of complete Stalinist domination, important opposition forces are developing. The revolt in the insurance agents, largest section of the International, presages important developments in the future. The formation of the National Progressive League with its paper gives the Progressives an opportunity to crystallize the opposition that exists in the ranks of the union and rally to its support all those elements working for the building of a healthy progressive office workers union.

JULY 23, 1938.

Find attached a copy of Challenge, New York and San Francisco, which is an anarchist paper, of Saturday, June 25, 1938. It also has to do with the United Office and Professional Workers Union.

C. P. "STRATEGISTS" AMONG OFFICE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

The "rule or ruin" policy of the Stalinists in the trade unions is nowhere more apparent than in the United Office and Professional Workers of America. This was evident at the Union's May convention in Washington, where after including the dissident element, a convention of mutual praise and self-admiration was indulged in rather than a session devoted to critical evaluation. Thus President Lewis Merrill announced that in one short year the United Office and Professional Workers of America had grown from 8,000 to 45,000.

However, he failed to note that the treasurer's report showed only a paid membership of 16,000.

The convention was the epitome of unity. This was obtained by the simple expedient of the use of the credential committee. The resolutions committee did not report to the floor a single resolution that was not administration-backed. Full power to revoke charters was granted to the general executive board.

REORGANIZED LOCAL HAS 20 MEMBERS

Immediately a special meeting of local 34 voted 95-5 to drop the affiliation with the United Office and Professional Workers of America. Faced with standing alone or affiliating with the A. F. of L. with full autonomy, the local chose the latter and obtained a federal charter from the A. F. of L.

The G. E. announces that local 34 has been reorganized and is functioning again. What is not announced is that the functioning membership numbers forty.

And what is not perceived is that the C. I. O. union, born because of the undemocratic tactics on the part of the A. F. of L. leadership, cannot survive if the same undemocratic tactics are used.

Mr. FREY. I did want to read an affidavit. I will not, but will merely put it in the record. It was made by Herbert Hunt Searl, who is a professional aviator who went over to Spain, and who had some interested contacts with Communist leaders here before he sailed, and interesting ones after he arrived in Spain.

I am informed that if the committee so desires, Mr. Searl will be very glad to come before your committee and testify.

(The affidavit referred to is as follows:)

STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

County of Hudson, ss:

Herbert Hunt Searl of full age, being duly sworn according to law, upon his oath deposes and says:

I am at the present time a resident of the city of Jersey City, where I reside with my cousins at 634 Garfield Avenue.

In May 1937, having returned from the Mid-Pacific islands, where I had been employed with the Pan-American Airways, I was scouting about San Francisco to get myself connected in a flying capacity, the profession I have been forced to give up as a result of serious injuries sustained in an air crash in the Orient. I spent the next two months touring about the United States and returned to San Francisco to settle down. During the month of August while out dining in a cabaret or night club with a guest, an old acquaintance stepped over to my table and asked me to join with his party of young officers from the Merchant Service, he was host to. This old acquaintance was Eddie Crabtree, a man who had served in the Shanghai International Police Force and later entered the Dollar Steamship Co., rising to the rank of second officer of the trans-Pacific steamer President Hoover. I had known Eddie for the past 7 years. He had been my host in China, I his host in the Philippines. Eddie was extremely popular among all the Maritime officers of the Dollar Line and known by the executives to be a bright and up-coming officer. They had big things cut out for him. It was due to a change in the captains of that steamer that Eddie, through his work, forced himself

from the Dollar Line. The International Mates and Pilots Association was at that time seeking to gain a foothold among the marine workers of the Pacific coast and immediately grasped this opportunity to get one who was so popular among his fellow officers, known as a leader. He was placed in the position of dispatcher of the local in San Francisco. He served as a negotiator in the 1936 Maritime Strike between the officers and executives of the steamship company. His activities in this capacity brought the Communists and the C. I. O. organizers to him.

He was selected to enter the Workers' School of the Communist Party in San Francisco and be trained to take over the Master Mates and Pilots under C. I. O. leadership in an attempt to break the American Federation of Labor Association. At the time of my meeting Eddie again he was then enrolled in the Workers' School, being supported by the Communist Party and also slated to start activities in organizing the master mates and pilots under the C. I. O. within the month.

While seated at his table, Eddie inquired as to what venture I was in now. I explained that I was contemplating accepting a position offered me in China. He questioned me with regard to Spain. I asked him if there was any money in it and how reliable the contacts in the United States were, as this Chinese thing looked a bit shaky, as I didn't want to go tripping off and get Shanghaied and come back with my pockets empty. We agreed to meet the next evening in his apartment on Polk Street, in San Francisco, where he would present me to the influential people. I arrived at 8:30 p. m. Eddie explained that the party would not be there until 9 p. m. as he had to get rid of his wife first—he sent her out to a movie and at 9 o'clock, I was introduced to a Mr. Specter.

Mr. Specter, I was told, was the influential party. Mr. Specter questioned me as to my political stand and position. I explained to him that I was neutral in this matter as I was mercenary and made my living flying for those who paid. He gave me a great talk on the movement in Spain and its effect upon workers in America. I learned that Mr. Specter was the Communist Party organizer for San Francisco and County. Mr. Specter addressed a note on a piece of scratch paper, of introduction, explaining that he was behind me and that I was O. K. It was then arranged that Eddie would present this note and myself to a man who was to supply me with transportation, necessary papers, etc., to the New York representatives. We met that man the next afternoon in the sporting editor's office in the Union Recreation Center, just off the Embarcadero, 32 Clay Street, San Francisco. He questioned me as to the previous military training, also inspected my pilot's log book and licenses, which Mr. Specter had requested that I present to him, as Mr. Specter was not fully versed on military matters but, his position was to endorse me politically as they had had trouble with aviators deserting with equipment to Franco's side. I was then informed that funds to send me to Spain were being supplied by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; that my pay and contract would be supplied me by representatives of the Spanish Government when I would contact in Paris. The date for my departure was set. I was presented with a ticket for bus transportation to New York, expense money and a small slip of paper with a name "Harry" and the address 236 West Fortieth Street in New York. I was told that I was not to explain to "Harry" my mission to Spain but simply explain that I wanted my passport fixed and a ticket, also the address of the contact in Paris.

Arriving in New York, I asked at this address for "Harry," was ushered into a small office, explained to him I had just arrived from San Francisco, had my passport with me and that I wanted to go to France and I wanted him to fix it. He explained he would take my passport, asked me if I had sufficient expense funds, I told him I could do with more, was given same, signed a receipt on the blank receipt book for it, was told to report back again at 11 a. m. the next day and everything would be in order. At 11 o'clock the next day I was handed my passport with a French visa and inquired after the Spanish visa and he told me that would also be supplied me in Paris. He handed me a ticket on the steamship *Bercugaria*, funds with which to tip the waiters and incidental expenses that might arise on the journey, signed a receipt for the ticket, also receipt for the funds, on similar blank receipt book. I was then told to meet him at 1:30 that afternoon at the address he gave me.

This turned out to be the office of the Communist Party located at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City. I was introduced to a comrade and it was explained that he was secretary for the Communist Party in New York. For

4 hours, several other chaps who were already there ahead of me and myself were given a talk on the Spanish political situation in detail. We were told of the strife between the Anarchist Party of Catalonia and the Communist Party, who were then seeking to unify all the forces in Spain in one common cause. We were explained the caution we would have to use while traveling to France, also the procedure for getting aboard the steamship *Berengaria* without attracting the attention of the United States State Department inspectors but, should we be required to present our passports, never to let them from our own hands, simply show the picture, and then our French visa. The tickets we were supplied with had been secured through the Russian Tourists' Bureau. My visa was also secured from the same agency from the French authorities and too, had managed to avoid getting the stamp of the United States Government, prohibiting me from visiting Spain or any other country then engaged in war. I remarked the manner which all this had been arranged. It was explained that we have our connection and many of the people in Government employ are among our ranks. There is nothing impossible for us, I was told.

These remarks were passed by the speaker that afternoon who was previously introduced as the secretary of the Communist Party in New York. I sailed the first week in September 1937, on the steamship *Berengaria*. My passage was booked under my own name, tourist class. There were eight others whom I was introduced to before the meeting adjourned. These were all sailing on the same ship. We were only to strike up a shipboard acquaintance with each other. All the others were paired off in rooms together. I was left to myself. The leader of that group was Doolittle, another young boy by the name of Bob Thwing. The rest I only knew by their first names. Doolittle explained to me in private the first night out that his principle concern was to watch the other seven members and that if I should overhear them shooting off their mouth or drinking too much, he would appreciate it if I notify him of their whereabouts, also to watch and see that they did not get mixed up with any women. I did not question Doolittle as to his purpose in going to Spain and he explained to me that he and his party were going to join the American Unit of the International Brigade under the Loyalists' Government. We parted in Paris, he taking his group to one hotel while I proceeded to make contact.

The contact established, I was put up in the Selector Hotel. I was told that I need not worry about the bill as that would be taken care of by the party, that I would remain in my hotel from 6 to 8 in the evening so that contact could be established should they need me, in the meantime they would make the necessary arrangements with the military attachés in Paris, representing the Air Ministry of the Spanish Republican Government. Nine days later contact was made and I was told there was my ticket, additional expense money and that I would proceed to the destination contained in the envelope. I called with regard to my contract and they explained that all those arrangements had been made, that I would enter Spain and report to the international delegation headquarters in Albacete. Once across the Spanish border I would be well escorted there so I need have no worries as to how to find the delegation. I proceeded to Perpignan, took a cab to the hotel, explained to the madam that I would like a room and was expecting a caller. I remained in Perpignan for 3 days, as my caller explained there was difficulty running the blockade across the Pyrenees Mountains. I explained to him I had a free passport and saw no reason why I should not proceed through the regular channels. He explained that I was an aviator and that the nonintervention patrol were watching for such and would make it very awkward should they discover my identity and the propaganda which would follow would be very harmful to the cause. I was smuggled across the border with about 85 other men of all nationalities. All these men seemed to be destined for the International Brigade.

Arriving in Albacete, the padre officer there explained that there was some dispute between the Communist Party and the Senor Preito, the minister of war for the republican forces, and that I would have to proceed to a rest camp before I could be sent to the Air Ministry, as my endorsement was Communist Party endorsement, and Preito did not think much of it at that time, as he was desirous of keeping Communists out of his air forces. I explained in clear language that I was not a Communist, that I came purely to Spain as a professional soldier; that I did not give a hoot and hang about their politics; that I was fed up on riding in third-class coaches, missing meals, and did not like the riff-raff I was obliged to associate with. He discussed at length with me what was going on in Spain; that we had no such thing as sectarianism;

that we were all workers and comrades fighting for one common cause, who did I think I was, any better than these others from all over the world? I told them frankly I was a professional soldier, and was only there because I had been offered good money to come, and I wanted to see something in writing pretty darn quick. I sent by car the letter of introduction to the training base of the Anglo-American Fifteenth Brigade.

The commandant, a Maj. Allen Johnson, recognized my name, and asked me if I was in any way related to Lieutenant Searl of the Air Corps, who had served in the Philippines in 1922, 1923, and 1924. He mentioned that he had been an officer in the United States Army during those years with the Thirty-first Infantry and had met this lieutenant, in fact worked with him. I explained this was my father but that he had been killed while in service shortly after his return from the Philippines. He was delighted to find someone who had military experience, explained his necessity for such, and asked me if while I was waiting on the air force assignment if I would oblige him by assisting in the instruction of the machine guns, rifles, and in general the United States Army Infantry Manual. After serving under Commandant Johnson for about 2 weeks I became doubtful of his military experience. I learned through hearsay that he had been a commissioned officer in the United States Army service, as a paymaster, but was wanted by the United States Government authorities to answer a few questions with regard to funds, that he had fortunately just gotten into Spain in time. He had a good front and was definitely against the United States Government and was a Communist.

In fact in his office hung the United States Stars and Stripes with a hammer and sickle done in yellow sewed into those Stars and Stripes. I questioned Johnson with regard to this flag and asked why he, a former United States Army officer would tolerate such a thing. He explained to me that soon the Congress of America would have that sewed into all our American flags, as this war in Spain was only the beginning, we were training men here to go home and organize workers of America into the C. I. O. Union, to teach them how to bear arms against the National Guard and anybody else who tried to break their strikes or prevent them from carrying forth their demands on the capitalists.

On October 20, 1937, the Plaza was bedecked in this small town with banners, the Spanish republican flag and the flag of the Soviet Union. A small reviewing stand built and the troops paraded about practicing for a review before the United States Representatives Jerry O'Connell and John T. Bernard, who were reviewing this Anglo-American Brigade at their training base on that memorable day which was the anniversary of the beginning of the Russian Revolution. We were to have a song fest that evening; in general it was a day of celebration. The troops were paraded before the reviewing stand; the honored guests, Representatives O'Connell and Bernard arrived at about 3:30 p. m. with a newsreel camera escort and photographers. The review was called and about 1,500 men marched past the reviewing stand.

At that time the brigade's color guard carried the red flag of the Soviet Union past and the guests on the reviewing stand, including Representative O'Connell and also the woman of the party, whom I believe was Mrs. Bernard, gave the Russian military salute to the flag by raising the right closed fist to the right forehead.

The mayor of Tarazona who is head of the Parto Communissimo, the Communist Party, greeted the representatives, then called before the platform the girls of the "Juventud" (youth movement) then came forward bearing a banner to be presented to our commander, Walter Garland, a Negro captain. The banner, a Spanish flag with a pennant of red representing the red army. Walter Garland then addressed Representatives Jerry O'Connell and Bernard, the assembled groups and explained that he was relinquishing his command of the brigade to Commandant Johnson who had been appointed commandant of the base, as well as commandant of the brigade, that he was departing to parts unknown. Two months later workers' papers from the United States pictured him as the brave and heroic Negro worker who had just returned from the front line trenches of Spain to lead his race to freedom under the Communist Party.

Major Johnson placed the battalion at rest, speeches followed by the mayor in which he stated that he hoped Comrades O'Connell and Bernard would return to the United States and impress upon that great President the im-

portance of lifting the arms embargo so that the workers of Spain might secure arms with which to fight the Fascist invaders. Bernard was the first speaker. He explained to us the fact that his sympathies were with us, the International Brigade volunteers in our heroic struggle against fascism. O'Connell was the showman of the afternoon. He rose to his feet and was greeted by applause, as the majority of the Communist Americans in that group had known him through their organizations in the United States. He explained to us his history, he is just a poor simple man, a worker who had been elected by the miners of Montana to represent them in Congress as a progressive and a labor man. He concluded his speech by raising his closed fist in that salute of the front popular in the Communist Party, crying "Viva Russo" (live Russia) Viva Espana, Viva Los Brigadis Internacional Y Viva La Partido Comunismo." After each expression the crowd joined in the same Russian salute given by O'Connell.

That night on questioning, Nat Wolf, our political commissary, an American boy with regard to the actions of Representative O'Connell, his speech, etc., I was informed that this representative was one of the originals, that is to say a Communist of long standing in America and that it was the Communist Party, through the mine workers that were responsible for his being elected to Congress.

After seeing this demonstration of loyalty on the part of Members of Congress on the United States to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union I stated to several American boys who were part of the International Brigade that if I ever returned to the United States I should make it my business to make these facts known to the American people immediately upon my return to the United States. On May 31 of this year, when I arrived at Philadelphia from Gibraltar I happened to pick up a Philadelphia paper and read the account of O'Connell's attempt to speak in Jersey City. Thereupon I immediately obtained an interview with Bill Read, staff writer for the Philadelphia Bulletin and Associated Press and related to him all of the incidents contained in this affidavit.

I also made known these facts to other newspaper men.

While associated with this group of Anglo-Americans in training in Tarazona I became acquainted with the workings of the men of the Communist Party units in the United States. Nat Wolf, our political commissary, expressed to me the great C. I. O. movement in America, C. I. O. representing to the public and workers, Committee for Industrial Organization, representing to its founders the Communist Party, the communistic international organizations. Nat explained how he had been schooled in the Workers' School of New York and then paid \$35 a week by the central committee of the Communist Party to organize workers in beauty shops, into the C. I. O., that all C. I. O. organizers throughout the United States were first schooled by the Communist Party in the Workers' School, paid the same salary and sent throughout industries to organize, that is to take over the organizations from the workers themselves and organize their respective trades under the C. I. O. The Communist Party sends out its own Communists into trades. These men necessarily do not have to be workers of those trades but are simply professional organizers drawing wages from the Communist Party. Their expense accounts for board and keep are supplied them by the local organizations. I met many of these former organizers, one from Flint, Mich., where he had organized in General Motors, another from the Garment Workers. These men had all taken active part in the C. I. O. organization in the States and had been sent to Spain by the Communist Party to be returned later for further organization and propaganda. There were sent there for the purpose of acquiring color and providing an arguing point with the workers along the line that these men have fought for their cause in Spain and are here now to fight in their cause in the United States and to guide the workers in their fight here.

Later that night, as directed, I proceeded to 40 East Seventh Street, Central Plaza Annex, New York City and upon inquiry from the doorman for this mysterious "Harry" I was directed to the committee room No. 3 where were gathered the eight other men who were to be my companions on the voyage to France. "Harry" and several other men I later met in Spain. We were given our final warning and instructions. Each man was given a carton of Lucky Strike cigarettes, one Gillette razor and blades, two bars of Palmolive and two bars of Ivory soap and a large can of G. Washington coffee. We were

told we could leave our baggage and clothing in France, but soap, razors, and the little trench mirror were to be conserved and carried with us into Spain, as there was a definite shortage of these articles there.

HERBERT HUNT SEARL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 14th day of June 1938.

ANN G. HOGAN,

Notary Public of New Jersey.

Mr. FREY. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor has been known for years as one of the most progressive in the American Federation of Labor. In fact, they frequently accused the Federation of Labor of being too conservative and too slow. But they are cut up with communism in their State. Early this year they met, through their general executive board, and as a result very thoroughly purged themselves of communism in their official family and in their activities. Among those they eliminated was that Emil Costello, to whom I have already made reference.

This is so important, particularly coming from the State of Wisconsin, where there are industrial as well as political issues occupying the citizens' minds, that I want that in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF WISCONSIN STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

The general executive board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, in session here all day Saturday, after considering statements from various sources charging certain persons active in the Wisconsin provisional committee of the C. I. O., with disruptive tactics, asked Emil Costello of Kenosha, a member of the general executive board, who is also State chairman of the C. I. O. to resign from the board or stand trial for having violated the principles and constitution of the federation.

The motion demanding the resignation was passed by a vote of nine for, one opposed and one not voting. Costello cast the vote in opposition. After passage of this motion Costello informed the board that he would not resign. A trial on formal charges will be held some time in the near future.

In connection with this matter, the board made its position clear that the action was not of a general nature against the C. I. O. organizations, but was based on the individual actions of Costello, C. I. O. organizer in connection with communist groups.

The general executive board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor herewith issues a solemn warning to all labor and farmer unions and their friends to beware of a conspiracy of treachery which has been set in motion against the legitimate movement. This conspiring opposition does not operate in the open. Its methods are astute and devious. It glibly talks of a "united front," but in reality is engaged in promotion division and destruction. It shouts "democracy," but pursues bold dictatorial practices. It purrs of "unity" and "cooperation," but usurps the functions of democratically constituted bodies. It seeks to control the labor movement not for rational progress, but to promote the type of leadership which, through wild tactics, has led nations into the mire of facism. We sound this warning to prevent workers from being misled into aiding further encroachments on the Wisconsin movement.

These astute destructionists who are openly or secretly Communists or henchmen under their command, have succeeded to confuse the minds of many workers. Through emotional appeal and false presentations of issues they have enticed some workers into their camp. No villification is outside the scope of treachery employed by them. Constructive criticism has no place in their tactical practices. Men in the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor who have faithfully served the workers are constantly being attacked and lied about, with the plain intent to cause desertions from the ranks and to build up a gullible followership for "the revolution."

These conspiring destructionists operate variously. Some of them are direct emissaries of the Communists. Others may be free-lance individuals who have

acquired membership in some union, usually but recently. Still others represent the C. I. O. Some of them are all three of these.

Wisconsin has been invaded by persons, many of doubtful connections, who attempt to organize without regard to reason or practicality. The invasion of our State by those who would effect a dual movement should find no support among sincere, intelligent unionists.

This message is not a criticism of those who believe in industrial unionism when that plan of organization is practical. It is, rather, a letter of caution to the workers not to be misled by willful persons with ulterior motives. In their desperation to control the movement, these enemies of unity have succeeded in dividing several unions in the State, disregarding bargaining agreements secured by and through the efforts of central bodies, State federations of labor, district and State councils, international unions, and the American Federation of Labor, during many years of effort.

One of the most menacing activities of this group of conspirators from the camp of communism is the effort to take over the legislative functions of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, one of the primary functions of the State labor body. Two years ago they helped kill our labor disputes bill, they instigated the calling of a conference to "consider labor legislation." They countered the program of the Wisconsin federation and made a futile attempt by promoting most impossible measures.

The latest attempt to take over the control of labor and legislative functions now vested in the State federation and place it into irresponsible hands is evidenced by the issuance of a call for a "people's conference for social and labor legislation * * * for the purpose of uniting all labor, farm, and liberal organizations in a State-wide mass campaign." The name of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation was used without authority to bolster up the nefarious game of these destructionists. The Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation has denied any connection with the call.

In the list of sponsors of the call appear names of men who are closely identified with the Communists. Others have been inveigled into permitting their names to be used under the impression that it was sponsored by the bona fide labor movement. The appearance of the name "Emil Costello, assemblyman, Kenosha, general executive board, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor," must not be taken as approval or sponsorship by our federation. On the contrary, it is plainly a misrepresentation with the intent of unauthoritatively using the prestige of legitimate organized labor. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor denies any participation or previous knowledge of the call. The general executive board wishes all to know that we consider this latest move another attempt on the part of a rump group to displace the recognized legislative agency of Wisconsin and to usurp its functions.

We wish to impress upon all labor, farmers, and friends that no one has a right to speak for our federation except those so designated. Whenever the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor undertakes to issue a call or to participate in any event, it will do so over the signatures of the proper officers.

Organized labor in Wisconsin, as represented by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, has been extremely liberal and tolerant. But this acknowledged liberalism and tolerant attitude must not be mistaken as surrender of our trust to disruptive forces. The democratic nature of our federation has never been questioned. Suppression of ideas is foreign to our code. Those who disagree, or be it even one, nevertheless are accorded the right of free expression and opportunity to convert others. Our federation cannot, however, remain silent in the face of treachery to those who have reposed in us their confidence.

By the general executive board, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor,

HENRY OHL, Jr.,
President.
J. J. HANDLEY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

MARCH 8, 1937.

MR. FREY. Mr Chairman, I want to turn over to you a number of documents. I do not want to burden the record. These include the shop papers issued by the Communists; that is, the papers published as shop papers. There is a large number of them.

Thesis of the thirteenth plenum of the E. C. C. I. to all districts and party press, July 18, 1934.

Jack Stachel's report to the twelfth plenum, 1932.

Report of S. Guser, leader of the American Secretariat, twelfth plenum, 1932.

Activise the shop nuclei. 1936.

Outline of reports on decisions of the eighth party convention.

Who are the Americans?—by Earl Browder.

(The documents referred to were filed with the committee.)

Mr. MOSIER. Was Earl Browder born in the United States?

M. FREY. I believe he was; yes, sir.

Both for the sake of economy as well as time, I have no desire to read the report which Jack Stachel made to the central committee of the Communist Party on the Tampa convention of the Federation of Labor in 1936, and I have no desire to burden the record with the report which he made to the readers of the Daily Worker. I will merely leave these with the committee, and they will indicate how an officer of the Communist Party can report one thing to the official membership, the official family, and report quite another to the readers.

(The documents referred to were filed with the committee.)

Mr. FREY. The Communists made their main attempt to get somewhere in the American Federation of Labor at this Tampa convention. They were able to muster some twenty-odd delegates, all of whom were elected either by Federal labor unions or central labor unions. This Emil Costello, to whom reference was made a moment ago, was one of those delegates. They carefully prepared a number of resolutions which sounded very well. We were all for peace. We were all opposed to war; we were all opposed to burdening the Nation with a tremendous debt for military preparedness; we were all fearful of too much preparedness, giving the military groups too much control in a democratic country, and so on. They all sounded very well. Unfortunately, I was secretary of the committee on resolutions, and had been dealing with such resolutions for many years. They failed to get what they wanted, but they did secure the introduction of a very large number of resolutions.

Now, here again I have no desire to burden the record, but I believe the committee should have a record of the Communist activity and attempts in the convention in Tampa. Mr. Jack Stachel, whom the committee is familiar with now, spent all of his time in Tampa. He arrived before the convention. There were several gentlemen representing the Communist press at the press table. Their dispatches were passed on by Mr. Stachel before they went over the wire or went by mail. They called a large meeting of Communists, particularly among the Spanish-speaking group in the city, and prided themselves that while they were there they won over two of the delegates to party membership. They had a very well organized group, and they tried to confuse the issues in the convention as much as possible, and to use our convention as a sounding board for their propaganda, and they were able to secure more publicity than they otherwise would.

Your have asked me to tell you something about the Workers' Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that organization has 800,000 members.

Mr. FREY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that to be a fact?

Mr. FREY. Something like that.

Just before doing that, I want to add to the list of prominent Communists on C. I. O. pay rolls the name of Albert Stomkus, or Stokus. He was an original leader in the I. W. W. and a charter member of the Communist Party. He was a general organizer and at present holds an official position in the utilities workers' division of the C. I. O.

As to the Workers' Alliance, I have a list of the delegates to their convention last year. A hurried check-up indicates a number of well-known Communists who were among the delegates. The check is not complete. I will have another list, but there is the check-up as I have been able to make it since you spoke the other day.

(The document referred to was filed with the committee.)

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Frey, how many names are here of delegates whom you have checked, and as to whom you have proof that they are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FREY. I did not count them.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean approximately.

Mr. FREY. I did not count them.

Mr. THOMAS. I think, for the record, if there are not too many of them, and you have actual proof, those names ought to be read. I am quite convinced that the Workers Alliance is at the present time one of the real front organizations of the Communist Party in this country, and one of the most dangerous organizations of any affiliated with the Communist Party.

Mr. FREY. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have about 28 or 29 names marked here.

Mr. FREY. There is a very much larger number than that, but, as I say, I have been unable to make the complete check.

Mr. THOMAS. As to the 28 or 29 that you have marked here, have you got proof that those people are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FREY. Oh, yes! undoubtedly.

Mr. THOMAS. Then, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have Mr. Frey read those, please.

Mr. FREY. Oh, I have no objection to reading those names, except this—that there are many more that I have not yet been able positively to identify.

Mr. THOMAS. That will give us a start, anyway.

Mr. FREY. All right.

Mr. HEALY. Mr. Frey, before you read them, I think this committee ought to jealously guard the reputation of any persons in this country, and I know you will not put into evidence names that you have not absolutely checked, and as to which you have not some source of accurate information that these people are definitely connected with the Communist movement.

Mr. FREY. I can assure you, Congressman Healey, that I have been as careful as a man can who knows that most of his statements are going to be contradicted; that he is going to be accused of being a falsifier, and he is going to be called upon to produce evidence.

Mr. HEALY. One of the names that you submitted the other day, as I read in a news item, was that of John Brophy, and the news item said that he was a member of the Catholic religion and has a

son, as a matter of fact, in the seminary studying for the priesthood. Now, of course, no Catholic can possibly subscribe to the principles of communism; and I wish you would take that up, Mr. Frey, and inform the committee—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). At this point let me interject this. I have a telegram received from two Catholic priests, which, in justice, should be read—Rev. Charles Owen Rice and Rev. Carl P. Hensler:

As Catholic priests conversant with labor problems, national and local, who take no sides in labor's international war, we ask you to include in the record the fact that we know John Brophy intimately and certify him no Communist, but thoroughly and enlightenedly Catholic in philosophy and action.

Now, if I understood your testimony the other day, you did not charge that John Brophy was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. FREY. I did not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. What you said was that at one time he had been selected as a candidate—or what was your statement?

Mr. FREY. I said that he had been one of the members of a labor mission sent to Russia. The Communist connection was not mine. I quoted the official journal of the United Mine Workers Union, and they charged him with being tied up with communism and endeavoring to sell the miner's union. It is the testimony of the officials of the United Mine Workers, and not mine. I merely introduced their testimony.

As to the names of the Communists delegates to the convention of the Workers Alliance:

Jerry Baccari.

A. Beffa.

Herbert Benjamin.

I think there is no doubt of that, because Herbert Benjamin is the secretary of the organization and a widely known Communist.

Dave M. Benson.

Ben Berger.

Rosetta Bona.

Edeluire Borrás.

J. Austin Besley.

Donald Burk.

Pati Cagno.

Max Coln.

Paul Crouch.

Michael Davidow.

Ben Davis.

Frank Duty.

Mrs. Pearl Estep.

Sam Gordon.

Ted Graham.

Ben Gray.

I will come to his name in a moment, in another connection.

O. V. Hantell.

Angelo Herndon.

There is no doubt about that, is there?

Frieda Jackson.

Merrill Jackson.

Eunice Kamavars.

Alex Noral.

We will come to his name again in a moment, in another connection.

Bill Spain.

Mr. THOMAS. Referring to this man Spain that you have just mentioned, is not Spain the one that conducted some of these sit-ins at

some of the State capitols, along with David Lasser and a fellow by the name of Cook; for instance, the sit-in that was held out in Wisconsin, and in New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania, I believe?

Mr. FREY. I believe that he was.

I desire to submit for the record two statements issued by the Workers' Alliance of America in 1937, one in May, previous to their convention, and one in July, after their convention. All I desire for the record is the reproduction of the names of the officers of the national executive board, the vice presidents.

Previous to the election, among the well-known Communists who were members of the national executive board were Angelo Herndon, Sam Weisman, Alex Noral, whose name has just been mentioned, M. C. Work, and Ben Gray. They are all active, well-known members of the Communist Party.

The secretary at that time was Herbert Benjamin.

After the convention Benjamin was still the general secretary-treasurer, so that the official family included Herbert Benjamin, a Communist; Alex Noral, from California, a Communist; Eugene Poulnot, of Florida, a Communist; Willis Morgan and Sam Weisman, both Communists; Horace Davis, a Communist; and also an interesting character, Emma Tenayuca.

Emma Tenayuca is in the same congressional district, or is in the congressional district formerly represented by Mr. Maury Maverick, and to be represented by Mr. Paul Kilday. This member of the executive committee of the Workers' Alliance is now a candidate on the Communist ticket, running in opposition to Mr. Kilday.

In addition to that, this lady is the contact, or one of the official contacts, between the Communist Party in the United States and the Communist Party in Mexico.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Workers' Alliance now busily engaged in organizing the W. P. A. workers?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. MASON. That is where they have made most of their progress.

Mr. THOMAS. You will find when the Federal theater project comes before us that the Workers' Alliance have been taking a very active part in it.

Mr. MASON. May I interrupt Mr. Frey a moment? Reverting to the Tampa meeting, how many regularly elected delegates were at that meeting for the A. F. of L. approximately?

Mr. FREY. I will say approximately 450.

Mr. MASON. Of the 450, you testified that 20 of them were Communists?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Would you say that was a high-water mark of the number of Communists that have been regularly elected as delegates to an A. F. of L. convention?

Mr. FREY. That was by far the high-water mark.

Mr. MOSIER. You have handed the chairman a clipping dated August 10 concerning the Texas convention of the Communist Party. That is August 10th of this year, this month?

Mr. FREY. Yes; that just came to me from San Antonio.

Mr. MOSIER. In this clipping it is stated:

Communists urged all fellow Communists to stand back of the policies of President Roosevelt, and blame ignorance for the recent primary defeats of progressives, such as Maury Maverick, of San Antonio.

That is actually what happened, is it?

Mr. FREY. Here is the carrying letter in which that came [presenting letter.]

I did not want to burden the record with that, but the committee had better read it.

To again avoid burdening the record, but at the same time to indicate the purposes of the Communist Party, I have here a statement of the central committee of the Communist Party as to the tasks of the Communist Party convention. This was issued in 1936. It is a call for the ninth convention of the Party.

I want to read just one brief item because it brings the political angle into the picture. It brings the political angle into the results which have followed the industrial infiltration of the C. I. O. by the Communist Party. I am going to read just one paragraph, as follows:

The national election campaign of 1936 is already in full swing. The reactionary circles of monopoly capital, the Morgan-duPont interests, operating through the Liberty League, Hearst, and other reactionary agencies, are desperately trying to put into office an administration that will systematically use all reactionary and brutal measures of oppression against the masses to make them carry the burden of the crisis. These reactionary monopoly interests are seeking to establish such methods of governmental rule as will enable them to resort also to fascism in order to keep the American masses enslaved. This is the chief source of the danger of fascism in the United States. This calls for the widest mass mobilization into a united front and for a farmer-labor party. For it is clear, as established by the November meeting of the central committee, that the toiling masses cannot depend upon Roosevelt and his administration to stave off the growing danger of reaction and fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, no political party or officer can help someone endorsing them or coming out in favor of them. That is no indication that the party or the officer favors the tenets of the political group that endorses them.

Mr. FREY. This is not an endorsement of anyone; this is calling attention to the fact that the united front must be pressed, and the popular front, the Farmer-Labor Party, must be pressed because there is no saving ourselves from fascism unless the Communist Party does this thing.

Still dealing with the political angle, I am going to quote from the issue of the New York Times of April 24, 1937. This is a special cable to the Times from its Moscow representative. It says:

Moscow, April 23.—The C. I. O. strike activities in the United States are described as a militant labor movement which the American Communist Party is energetically supporting, in a long article by Moissaye J. Olgin, the New York correspondent of Pravda, just published in that newspaper.

Mr. Olgin added that the success of that movement is of great political significance. He said that large numbers of workers are being organized for the first time and that the proletariat is resorting to strikes as part of the class struggle.

"The Communist Party is taking a very active part in the work of uniting the workers of the basic branches of industry," wrote Pravda's correspondent. "It is helping to prepare direct mass strikes. It is energetically struggling

against the disintegrating policy of labor union bureaucracy and for the unification of labor unions into a single powerful organization on the basis of the committee's program."

That is the E. C. C. I.

I have here a copy of a circular issued by the Communist Party in San Francisco in connection with the general strike in that city.

The provisional committee for support of the San Francisco general strike was largely made up of Communists. There are only six members of the committee that are not members of the Communist Party.

The members of the Communist Party who issued this circular in connection with the support of the general strike are:

B. Davidoff, M. Lurie, N. Rosenberg, F. Elmer Brown, I. Rosenberg, J. Baxter, J. Perlow, L. Weinstock, W. Bliss, Ben Gold, J. Lustig—this is the Lustig who has replaced Sentner in Newton, Iowa—Andrew Overgard, I. Redler, Frank Wedl, and Charles Krumbein.

This is merely evidence, and that is why it is being submitted, of the activity and shrewdness on the part of Communist leaders to work themselves into responsible positions when wage-earners are involved in an industrial controversy.

Your attention has already been called to the Communist set-up in the National Maritime Workers Union, and I have already referred to the fact that Roy Hudson, a member of the central committee, now of the national committee of the Communist Party, had been one of the organizers of the original group of maritime workers who were recruited largely from the Communists.

I have here a copy of the Daily Worker of Wednesday, July 29, 1936, in which west coast events were summed up by Mr. Hudson at the Communist Party convention.

I do not want to put all of this into the record, but I would like to read a little of it, if you would like to hear it.

The CHAIRMAN. Read short extracts from it.

Mr. FREY. It says:

Take, for instance, the New York seamen's strike, in which our work led to a growth of the party and to an increase in its prestige.

You see how they use their activity industrially to increase the prestige of the Communist Party.

He goes on to say:

We have had rich experiences in combating the red scare and in united-front activities. Yet we were slow in analyzing the nature of the growth of certain tendencies among many influential progressive forces of definite syndicalist or antipolitical tendencies. Consequently we have not sufficiently developed a united-front approach nor conducted an educational campaign and political struggle to prevent these tendencies from taking a more organized form.

That merely indicates what was in Mr. Hudson's mind. If the committee is interested, I will be very glad to turn this over to you after the record is printed.

Here also is material I desire to leave with the committee and not burden the record with it. It is the Ohio Communist Year Book, which is marked, "See page 66." It is a statement made by Eric Foss, with copies of the Communist Party Organizer for June and July 1936. The Party Organizer goes to the active agents of the

Communist Party in the field, and from it they are supposed to derive information to use. I will leave that with the committee.

Gentlemen of the committee, there is but one more document I desire to refer to. That does not mean I have no more. It means that there must be a limit to all things. I want to say, before introducing this for the record, that I am at the service of the committee and will supply them with much more matter if they so desire, much more than I have presented.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate that, and I want to say that Mr. Frey has disclosed to me the source of his information, and I have gone over it very carefully. I can readily understand why the source of this information would not want to be made public, but it is a reliable source. All of this will be checked by reference to records that will be available to the committee.

Mr. STARNES. The chairman is convinced of the authenticity of the documents?

The CHAIRMAN. I am convinced that it comes from a reliable source.

Mr. FREY. Now, gentlemen, my purpose in using all of the time that I have occupied was to indicate, first, that the American Federation of Labor was actively opposed to the growth and the policies and the purposes of communism in this country; that it resents the idea that an imported theory and an imported idea of government should be brought to our country with its free institutions so that we would be led to give up many of our liberties and our democratic institutions for what they call greater security, to exchange human liberty for that alleged type of security which exists in Russia, or any other dictatorially controlled country.

I have believed, and I believe so now, that the great majority of the membership of the C. I. O. organizations are as much opposed to the Communists who have secured controlling positions in their organizations as the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

I have believed that if sufficient evidence of a character which would assure credence was presented before this committee, that the membership of the C. I. O. organizations would take upon themselves the task of ridding their organizations of the Communists who have secured control. The committee already has evidence that that is under way.

There is evidence from Michigan, there is evidence of the fact that four large unions in Los Angeles, within a week, have withdrawn from the district council which had been organized by Harry Bridges.

There is also evidence of that in the vote for officers just taken by members of the National Maritime Union.

I am convinced that communism cannot live in the United States if it is exposed to the light of day. Sunlight kills the virus, kills the germ.

Evidence has been presented to you indicating the careful training that the Communist leaders have before they go into the field to carry out the more responsible work of the organization.

I have submitted some evidence, and I am confident that much more will come before this committee, indicating the large number of organizations with attractive sounding names whose purpose seems to be to bring about what all Americans believe in, but which are, none the less, used by the Communist Party; they are organized or their

organization is assisted by the Communist Party. Responsible members of the Communist Party have occupied leading positions in those organizations.

Part of the tactics of the Communist Party is to bring about a so-called people's front, and part of those tactics are the methods they are using now.

They are using the same methods in the United States today that they used in France in building up the so-called popular front, and that they used in Spain to build up the popular front there.

I am interested partially because I am primarily, first of all, an American citizen, more interested in guarding human liberty as we have it in our country than I am in anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Frye, does not one thing strike you as rather peculiar about this whole matter? There seems to be so much antagonism between the communistic elements in the United States and the Nazi elements and the Fascist elements. Yet, when you study the actual happenings in those respective countries in Europe, what has resulted from these philosophies?—they have one thing in common, namely, dictatorship.

Mr. FREY. They have that in common.

The CHAIRMAN. They have different names and apparently different theories; but when you get down to the real thing, it is nothing but dictatorship, in which the people lose their liberties, surrender them to someone in exchange for some promise of economic security.

Mr. FREY. That is correct. Now, I went into no documentary evidence, not wanting to burden the record or to take up your time, to prove the statement that I made at the opening day of my testimony, that fascism in Italy was the reaction to communism in Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. And is not that the real danger in the United States—that while this country would never tolerate communism, it might lead to a fascistic system in the United States?

Mr. FREY. It might lead to a control so far-reaching, that we could not exercise our liberties as American citizens as we have been accustomed to do up to the present time.

Now, I have pointed out that the Communist Party made no real progress in this country because it could not infiltrate into the American Federation of Labor. Many of the records I have presented to this committee will indicate that when the C. I. O. was organized, they forced themselves into that organization.

The leaders of the C. I. O., when it was organized, I am convinced, were as much opposed to communism as any other representatives in the American Federation of Labor. Only yesterday I read lengthy excerpts from a statement from the United Mine Workers and from a statement made by Mr. John L. Lewis, indicating opposition, intelligent opposition, opposition based upon known facts, of the grave danger that communism would be to the workingmen of our country.

The Communists, however, worked their way in. The records I have submitted show that the presidents and other responsible officers of a number of C. I. O. unions are also active members of the Communist Party.

It is serious enough to have our industrial problems, our trade-union problems, confused and made more difficult because a dual movement has disrupted our forces.

It is unfortunate that in connection with that this opportunity was given to the Communist Party, and that they took such prompt advantage of it. But in another way, the Communist infiltration into the C. I. O. has created an equally difficult, and perhaps in some respects a much more difficult one than that of the industrial condition.

Wage earners are organized to protect their interests. They can be led by demagogues for awhile. They can be led by promises of what is going to be done for them. But in the end they judge the merit of the organization with which they are affiliated, not by the statements of the officers but by the results that those officers are able to secure for them.

So those of us who have lived for awhile with other radical labor movements were quite convinced that the day would come when the majority of the membership in the C. I. O. unions would adopt more and more the principles, the policies, and the methods which have enabled the American Federation of Labor to make progress.

Now, in addition to this industrial problem which is caused by the activity of the Communists within the C. I. O., comes a more difficult one. The political problem is now squarely before us, and we find that political problem intensified. Just as the Communist Party changed its whole American policy in 1935, evidence of which was presented to you in the official records yesterday, so they have scrapped their political policy and have adopted a new one.

The American public should understand that today the Communists use party tickets merely as a blind: that they are not now so actively interested in electing Communists to office as they are in injecting themselves into the everyday political activities of the American people.

I have said nothing intentionally critical of the C. I. O. What I say now is critical, but I believe justified, in view of the political problem we are now facing as a people.

At the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935, Mr. John L. Lewis and his associates believed there should be a change in our policy of organization covering mass-production workers. He doubted whether the delegates would agree with him, and so he threatened the convention that if it failed to give him what he wanted, there would be division within the American Federation of Labor. And he put that threat into effect immediately after the convention had adjourned, and organized the C. I. O.

About a little over a year ago the industrial strength of the C. I. O. began to slip. The machinery did not work so smoothly. The membership were asking more questions. And apparently Mr. Lewis believed the time had come to bring a new feature into his movement, to arouse continued interest. And so his political activities increased.

Not long ago—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Now, Mr. Frey, is this going to deal with the question of communism?

Mr. FREY. This is coming directly to the question of communism; and this one document I desire to put in the record will—

The CHAIRMAN. I know you appreciate the fact that that is what this committee is interested in.

Mr. FREY. That is what I am coming to.

The CHAIRMAN. We naturally have no concern with the other matter.

Mr. FREY. I know; but I am preparing the way for a very definite Communist program, indicating, of course, how the Communists take advantage of every opportunity.

So Mr. Lewis and the political activities of the C. I. O. came forward. One of the places where he went was the State of Pennsylvania. He wanted to name candidates for certain high offices. The State committee of the Democratic Party did not approve of those he wanted to name. He threatened the members of the State committee of the Democratic Party with division unless they gave him what he wanted, and then he did identically the same thing to the State Democratic Party in Pennsylvania that he did to our convention in Atlantic City. He put his threat into effect.

The reports of the expenses of candidates indicate that over a half a million dollars were spent in the State of Pennsylvania in Mr. Lewis' effort to have his own way.

Now, we come to the advantage which the Communists have taken of that situation. I want to read this document. It is just a page long, and then I will be through with my testimony.

PITTSBURGH, PA., July 31, 1938.

The Pittsburgh district committee of the Communist Party held a district committee meeting at 10 a. m. today at the Workers' School, Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. The proposed order of business for the district committee is as follows:

1. Preparations for the November New Deal election.
2. The building of the Communist Party.

Chairman, Jim Egan.

Martin Young, district organizer of the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania, made the report to the district committee and about 50 leading functionaries in the Communist Party units, in trade-union movement and in fraternal organizations. He stated that to assure victory for the New Deal in the November 1938 election we must organize meetings on the economic and political issues confronting the people and organize them into Democratic labor blocks of C. I. O., A. F. of L., and fraternal members, to establish New Deal election Communist Party campaign committees to defeat the Republican Party and save Pennsylvania for a 100-percent New Deal State.

This election will be a major test of strength between the two main political camps in the country, of reaction and democracy, and the outcome will determine the immediate direction of New Deal policy of the United States and clearly influence the Presidential election of 1940; thereby the whole future of the workers in America will depend; and if the victory is to be won by the people we must mobilize to secure the results, by organizing meetings of the leading peoples in trade-unions, fraternal orders, farmers, and other organizations to establish workers and farmers' Democratic clubs in all townships. We must carry through our correct policy to assure victory for the New Deal in Pennsylvania, and we must also involve the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America, the A. F. of L., the fraternal and other organizations for political New Deal demonstrations to defeat the Republican Party.

The unity of labor in the 1938 election is absolutely necessary to defeat the economic royalists, who want to destroy our democracy and peace. We will withdraw the Communist Party candidates to support the New Deal candidates, and we must raise \$2,000 for our New Deal election campaign and bring our program to the people through leaflets and radio broadcasts. where we will outline our position on the 1938 election, and to be able to do this our Communist Party units must help to raise \$500 and over per Communist Party unit and also expose the corrupt Republican Party who want to investigate the Pennsylvania New Deal government.

We Communists want them to be investigated, but not by the corrupt Republican Party who is in control of the economic royalists. The 1938

election especially must be utilized to build our party on a national scale, particularly in the basic industrial towns and in the chief agricultural regions. We must work systematically for winning a leading position and be cautious in these organizations. The Communist Party members in these organizations must assume more than their share of all responsibility involved in building and promoting these organizations to win the complete trust and confidence of the progressive leaders and all members of these organizations. We must not wait to be asked to do this, because we Communists know how to do it, to defeat reaction in the United States of America.

A number of the district committeemen and other leading comrades took the floor in the discussion and outlined the progress the party is making in recruiting workers into the Communist Party in their sections, also in building a political machine to support the New Deal candidates in the 1938 election. How they are setting up election campaign committees of the leading Communist Party members in trade-unions, the C. I. O., and the A. F. of L. The organizing of Democratic workers' clubs and the Labor Non-Partisan League. The sections will call Communist Party membership meetings in August to outline the Communist Party position in the 1938 election with the slogan, "Defeat the Republican Party at any cost in 1938."

I would not have been willing to read this had I not previously and at great length indicated the methods of the Communist Party. They are willing today to stand for a Communist Party ticket. Tomorrow they are willing to instruct their members to "throw your political strength wherever you think you can gain an advantage."

This sort of statement which Martin Young—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let us inquire into that statement. Is that a copy of an authentic document?

Mr. FREY. This is a copy of the meeting at which Martin Young, the district organizer of the Communist Party, made this statement. If the committee desires, I think I can produce the person who was there and made the report.

What I want to point out is that it is not the Democratic Party; it is not the Republican Party; it is the methods the Communists are using to build themselves so strongly politically and industrially that they will be able more or less to have their own way, and to their way the American Federation of Labor is in unalterable opposition.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Frey, as you pointed out, those methods are indirect methods.

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. They infiltrate into any existing organization.

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And the first line of attack has been the labor organization.

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And the American Federation of Labor, through vigilance, constant vigilance, has had to defend its position from them, from the infiltration of Communists, is that true?

Mr. FREY. Yes, Mr. Healey. What I have been trying to say is this. First, the American Federation of Labor had to protect itself and defend itself from the cunning and the skill of the Communist infiltration. What has just been presented to you is evidence that the Democratic Party and the Republican Party will be compelled to do the same thing.

Mr. HEALEY. They must do the same thing.

Mr. FREY. I now want to thank the committee for having given me this opportunity of presenting a little of the evidence which I have. I want to express my appreciation of the consideration which you have shown to me during many hours when you must have been wearied listening to my voice.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Frey.

There are some witnesses present who want an opportunity to present evidence with reference to fascism in the United States. I will confer with those witnesses after we recess, because we intend to resume at an early date the consideration of the Nazi angle and the Fascist angle of this whole question.

This afternoon we will reconvene at 1 o'clock and hear from a representative of a number of organizations. Then we have some 25 or 30 witnesses who will be presented to the committee, beginning probably Thursday morning, and we will run right on through with these witnesses as fast as we can.

A great many organizations have requested an opportunity to be heard and we would like to grant that request if possible. Naturally we cannot because we have a great many witnesses whom we have subpoenaed to testify with reference to specific facts in connection with the Communist, the Fascist, and the Nazi angle of this investigation.

At this time we will recess until 1 o'clock, to resume and hear representatives of the various organizations.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m., a recess was taken until 1 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened at 1 o'clock, p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Before we hear from the first witness, the Chair would reiterate what he said at the opening of these hearings, that the committee is primarily concerned with facts and with specific proof. Of course, we realize that the representatives of organizations naturally have more latitude in presenting their views than in the case of witnesses subpoenaed by the committee, but we want the representatives of organizations to be careful about what they say, and that they have a factual basis for their remarks, not involving personalities unless they have definite proof to sustain their charges. Otherwise, some innocent person may be done irreparable harm, and it would be difficult to repair the injury done them.

As the Chair stated this morning, we cannot grant the request of all organizations who want to be heard, but Mr. Steele, the first witness, will be the spokesman of a large group of patriotic organizations.

Mr. Steele, let me ask that you eliminate as much as you can documentary evidence of a lengthy nature. We have to watch the record here because we have only a limited fund at our disposal, as you know, and we have to pay for the transcription of the record. Therefore, we are running under tremendous difficulties in our effort to conduct this investigation. Therefore, we hope you will abbreviate it as much as you can by putting in only the important matters for the consideration of the committee. We may not be able to go into as much detail as we would like, and if we had the funds, or if our resources would permit a more exhaustive discussion, it would be welcomed, but, as I have said, necessarily we must protect our record. Therefore, I am sure the committee would be grateful to you to eliminate as much as you can, giving us the principal points, and

that you will be very careful about involving any persons in your discussion. As I have said previously, in the case of organizations, we naturally assume that they have a definite responsibility themselves to the country, and that they will be careful in their remarks. Where individuals or organizations have been brought into the discussion, the committee is determined to be absolutely fair, and will accord those individuals and organizations an opportunity to refute any charges. Still, that does not always repair the damage that has been done. The Chair wants to ask you to be careful in that respect, because we are determined not to have a smearing campaign. Of course, in the case of witnesses we subpoena, we discuss matters with them in advance, and have some control over the presentation, but when we have an organization appearing, through its official representatives, we must trust to a certain extent to their discretion, judgment, and sense of responsibility.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE, NATIONAL REPUBLIC, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN COALITION COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY, REPRESENTING VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name.

Mr. STEELE. Walter S. Steele.

The CHAIRMAN. And you speak for whom?

Mr. STEELE. For the National Republic, and as chairman of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, and 114 organizations that are listed in my statement, and I am appearing at the special request of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the R. O. T. C. Association of the United States.

The following organizations are the additional 114 organizations that have authorized me to speak for them in my testimony before your committee:

Aeronautical Association of America, Inc.
 Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc.
 American Coalition of New York
 American Coalition of Washington
 American Defense Council
 American Vigilant Intelligence Federation
 American Women Against Communism
 American Women's League
 American Women's Legion of the World War
 Associated Chapters, Order of DeMolay of Pennsylvania
 Associated Farmers of California
 Auxiliary, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War
 Better America Federation of California
 California Society, Order of Founders and Patriots of America
 Colonial Order of the Acorn, New York Chapter
 Congress of States Societies
 Dames of the Loyal Legion of the United States
 Daughters of America, National Council
 Daughters of America, District of Columbia Council
 Daughters of the Defenders of the Republic
 Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, 1861-65
 Defenders of the Constitution of the United States
 Disabled American Veterans of the World War
 District of Columbia Society, Order of Founders and Patriots of America
 First Motor Corps, Unit No. 12, Massachusetts State Guard Veterans
 General Court, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America

General Court of Patriotic Societies of America
 General Pershing Chapter, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America
 General Society of Mayflower Descendants
 General Society of the War of 1812
 Immigration Study Commission
 Junior American Vigilant Intelligence Federation
 Junior Order, United American Mechanics, New Jersey
 Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic
 Larchmont Colony, National Society of New England Women
 Louisiana Coalition of Patriotic Societies
 Massachusetts Society, Order of Founders and Patriots of America
 Massachusetts Women's Constitutional League
 Metropolitan New York Jurisdiction, Order of DeMolay
 Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States, National Commandery
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery-in-Chief
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of
 District of Columbia
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the
 State of New York
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the
 State of Pennsylvania
 Military Order of the World War
 Minute Men of America, Inc.
 National Auxiliary, United Spanish War Veterans
 National Camp, Patriotic Order Sons of America
 National Commandery, Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War
 National Constitution Day Committee
 National Council, Sons and Daughters of Liberty
 National Patriotic Association
 National Patriotic League
 National Security League, Inc.
 National Society, Daughters of the Revolution
 National Society, Daughters of the Union, 1861-65
 National Society, 1917 World War Registrars
 National Society, Service Star Legion
 National Society Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims
 National Society, Sons of the American Revolution
 National Society, United States Daughters of 1812
 National Society, Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery
 Company
 National Woman's Relief Corps
 New England Protestant Action League
 New Jersey Society of the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America
 New Jersey State Society, Daughters of the Revolution
 New York City Colony, National Society of New England Women
 New York Society, Order of Founders and Patriots of America
 Old Glory Association
 Old Glory Club of Flatbush, Inc.
 Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America
 Order of Independent Americans, State Council of Pennsylvania
 Order of Three Crusades, 1096-1192, Inc.
 Pennsylvania Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America
 Protestant Women's National Civic Federation
 R. O. T. C. Association of the United States
 Rhode Island Association of Patriots
 Rhode Island Daughters of the American Colonists
 Rhode Island Society of the Order of Founders and Patriots of America
 Rochester District, American Coalition
 Society for Constitutional Security
 Society of Colonial Wars (California)
 Society of Colonial Wars in District of Columbia
 Society of Colonial Wars in State of New York
 Society of New York State Women
 Society of the Daughters of the United States Army
 Society of the Sons of the Revolution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts
 Sons of the Union Veterans of the Civil War
 Southern Vigilant Intelligence Association

State Council (District of Columbia) Sons and Daughters of Liberty
 Tax Evils Committee of Council Bluffs, Iowa
 The American Indian Federation
 The Christian American Crusade
 The Federation of Huguenot Societies in America
 The Wheel of Progress
 Union to Preserve American Ideals and Institutions
 United Daughters of the Confederacy, New York Chapter
 United States Aviation Cadets, Inc.
 Veterans of Foreign Wars
 Veterans of Foreign Wars of United States, Department of Delaware
 Veterans of Foreign Wars of United States, Morley S. Oates Chapter 701
 Westchester Security League
 Wisconsin Chapter, Daughters of Founders and Patriots
 Woman Patriot Corporation
 Woman's Pioneer Aircraft Association of Chicago, Inc.
 Women's National Defense Committee of Philadelphia
 Women of Army and Navy Legion of Valor, United States of America

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. STEELE. I have letters of authorization from the organizations, but I presume that you do not wish to clutter your record with them.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking for organizations representing approximately 20,000,000 people; is that right?

Mr. STEELE. Approximately that; yes, sir. I want to make a brief summary of the things and important points I want to bring out in this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. STEELE. For the information of your committee, the press, and the public, it is deemed advisable, because of the extensiveness of my testimony, to point out at the outset some of the most important disclosures that will appear in this testimony.

An effort will be made to prove to you that the un-American forces in the United States have attained a membership and direction of over 6,500,000 people; that the emphasis in the drive at present is to win the following and allegiance of the 20,000,000 alien born within our country, and that these and other activities are carried on by 80 or more internationals abroad having hundreds of national movements within our borders, which in turn are organized down to the grass roots in every nook and corner of our land; that there is expended for this activity here more than \$10,000,000 annually.

You will be shown that these movements are highly centralized in control and direction, and that although the Communists have made much whoopie over the effects of the book, *Sixty Families Rule America*, that in fact "sixty families rule communism" in the United States and that "sixty families rule communism" from Moscow. It will be shown that, while communism viciously denounces Wall Street they are not adverse to using Wall Street's families in their scheme, and that they play with more money annually than many a Wall Street banker.

It will be shown that while denouncing what they term the "capitalist controlled press." Communists have the largest monopolized press in the world. That while they agitate the worker against the employer, that they state that "when concessions are made by employers, the workers' demands are pitched to a higher key so that continued turmoil will exist; and that the revolutionary will accept a reform only in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which

illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified," and they state further that "the misery and oppression of the workers must be intensified to an extraordinary degree" so that he will be fully class-minded.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice your statement that an effort will be made to prove the statement that the un-American forces in the United States have obtained a membership and direction of over 6,500,000 people. Do you charge that to be true?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a positive assertion.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

It will be shown that while they give outward support to "pacifism," the state, "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fiercest and most merciless war;" that while many of these movements strive against fascism they promote and defend communism; that their two chief objectives at present is to organize every movement possible into a "united front," this in harmony with the orders of the last International Congress in Moscow; to adopt the Trojan horse method in further penetrating mass movements here, and to organize the workers and aliens.

We will show that over 25,000,000 pieces of propaganda has been let loose in the United States during the last 2 years by the Communists and their mass movements, and this does not include their many periodicals: that the Communists' central committee alone has spent over \$700,000 in the United States of America during the past 2 years and that there are over 800 other national movements with thousands of locals directly or closely working with the party which have also expended huge amounts. It will be shown that these altogether maintain over 600 regularly issued newspapers, magazines, and bulletins in the United States. The exhibit before you (a board 60 feet wide and 8 feet high, literally plastered with radical literature) containing some 1,000 pieces of such is only an example of what I am picturing to you. The exhibit contains only a small proportion of the whole that has been produced and distributed in the United States during the past 2 years.

We will show you that the 75,000 composing the members of the Communist Party direct are but a small portion of all the Communist forces in the United States, and that they have a direct following and influence of over 800,000 in the New York district alone.

It will be demonstrated to you that there are six major un-American menaces in the United States today; that these can be classified as chiefly alien in design, guidance, and following and that these six menaces can be further classified as communism, socialism, nazism, anarchism, ultra-pacifism, and atheism. It will be shown that with the exception of one of these, nazi-ism, that there is a grave danger that they may find a common ground on which to complete a "united front" as they have done in other countries, under which our people might be forced to confront an exceedingly more dangerous situation than exists even today. The Communists have made considerable progress in this direction as will be shown.

It will be shown that representatives of certain foreign governments are in attendance at many meetings of these forces in our coun-

try and that at least in one instance a gathering was held in one of the embassies with some of our government officials present and that a change in our foreign policies was considered at this gathering. (Evidence submitted.)

It will be shown that considerable propaganda is being distributed in our country which propaganda comes from Russia and Germany; that many of the movements in this country have direct connections with movements abroad.

It will be shown that the Communist offices in New York and California are clearing houses for instructions from abroad for revolutionary activities resulting in revolutions in Latin South America, and certain other countries and that not only are these activities redirected from here, but that money is sent from here for such purposes.

It will be shown that there are over 1,000 pacifist movements in the United States, many of them branches of Internationals which are as determined to destroy the so-called "capitalist" system of our country as are the Communists, Socialists, and anarchists, and that many of these are following, if not connected indirectly with, the Third Communist International or its party line of action.

Although the Communists claim publicly that they "do not take orders from Moscow," we will endeavor to show that they do take orders from Moscow and that they carry out these orders to the letter. We will show contrary to their recent public statements that they intend to use violence in destroying our system of government and that their lip service in defense of democracy and peace is but a sham.

It will be shown that un-Americanism has imbedded itself deeply into many of our educational institutions; that it is imbedded in many of the relief centers; that its ugly head shows up in certain labor movements, youth movements, certain movements parading as church movements, in pacifist movements, theater, sports, movie, publishing, camps, clubs, federations, leagues, societies, and the like.

We will show that, while there are certain movements agitating the people of our country to revolutionary action, there are many other movements closely allied whose program is to rush to the defense, legally and otherwise, of those who are caught in the clutches of the law because of revolutionary activities. We will show that there is a concerted effort of these united forces to use our institutions for protection while attempting to destroy them.

We will show that a whispering campaign was launched against the banks during a period of instability and uncertainty and that this caused the bank runs in our country several years ago and that Communists were instructed by Russia to prevent the "restabilization of capitalism" by keeping constant turmoil rife (evidence submitted).

We will show that the Communists have in existence a "Manual for Armed Revolution" (evidence submitted); and that they pay tribute and allegiance to Stalin and Russia and that Nazis are paying tribute to Hitlerism and Germany and that each of these movements maintains a wide propaganda machine, camps, organized forces, etc., in the United States.

MR. STARNES. Mr. Steele, I assume that you intend to follow in logical sequence the charges made in your statement.

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You will take each of them up in turn, and discuss them.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And as you discuss them you will be ready to answer any questions with regard to them.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, the statement was made here yesterday by one of our colleagues that certain Government officials were sponsoring a movement or meeting here in Washington last evening which was to be addressed by a radical leader from the Republic of Mexico. In a sense, that is a blanket charge against all Government officials, and I think that, in all fairness, the names of those officials should be furnished this committee for the record, in order to clarify the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the matter I presume my colleague has reference to was a meeting that occurred June 24, in Washington, addressed by the Mexican leader, concerning which Raymond Clapper reported that 10 Government officials were present as members of the League for Peace and Democracy. There was nothing other than a newspaper report. The question would be raised, in regard to membership, whether it necessarily follows that this League for Peace and Democracy is a Communist organization, nor does it necessarily follow that Government officials belonging to it were in any sense Communists.

Mr. MASON. But the essence of it is that this League for Peace and Democracy is an adjunct of the American Communist movement, and it is one of the organizations that is being used by the Communist movement for propaganda purposes, and, therefore, any Government officials belonging to that league, because of their membership in that league, are, indirectly at least, connected with the communistic movement, and as directly, at least, as the League for Peace and Democracy is a part of the whole program.

Mr. STARNES. Does that newspaper article contain the names?

Mr. MASON. Yes; the newspaper article contains the names.

Mr. STARNES. In all fairness, since that matter has been brought out in the hearings, and made a statement of fact, those names should be set out in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, it must be remembered that we have no proof that this League for Peace and Democracy is a Communist organization. It may be or may not be, but there is no proof before the committee that it is, and, on the assumption that it is not, such a statement would not be wholly fair, because many people belong to it who are, apparently, Government officials. I want to correct that. I do not mean many, but some. There may be a few. It would be predicated on two assumptions: First, that it is a Communist organization, of which we would have to have proof, and, second, that those who belong to it are Communists, bearing in mind that many people join these organizations without knowledge that they are communistic.

Mr. STARNES. That may be true. Therefore, I raise the point at this time, before we proceed further with the hearing, because I think an erroneous impression was created, in that, it seems to me it was a blanket indictment.

The CHAIRMAN. Your point is that this report of Mr. Raymond Clapper should be included in the record.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. Further, we should have as definite proof as possible that this organization is a communistic organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, why include the names? I suggest that we wait to see what proof there is with reference to it.

Mr. MASON. The names of these people are public property. They are contained in this article, and anybody can get them.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, along that same line, perhaps in fairness to some others, and certainly in fairness to the public officials that have been mentioned, I would like to refer to a statement given to the committee and to the press which is called the Report of Edward Sullivan, investigator. On page 4 of this report, Sullivan says this:

Evidence is also available to show that Bridges received aid and advice from the officials of the Labor Department while patriotic citizens were trying to have him deported for his communistic activities. Witnesses can be produced who can name the day and date when an official of the Immigration Service contacted Harry Bridges and called him to his office, where he read him a confidential letter of instructions on his future behavior written by an outstanding official of the Labor Department.

In view of that statement, which is certainly in itself almost an indictment, I move that, in view of that statement I have just read, that this committee, without delay, secure the evidence referred to, and that we as soon as possible subpoena witnesses who are alleged to be able to testify that Bridges received aid and advice from an official of the Labor Department while patriotic citizens were trying to have him deported for his alleged communistic activities and alleged illegal existence in this country. I make that motion.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say for the benefit of the gentleman from New Jersey that that is being done. The committee will undoubtedly hold hearings on the west coast, and these witnesses will be more available there than by trying to bring them to Washington.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand that. Some of the witnesses may be out there, but the officials of this Department that this statement refers to are right here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that the Department will be glad to submit any evidence they have in the way of files and records. That is a matter that we can take up later.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that point, are you sure that the Department here in Washington would be very willing to submit any evidence which they may have? I have had two or three things up with them, some during the last few days, but the Department is not willing to submit the evidence. I have in mind two or three things in particular. I have been trying to get a confidential report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have been trying to get that report through my secretary, but they give us the run-around. First, they could not find the report, and after that they were not certain whether they would give it. Also, we have tried to get copies of the transcript of the Federal theater project, of the Works Progress Administration, and we had to finally subpoena them in New York. I do not know even now whether, with the subpoena, that we have been able to get them. The last word I had last night was that

perhaps we would get them, but yesterday we were unable to get them. I have two or three other things that I do not want to bring up at this time, but I think we should do something about this Bridges matter. I think we should do it without further delay. I think we should go right into the meat of the thing and see whether the charges are correct or not correct. If they are correct, we should do something about them.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we let this witness resume his testimony.

Mr. THOMAS. I have a motion before the committee.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest that we take that matter up in executive session. I think that is the proper place for it.

Mr. THOMAS. It is all right to take it up in executive session, and I withdraw my motion until we are in executive session.

Mr. HEALEY. I think we should discuss it in executive session. We are here now to hear witnesses. I do not know how you intend to proceed, but it seems to me that it is a matter that should be disposed of in executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with the report which was given to the public, the Chair made it clear that the committee did not vouch for the accuracy of the investigator's report. We simply followed the example of the Senate Elections Committee the other day when they made public the report of the investigator with reference to Kentucky. That report was made public, given to the press, and carried throughout the country as the report of the investigator out there in the field. This investigator has been for some time on the west coast, and as a result of his investigation, he gave us a report. He made the report, and we thought it advisable that the public should have the benefit of the report. We did not at that time and do not now vouch for its accuracy. Of course, those things will be followed up with specific proof when we go to the west coast. So far as we are able, we will get evidence here, but, of course, we cannot subpoena witnesses from the west coast to come to Washington.

Mr. THOMAS. At the same time, we should get in touch with the Department here and see if they will cooperate.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are matters we will take up in executive session.

Mr. Steele, will you proceed with your testimony?

Mr. STEELE. The first thing I want to go into, making for the continuity of the record, is a short statement of the First International, the Second International, and the Third International. I will not read the statement, but will hand it to the reporter.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that document?

Mr. STEELE. It is a statement of a few lines showing the birth of the First International, the Second International and the Third International, bringing it up to the Communist Party in this country.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

HOW DID THE COMMUNIST PARTY COME INTO BEING?

FIRST INTERNATIONAL

The First International was founded in 1860 by Karl Marx and a small clique of German radicals. It gradually degenerated into a small organization composed of anarchist-revolutionists, and was finally dissolved in 1876.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Numerous attempts by Karl Marx, whose real name was Mordechai, to revive the International were futile, but in 1889, assisted by Jules Guesde, he founded the Second International. Each of these Internationals were organized to carry into agitation the Karl Marx "Communist manifesto," although they were known as "Socialist" movements. Disagreements widened into open breaches between members of the International over interpretations of the "Communist manifesto." As a result of these disputes the Third International was organized.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The Third International, which was founded at a conference held in Moscow from March 2 to the 6, 1919, issued a manifesto on September 8 of the same year, calling on all revolutionaries of the world, whether Socialist, syndicalist, or anarchist, to unite and form unified Communist Parties to become sections of the Third International. The drafting committee of this call was composed of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Rakovsky, and Fritz Platten. Zinoviev was elected titular president of the executive committee. Among the Americans placed on the executive committee soon thereafter were L. Fraina, A. Stockhitzky, and D. Bilan.

The Communist International has three distinct policies: (1) Destruction—its organized terror; (2) materialism—its assault on religion; (3) imposition—its communist state.

MR. STEELE. Now, referring to the Communist Party in the United States, the Communist Party was first formed in the United States in 1919 by a section of the Socialist Party which broke away from the parent organization. In 1920 some of the original members seceded and united with the Communist Labor Party to form the United Communist Party. This party existed until April 7, 1923. The Communist Labor Party was organized in September 1919 in Chicago. The United Communist Party was organized in 1920, a merger of the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party.

In December 1921 communists expelled by the Socialist Party organized the Workers' Party. In 1923 the Communist Party was absorbed by the Workers' Party. The secretary was Charles E. Ruthenberg. In 1925 it was officially named the Workers' (Communist) Party of America. In 1928 the name was changed to the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the name under which it is now operating.

The original formation immediately became a section of the Third (Communist) International of Moscow, just as the Young Communist League became a section of the Young Communist International when it was formed in later year.

Now, I believe at this point I should give you the benefit of the program of the Communist International because it has a direct connection with what I want to say here. I will not read it, but it covers the struggle for world communism, the confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all factories, plants, mines, electric power stations, and so forth, confiscation of private capitalist railway, waterway, automobile, and air transport services; the confiscation of private communication services, and so forth.

THE CHAIRMAN. We have a statement of that already in the record.

MR. STEELE. Then, I will leave this with the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. We will see whether it has been included.

MR. STEELE. The fact that the struggle between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat is more and more assuming an international character—all this creates the need for a program of the

Communist International, a uniform and common program for all Sections of the Communist International. This program of the Communist International, as the supreme critical generalization of the whole body of historical experience of the international revolutionary proletarian movement, becomes the program of struggle for the world proletarian dictatorship, the program of struggle for world communism.

Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarian—the gravediggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the organizer of the international proletarian revolution.

The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace the capitalist economy by a world system of communism.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully “capturing” the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliament, and so forth), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

The Soviet State completely disarm the bourgeoisie and concentrates all arms in the hands of the proletariat; it is the armed proletarian state. The armed forces under the Soviet State are organized on a class basis, which corresponds to the general structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and guarantees the role of leadership to the industrial proletariat.

In this sphere the Communist International advances the following fundamental tasks of the proletarian dictatorship:

A. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all factories, plants, mines, electric power stations.

B. The confiscation of private capitalist railway, waterway, automobile and air transport services (commercial and passenger air fleet).

C. The confiscation of private communication services (telegraphs, telephones and wireless).

D. The organization of workers' management of industry. The establishment of state organs for the management of industry with provision for the close participation of the trade unions in this work of management.

A. The confiscation of all landed estates in town and country (private, church, monastery, and other lands).

B. The confiscation of all property utilized in production such as buildings, machinery and other inventory, cattle, enterprises for the manufacture of agricultural products (large flour mills, cheese plants, dairy farms, fruit and vegetable drying plants, and so forth).

E. Prohibition of buying and selling of land.

F. All debts to be annulled.

G. Comprehensive state measures for developing the productive forces of agriculture, the development of rural electrification, the

manufacture of tractors, the production of artificial fertilizers, the production of pure quality seeds and raising thoroughbred stock on Soviet farms, the extensive organization of agricultural credits for land reclamation, etc.

H. Financial and other support for agricultural cooperatives and for all forms of collective production in the rural districts (cooperative societies, communes, etc.). Systematic propaganda in favor of peasant cooperation (selling, credit, and supply cooperative societies) to be based on the mass activity of the peasants themselves; propaganda in favor of the transition to large-scale agricultural production which, owing to the indubitable technical and economic advantages of large-scale production, provides the greatest immediate economic gain and also a method of transition to socialism most accessible to the broad masses of the toiling peasants.

A. The nationalization of private banks; the entire gold reserve, all securities, deposits, etc., to be transferred to the proletarian state.

B. The centralization of banking; all nationalized big banks to be subordinated to the central state bank.

C. The nationalization of wholesale trade and large retail trading enterprises (warehouses, elevators, stores, stocks of goods, etc.) and their transfer to the organs of the Soviet state.

D. Every encouragement to be given to consumers' cooperatives as representing an integral part of the distributing apparatus, while maintaining uniformity in their system of work.

E. Monopoly of foreign trade.

F. The repudiation of state debts.

A. Reduction of the working day to 7 hours, and to 6 hours in industries. Further reduction of the working day and transition to a 5-day week in countries with developed productive forces.

B. Prohibition, as a rule, of night work and employment in harmful trades for all females. Prohibition of child labor. Prohibition of overtime.

C. Special reduction of the workday for the youth.

D. Social insurance in all forms (sickness, old age, accident, unemployment, etc.) at state expense.

E. Comprehensive measures of hygiene: the organization of free medical service. To combat social diseases (alcohol, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, etc.).

F. Complete equality between men and women before the law and in social life; a radical reform of marital and family laws; recognition of maternity as a social function; protection of mothers and infants. Initiation of social care and upbringing of infants and children (crèches, kindergartens, children's homes, etc.).

The establishment of institutions that will relieve the burden of house drudgery (public kitchens and laundries).

A. The confiscation of housing property.

B. The carrying out of an extensive program of housing construction.

A. The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination—that is, self-determination, inclusive of the right to state separation.

B. The voluntary unification and centralization of the military and economic forces of all nations for the purpose of fighting against imperialism and for building up socialist economy.

- A. The nationalization of printing plants.
- B. The monopoly of newspaper and book publishing.
- C. The nationalization of big cinema enterprises, theaters, etc.

A. The complete abolition of private property in land, and the nationalization of the land.

- B. Nationalization of production.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuation of the class struggle under new conditions. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative.

When a revolutionary situation is developing, the party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggle of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the party is to utilize these minor everyday needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power.

In the event of a revolutionary upsurge, if the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment and the intermediary strata are inclining toward the proletariat, if the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois state. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariats, etc.), and by organizing mass action. This mass action includes a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of military science. An absolutely essential prerequisite for this form of action is the organization of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (councils of workers' deputies, soldiers' councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy.

When there is no revolutionary upsurge, the Communist Parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday needs of the toilers, linking them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. The Communist Parties must not, however, at such a time, advance transitional slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example, workers' control of industry, and so forth. To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favor merging with the system of capitalist organization. Partial demands and slogans generally form an essential part of correct tactics; but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation.

The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfillment of the general task of winning over the masses presuppose in their

turn systematic and persistent work in the trade unions and other mass proletarian organizations.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Now let us see what the constitution of the Communist International is.

MR. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I think that document has already been put in the record—that identical document.

THE CHAIRMAN. I think it has, too; and if so, we will simply let the record show it, without the necessity of duplicating it.

MR. STEELE. I will file it with the committee, anyway. This [indicating] is the program of the Communist International. I will leave with you a copy of that document.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Published in 1936 by Workers' Library Publishers, New York City)

I. NAME AND OBJECTS

1. The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the principles and aims of communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a world union of Socialist soviet republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of communist society.

2. Each of the various parties affiliated to the Communist International is called the Communist Party of _____ (name and country) (section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and constituting its section in that country.

3. Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and the rules of the respective Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay party dues.

4. The basic unit of the Communist Party organization is the nucleus in the place of employment (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which united all the party members employed in the given enterprise.

5. The Communist International and its sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) Elections of all the leading committees of the party, from the lowest to the highest (by general meetings of party members, conferences, congresses, and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of the higher party organs to be obligatory for the lower organs, strict party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading party centers.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the party and by party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent party organs. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the congress of the respective sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various sections, the decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the party membership or of the local party organizations are in disagreement with it.

In cases where a party exists illegally, the higher party committees may appoint the lower committees and co-opt members for their own committee, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent higher party committees.

6. In all nonparty workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (trade-unions, cooperative societies, sport organizations, ex-servicemen's organizations, and at their congresses and conferences) and also on municipal elective bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two party members in such organizations and bodies, communist fractions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies.

7. The communist fractions are subordinated to the competent party bodies.

NOTE.—A. Communist fractions in international organizations (Red International of Labor Unions, International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief, etc.), are subordinate to the executive committee of the Communist International.

B. The organizational structure of the communist fractions and the manner in which their work is guided are determined by special instructions from the executive committee of the Communist International and from the central committees of the respective sections of the Comintern.

II. THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

8. The supreme body of the Communist International is the World Congress of representatives of all parties (sections) and organizations affiliated to the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and decides the programmatic, tactical, and organizational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of its various sections. Power to alter the program and constitution of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International.

The world congress shall be convened once every 2 years. The date of the Congress and the number of representatives from the various sections to the congress to be determined by the executive committee of the Communist International.

The number of decisive votes to be allocated to each section at the world congress shall be determined by the special decision of the congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the respective party and the political importance of the respective country. Delegates to the congress must have a free mandate; no imperative mandate can be recognized.

9. Special congresses of the Communist International shall be convened on the demand of parties which, at the preceding world congress, had an aggregate of not less than one-half of the decisive votes.

10. The world congress elects the executive committee of the Communist International, and the International Control Commission.

11. The location of the headquarters of the executive committee is decided on by the world congress.

III. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND ITS SUBSIDIARY BODIES

12. The leading body of the Communist International in the period between congresses is the executive committee, which gives instructions to all the sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

The executive committee of the Communist International publishes the Central Organ of the Communist International, in not less than four languages.

13. The decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International are obligatory for all the sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International to the world congress, but the decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International must be carried out pending the action of the world congress.

14. The central committees of the various sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective party congresses and to the executive committee of the Communist International. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of party congresses and of central committees of parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them (cf. par. 13).

15. The executive committee of the Communist International has the right to expel from the Communist International entire sections, groups, and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the World Congress or of the executive committee of the Communist International. Persons and bodies expelled have the right to appeal to the World Congress.

16. The programs of the various sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the executive committee of the Communist International. In the event of the executive committee of the Communist International refusing to endorse a program, the section concerned has the right to appeal to the World Congress of the Communist International.

17. The leading organs of the press of the various sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the executive committee of the Communist International. These decisions must, as far as possible, be published also in the other organs of the party press.

18. The executive committee of the Communist International has the right to accept affiliations to the Communist International of organizations and parties sympathetic to communism, such organizations to have a consultative voice.

19. The executive committee of the Communist International elects a presidium responsible to the executive committee of the Communist International, which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the executive committee of the Communist International in the interval between the meetings of the latter.

20. The executive committee of the Communist International and its presidium have the right to establish permanent bureaus (western European, South American, Eastern, and other bureaus of the executive committee of the Communist International for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work.

NOTE.—The scope of the activities of the permanent bureaus of the executive committee of the Communist International shall be determined by the executive committee of the Communist International or by its presidium. The sections of the Communist International which come within the scope of the activities of the permanent bureaus of the executive committee of the Communist International must be informed of the powers conferred on these bureaus.

21. The sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus of the executive committee of the Communist International. Sections may appeal against the instructions of the permanent bureaus of the executive committee of the Communist International or to its presidium, but must continue to carry out such instructions pending the decision of the executive committee of the Communist International or of its presidium.

22. The executive committee of the Communist International and its presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the executive committee of the Communist International or from its presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the executive committee of the Communist International have the right to participate in meetings of the central party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the executive committee of the Communist International must carry out their commissions in close contact with the central committee of the section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the central committee of the given section, at congresses and conferences of that section, if the line of the central committee in question diverges from the instructions of the executive committee of the Communist International. Representatives of the executive committee of the Communist International are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the executive committee of the Communist International.

The executive committee of the Communist International and its presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the executive committee of the Communist International, to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

23. Meetings of the executive committee of the Communist International must take place not less than once every 6 months. A quorum consists of not

less than one-half of the membership of the executive committee of the Communist International.

24. Meetings of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the presidium.

25. The presidium elects the political secretariat, which is empowered to make decisions, and which also draws up proposals for the meetings of the executive committee of the Communist International and of its presidium, and acts as their executive body.

26. The presidium appoints the editorial committees of the periodical and other publications of the Communist International.

27. The presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International sets up a department for work among women toilers, permanent committees for guiding the work of definite groups of sections of the Communist International and other departments for its work.

IV. THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

28. The International Control Commission investigates matters affecting the unity of the sections affiliated to the Communist International and also matters connected with the Communist conduct of individual members of the various sections.

For this purpose the International Control Commission:

A. Examines complaints against the actions of central committees of Communist Parties lodged by party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences;

B. Examine such analogous matters concerning members of central bodies of Communist Parties and of individual party members as it deems necessary, or which are submitted to it by the deciding bodies of the executive committee of the Communist International; and

C. Audits the accounts of the Communist International.

The International Control Commission must not intervene in the political differences or in organizations and administrative conflicts in the Communist Parties.

The headquarters of the International Control Commission are fixed by the International Control Commission, in agreement with the executive committee of the Communist International.

V. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

29. The central committees of sections affiliated to the Communist International and the central committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the executive committee of the Communist International the minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of central committees of the various sections is regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the central leading bodies of the various sections may resign before their time of office expires only with the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International. Resignations accepted by central committees of sections without the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International are invalid.

31. The sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and with the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International, exchange leading comrades. This applies particularly to the sections in imperialist countries and their colonies, and to the sections in countries adjacent to each other.

32. Two or more sections of the Communist International which (like the sections in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans) are politically connected with each other by common conditions of struggle, may, with the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International, form federations for the purpose of coordinating their activities, such federations to work under the guidance and control of the executive committee of the Communist International.

33. The sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the executive committee of the Communist International, the amount of such dues to be determined by the executive committee of the Communist International.

34. Congresses of the various sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International.

In the event of a section failing to convene a party congress prior to the convening of a world congress, that section, before electing delegates to the world congress, must convene a party conference, or plenum of its central committee, for the purpose of considering the questions that are to come before the world congress.

35. The International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) is a section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the executive committee of the Communist International.

36. The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The executive committee of the Communist International must render the parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transitions to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the central committee of the section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of central committee of their section must not be accepted into other sections of the Communist International.

Now, what were the conditions the Communist Party of the United States of America had to agree to when it was designated a section of the Third Communist International?

We will quote from:

THE TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

O. Piantnitsky

APPENDIX

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1. The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely communistic character and agree with the program and the decisions of the Third International. All the press organs of the party must be managed by responsible Communists who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about as if it were an ordinary formula learned by heart, but it must be propagated for in such a way as to make its necessity apparent to every plain worker, soldier, and peasant through the facts of daily life, which must be systematically watched by our press and fully utilized from day to day.

The periodical and nonperiodical press and all party publishing concerns must be under the complete control of the party management, regardless of the fact of the party as a whole being at that moment legal or illegal. It is inadmissible for the publishing concerns to abuse their autonomy and to follow a policy which does not entirely correspond to the party's policy.

In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in trade unions, in cooperatives, and all other places where the supporters of the Third International are admitted, it is necessary systematically and unmercifully to brand, not only the bourgeoisie but also its accomplices, the reformers of all types.

2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate with the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove the reformist and centrist elements from all the more or less important posts in the labor movement (in party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, cooperatives, and municipal administrations) and replace them with well-trying Communists, without taking offense at the fact that, especially in the beginning, the places of experienced opportunists will be filled by plain workers from the masses.

3. In nearly every country in Europe and America the class struggle is entering upon the phase of civil war. In such circumstances the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois legality.

It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel illegal organization machine which at the decisive moment will be helpful to the party in fulfilling its duty to the revolution.

In all countries where the Communists, because of a state of siege and because of exceptional laws directed against them, are unable to carry on their whole work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal with illegal activities.

4. The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army. Where this agitation is forbidden by exceptional laws it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International.

5. It is necessary to carry on a systematic and well-planned agitation in the country districts. The working class cannot triumph unless its policy will have insured it the support of the country proletariat and at least a part of the poorer farmers, and the neutrality of part of the rest of the village population. The communistic work in the country is gaining greatly in importance at the present time.

It must principally be carried on with the help of the revolutionary Communist workers in the city and the country who have connections in the country. Renunciation of this work or its transfer to unreliable, semireformist hands is equal to renunciation of the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a "democratic" renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars.

7. The parties wishing to belong to the Communist International are obligated to proclaim a clean break with reformism and with the policy of the center and to propagate this break throughout the ranks of the entire party membership. Without this a logical Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International demands unconditionally and in the form of an ultimatum the execution of this break within a very brief period. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to a condition that would allow notorious opportunists, such as are now represented by Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Modigliani, et al., to have the right to be counted as members of the Third International. That could only lead to the Third International resembling to a high degree the dead Second International.

8. In the matter of colonies and oppressed nations a particularly clear-cut stand by the parties is necessary in those countries whose bourgeoisie is in possession of colonies and oppressed other nations.

Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to unmask the tricks of its imperialists in the colonies, to support every movement for freedom in the colonies, not only with words, but with deeds, to demand the expulsion of its native imperialists from those colonies, to create in the hearts of the workers of its own country a genuine fraternal feeling for the working population of the colonies and for the oppressed nations and to carry on a systematic agitation among the troops of its own country against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop a communistic agitation within the trade unions, the workers' and shop councils, the consumers' cooperatives, and other mass organizations of the workers.

Within these organizations it is necessary to organize communistic nuclei which, through continuous and persistent work, are to win over trade unions, etc., for the cause of communism. These nuclei are obligated in their daily work everywhere to expose the treason of social patriots and the instability of the center. The Communist nuclei must be completely under the control of the party as a whole.

10. Every party belonging to the Communist International is obligated to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam International of the yellow trade unions. It must carry on a most emphatic propaganda among the workers organized in trade unions for a break with the yellow Amsterdam International. With all its means it must support the rising international

association of the Red trade unions which affiliate with the Communist International.

11. Parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obligated to subject the personnel of the parliamentary groups to a revision, to cleanse these groups of all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the party executives, not only in form, but, in fact, by demanding that each Communist member of Parliament subordinate his entire activities to the interests of genuinely revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The parties belonging to the Communist International must be built upon the principle of democratic centralization. In the present epoch of acute civil war the Communist Party will only be in a position to do its duty if it is organized along extremely centralized lines, if it is controlled by iron discipline, and if its party central body, supported by the confidence of the party membership, is fully equipped with power, authority, and the most far-reaching faculties.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communists carry on their work legally must from time to time institute cleansings (now registrations) of the personnel of their party organization in order systematically to rid the party of the petit bourgeois elements creeping into it.

14. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to offer unqualified support to every soviet republic in its struggle against the counterrevolutionary forces. The Communist Parties must carry on a clean-cut program of propaganda for the hindering of the transportation of munitions of war to the enemies of the soviet republic; and furthermore, they must all use means, legal or illegal, to carry propaganda, etc., among the troops sent to throttle the workers' republic.

15. Parties that have thus far still retained their old social democratic programs are now obligated to alter these programs within the shortest time possible and, in accordance with the particular conditions of their countries, work out a new Communist program in the sense of the decisions of the Communist International.

As a rule the program of every party belonging to the Communist International must be sanctioned by the regular congress of the Communist International or by its executive committee.

In case the program of any party is not sanctioned by the executive committee of the Communist International, the party concerned has the right to appeal to the congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions of the congresses of the Communist International as well as the decisions of its executive committee, are binding upon all the parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, which is working under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be constructed along much more centralized lines than was the case with the Second International.

In this connection, of course, the Communist International and its executive committee must, in their entire activities, take into consideration the varied conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and labor, and only adopt decisions of general application regarding such questions as can be covered by such decisions.

17. In connection with this, all parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must bear the name Communist Party of such and such a country (section of the Third International). The question of name is not only a formal matter, but is to a high degree a political question of great importance.

The Communist International has declared war upon the whole bourgeois world and all "yellow" Social Democratic Parties. It is necessary to make clear to every plain workingman the difference between the Communist Parties and the old official social Democratic and Socialist Parties that have betrayed the banner of the working class.

18. All leading press organs of the parties of all countries are obligated to print all important official documents of the executive committee of the Communist International.

19. All parties that belong to the Communist International, or that have applied for admission to it, are obligated to call, as soon as possible, but at

the latest not more than 4 months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, a special convention for the purpose of examining all these conditions.

In this connection the central bodies must see to it that all the local organizations are made acquainted with the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

20. Those parties that thus far wish to enter into the Third International, but have not radically changed their former tactics, must see to it that two-thirds of the members of their central committees and all of their important central bodies are comrades who unambiguously and publicly declared in favor of their parties entry into the Third International before the Second Congress of the Communist International.

Exceptions may be allowed with the approval of the executive committee of the Third International. The executive committee of the Communist International has also the right to make exceptions in the cases of the representatives of the center tendency named in paragraph 7.

21. Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party.

The same thing applies especially to delegates to the special party convention.

The Communists do not intend to gain control by the ballot, except in sections. They balloted in Germany, but took Bavaria by bullets. They balloted in Russia, but took Russia by bullets. They admit that they cannot gain control by peaceful methods. They have parties merely to legalize themselves, and as a vehicle for campaigning their wares. The fact that they maintain an illegal section, with which I will deal later, and that they maintain so many allied movements, is evident that they want to hide their strength until the opportunity for seizure of power, as they refer to the revolutionary overthrow of a government, is at hand. They had their sad experiences in Russia, where, through years of revolutionary attempt at seizure before they were sufficiently strong, they were thwarted, their leaders arrested, exiled, imprisoned or shot, their machinery was destroyed, and 12 years elapsed before they were successful in their efforts to seize control of the government. They accept that as a lesson and have determined to hide their strength until what they believe to be an opportune time.

The CHAIRMAN. That document is not to go in the record.

Mr. STEELE. That is not to go in the record; no, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, for the sake of saving the record, may I suggest that if we find any document that has appeared before and has been incorporated in the record, that we do not have any duplication.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a good suggestion, and, if necessary, we can refer to the page of the document on which the passage may be found.

On that point, do you have anything in regard to the new methods that the Communists use to establish control?

Mr. STEELE. I have that later; yes, sir.

I mentioned a moment ago that there were some 80 or more internationals abroad that have local or national sections, rather, in this country. I do not know whether you want me to spend your time in reading those or not, but I do want them in the record. But the Third International is just one of those internationals—the Communist Party in this country is its section.

Following are the names of the internationals, with the names of their American sections:

Internationals:	<i>American sections</i>
Third International-----	Communist Party, U. S. A. (and affiliated movements).
International Committee of Negro Workers (section of Reds International of Labor Unions).	League of Struggle for Negro Rights (American Negro Congress).
Proletarian Student Organization-----	National Student League (now American Student Union).
International Union of Revolutionary Writers.	League of American Writers; John Reed Clubs of U. S. A.; Revolutionary Writers Federation of America; Hungarian Proletarian Writers League, etc.
Third International Broadcasting League--	Workers Short-Wave Clubs of U. S. A.
International Red Sports Union-----	Labor Sports Union of U. S. A.; Workers Gymnastic and Sports Alliance; Sport Aces Youth Clubs, etc.
International of Young Pioneers-----	Young Pioneers of America; Finnish Workers Pioneers; Nature Friend Scouts, etc.
Workers' International Relief (Red International Aid).	Workers' International Relief; W. I. R. Scouts, etc.
International Friends of Soviet Union-----	Friends of the Soviet Union; American Council on Soviet Union.
International Union of Revolutionary Theatres.	League of Workers Theatres of U. S. A.; Workers' Dance League; Film and Photo League; Workers' Laboratory Theatre; Blue Blouses; Dance Spartakaid; Proletarian Dramatic Society of America; Drama League of America; Rebel Players; Theatre of Action; New Theatre Club; Russian Workers' Dramatic Club; Prolet-Buhn; Artef, etc.
International War Veterans-----	Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League; National Liaison Committee; Veterans' Rank and File Committee, etc.
Agit-Prop Department, Third (Communist) International-----	Agit-Prop. Dept., C. P., U. S. A. (over 600 dailies, weeklies, monthly magazines, and newspapers); millions of pamphlets and books; Workers Book Shops; International Publishers; Workers' Library Publishers; International Book Shops, etc.
International Communist Party Schools----	Workers' School of U. S.; Workers' Camps, etc.
Young Communist International-----	Young Communist League of U. S.

Internationals—Continued.

Red International Labor Unions-----	Trade Union Unity League of U. S., (now many rank and file committees in C. I. O. labor unions); Pan-Pacific Union Secretariat; A. F. L. Rank and File Committees; National Un-employed Councils (now Workers' Alliance).
International Red Aid-----	International Labor Defense; Scottsboro Committee; Mooney-Billings Defense Committee; Herndon Defense Committee; Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee; Gastonia Defense Committee; I. L. D. Young Defenders; W. I. R.
World Committee Against War and Fascism (now the World League for Peace and Democracy).	American League Against War and Fascism (Congress Against War and Fascism) (now American League for Peace and Democracy); Jewish - Workers' Clubs; World Youth Congress.
League Against Imperialism (International Class War Prisoners Aid).	Anti-Imperialist League of U. S.
League for Human Rights-----	League for Human Rights.
International Anti-Fascist League-----	Anti-Fascist League.
International Committee for Political Prisoners.	Committee for Political Prisoners.
Farmers and Peasants International (Krestintern) (International Peasants Council).	United Farmers' League; Farmers' Educational League.
International Workers Order-----	International Workers Order (I. W. O.), fraternity, schools, scouts, clubs, and camps.
International of the Godless-----	Proletarian Anti-Religious League of U. S.
International Committee of Women-----	Women's League of America; Shoppers' Committee; Anti-High Cost of Living Committee; United Council of Working Class Women.
Sovkino-----	Amkino, Garrison Films Co.
Educational Workers League-----	Educational Workers League.
Society for Cultural Relations with Russia.	American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia.
International of Seamen and Harbor Workers-----	Marine Workers' Industrial League (now rank and file committee in C. I. O.).
State Central Corporation of U. S. S. R. (Central Corporation for Industrial Export) -----	Amtdorg; Torgsin; Amkniga, etc.
International Workers' Cultural Federation.	Workers Cultural Federation of U. S. A.
International Workers' Soccer League-----	Workers' Soccer League of America.

Internationals—Continued.

Soviet State Travel Company-----	Inter-Tourists: World Tourists.
I. C. O. R.-----	I. C. O. R.
International Music Bureau-----	Workers' Music League; Workers' Chorus.
International Association for Social Insurance-----	National Committee for Social and Unemployment Insurance.
State Publishing House of U. S. S. R.-----	Bookniga Corporation.
Moscow Summer Institute (Anglo-American Section)-----	Institute of International Education, Inc. (American summer school in Moscow); Intourist.
T. A. S. S.-----	Soviet Union Telegraph Agency.
(VOKS) All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries-----	American Russian Institute (associated with it is Open Road, Inc.).
All-Union Western Chamber of Commerce-----	American-Russian Chamber of Commerce.
International Union of Revolutionary Artists-----	League of American Writers; American Revolutionary; Writers' Congress.
International Women's Secretariat-----	Women's Commission, C. P., U. S. A.
International Battalion of Spain-----	Lincoln Battalion; Washington Battalion; Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
Council of Working Women-----	United Council of Working Women.
International Cooperative Alliance-----	Cooperatives of U. S. A.
Central Radio System-----	Workers' Short Wave Clubs.
International Coordination and Information Commission in Support of Spanish Republic-----	North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
International Secretariat of World Youth Congress-----	Second World Youth Congress.
Red's Sports International-----	Labor Sports Union of America.
World Student Association for Peace and Culture-----	American Student Union.

The CHAIRMAN. That League Against Fascism was succeeded by the League for Peace and Democracy, was it not?

MR. STEELE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not true?

MR. STEELE. No; that is not.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the original organization of the League for Peace and Democracy?

MR. STEELE. The American League Against War and Fascism, and prior to that it had two other names which I will mention in my report.

MR. STARNES. Names do not seem to have any significance.

MR. STEELE. Except as referring to party lines.

MR. HEALEY. These have connections in Russia?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir. Not all of these have headquarters, however, but they have connections.

MR. MASON. And the American League for Peace and Democracy is listed among the others?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

So much for the internationals.

The Communist Party openly admits that it is a section of the Communist International. I could go into that. Here is their manual of party organization, which contains many additional things that I am going to testify to, as to the party set-up; but I am not offering that for the record, but as evidence.

As proof that the Communist Party is a section of the Third International, I want to introduce a copy of the membership card, which has a pledge thereon, as follows:

The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work.

And there are quite a number of questions, and so forth, listed.

Here is the application for membership. This is just evidence: I am not putting that in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. In anything of that nature, you may state briefly what is in it, for the record.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. About all there is on there is a form, outside of the pledge that I read.

(The documents referred to were filed with the committee.)

Mr. STEELE. Now, in the Communist Party manual on organization, a copy of which I have just submitted, we find on page 42 of the publication, which is for party members, instructing them how to set up their organization, carry on their meetings, and so forth, the following:

The Communist International is the international organization of Communist parties in all countries. It is the World Communist Party. The Communist parties in the various countries affiliated to the Comintern (Communist International) are called sections of the Communist International.

I am merely pointing that out to show that they admit that connection.

On page 43 of the same document it states—and I am stating this because the Communist Party will invariably tell you that they do not take orders from Moscow:

The decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International are binding for all parties belonging to the Comintern (International) and must be promptly carried out.

Now, I am giving some additional material from the Milestones in the History of the Communist Party, published by the Communist Party in this country. I am not entering this in the record, but merely as evidence. In that document they also admit that the Communist International's instructions are binding upon the Communist Party in this country; and while, as I say, they will tell you that they do not receive orders from Moscow, nor are they compelled to carry them out. I want to enter this material to show that they admit in that document at least 40 or 50 cases where they say they were ordered by the Communist International to do this and that, and where they admit that they carried out those orders to the letter. That includes the dismissal of a number of the former officials of the party in this country, like Lovestone, Gitlow, and so forth, and the carrying out of strike activities or strike agitation, rather, and the carrying out of the united front movement in this country, and the organization of what

they call national groups in this country, which means alien groups, and so forth.

Now, as to the revolutionistic activities, in that same Communist Party manual of organization it is stated on pages 8 and 9:

As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the United States of America leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist soviet republic in the United States. * * * Our party realizes that certain conditions must exist before the outworn capitalist system can be overthrown.

For a revolution it is essential that a majority of the workers (not a majority of the people as they would lead you to believe they mean) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes (not the class to which they usually refer as capitalists) be in a state of crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics—weaken the government and makes possible for the revolutionists to overthrow it rapidly.

They state that to win the majority of the working-class people to the belief that revolution is necessary, they must use propaganda, agitation, and school them in revolutionary tactics through struggles for everyday needs.

I wish to quote now from *Why Communism*, by M. J. Olgin, head of the Jewish Bureau of the Communist Party in the United States:

We Communists do not say to the workers that they have to begin the civil war today or tomorrow. We say that the civil war is the inevitable outcome of long and arduous struggles against the capitalists and their state, and that these struggles must be made the everyday practice of the working classes * * * The overthrow of the state power, and with it the capitalist system, grows out of the everyday struggles of the workers. One is historically inseparable from the other. * * *

There comes a time when large sections of the population say that this simply cannot go on. The Government seems to be entirely unable to cope with the political and social difficulties. The belief of the population in the wisdom and all-powerfulness of the "men higher up" is shaken. The confidence of the masses in their own strength is growing apace. The struggles of the masses meanwhile become broader and deeper. * * * The clearer the class-consciousness of the workers, the more steeled they are in fighting, the better the revolutionary leadership they have developed, the more capable are they to deal the final blows. * * * A time comes when there is demoralization above, a growing revolt below, the morale of the army is also undermined. There are actual insurrections; the army wavers. Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins.

Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before. * * * Street fights become frequent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organize revolutionary committees to be in command of the uprising. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The workers fighting have a decisive influence with the soldiers. Army units begin to join the revolutionary fighters. * * * Armed workers and soldiers and marines besiege the principal governmental offices, invade the residence of the President and his Cabinet members, arrest them, declare the old regime abolished, and establish their own power.

That statement there, I think, is one of the most open and direct threats I have ever seen that has been made by them in this country. I continue reading:

Having crushed the capitalist state, the social revolution, acting through armed workers and soldiers, will establish the soviet states. * * * The capitalists will conspire and plot against the new system; they will organize counter-revolutionary uprisings. The soviet state will have to crush these with an iron hand. It uses force and violence against that class. * * *

The Communist Party is the vanguard and general staff of the workers in their struggle against the old system, in their revolution against it, and in the upbuilding of the new system. The Communist Party is a political party. Its aim is to effect the seizure of political power by the workers. There can be working-class movements without the Communist Party. * * * There can be no ultimate overthrow of the entire capitalist system without the Communist Party. * * *

There is a Communist Party in every country of the world. All of them work to the same end. * * * Delegates from each Communist Party gather once in a few years to an international congress. * * * The Communist International gives unity of policy and leadership to the entire revolutionary movement of the world. It is the general staff of the world revolution. * * * The Communist Party of the United States is a part of a world-wide organization. * * * Under the Communist Party the workers of the United States will proceed from struggle to struggle, from victory to victory, until, rising in a revolution, they will crush the capitalist state, establishing a soviet state. * * *

On page 10 of the Communist Party Manual on Organization, a statement is made to the effect that after the Communists have created misery through rounds of strikes and have steered the workers in struggle for the revolution, they must be shown "the way of the final overthrow of the old order and the establishment of the new—the proletarian dictatorship." On page 11 they state that in the process of the struggles, the workers will become hardened to facing police clubs, revolvers, gas bombs, vigilantes, the Ku Klux Klan, poisonous antiworking class propaganda; that they will recognize the role of the church, the judges with their injunctions and vicious sentences, the mayors, the Governors, and the President of the United States, and they include the A. F. of L. for good measure, referring to the members thereof as "reactionaries" treacherously helping the bosses.

On page 11 of the same document it is stated that the "Communist Party leads them (workers) in the above struggles"; that "these day-to-day struggles develop the workers for their final task—the overthrow of capitalism." While telling the worker that he is going to rule by destroying our Government and helping to set up a "dictatorship of the proletariat," they say (p. 12):

The state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. In this respect the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in sense, from the dictatorship of any other class. * * * (p. 13). The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be "complete" democracy, a democracy for all. * * * Pure democracy—"perfect" democracy—and the like are but bourgeois screens. * * *

It continues on page 14:

The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historic mission of the working class.

On page 28 the following quotation is to be found:

The class war is bitter. * * * In order to combat and defeat this powerful enemy (meaning, of course, the existent state), the army of the proletariat must be a skilled, highly trained general staff (the Communist Party).

In the same document, on page 124, it says that every member of the Communist Party has a "mission of organizing and leading the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of the new world, a soviet America."

We could continue, Mr. Chairman, with many pages of quotations of official announcements of the Communist Party and the Third International on this question of force and violence, but we believe

that the above will suffice to prove to you that it is their aim. We have seen the fall of the Kerensky republic in Russia as a result of the adaptation of these methods. We have seen Hungary fall before the guns of Bela Kun. We have seen Bavaria fall before the cannon of the German Communists. We have seen China ravaged by their "red" armies, and one-third of it placed under Soviet control. We have seen Spain laid in ruins. We have read of the Paris Commune. We have seen the Communists ravage our own country. They agitated a civil war in the textile belt of North Carolina. A score of the leaders thereof escaped to Russia, where they received protection. We have seen the civil war which broke out on the west coast 2 years ago, the sit-down strikes which have resulted in the destruction of property and the loss of lives; the destruction of our forests by fires, the sabotaging of our dirigibles, our warships, and airplanes.

The Communist Party of the United States of America, as I have pointed out, admits openly that it is a section of the Third (Communist) International. By being a section thereof, it is required to accept, and does accept, as I have shown, the program and aims of the Third (Communist) International.

Therefore we consider their claim that they are "twentieth century Americans" and "peaceful" is merely lip service, for the purpose of misleading people into their new united front movement, which Mr. Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress instructed them to do, and pointed out that they should use the Trojan horse method of doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, I understand that the F. B. I. has just turned over the file (Bridges) to Mr. Thomas. I think that statement ought to be made, in view of what preceded, as evidence of the fact that they desire to cooperate wherever possible.

MR. STEELE. Now, you may ask why all of this that I have been talking about is being done in this country, with the Russian connection that I speak of, when a few years ago that Government signed an agreement with us in which they agreed to discontinue all this activity. But I want to state in that respect that Mr. Stalin had 3 months previously stated that this agreement could not include the Third International, and Mr. Litvinoff, the morning after he left Washington, after signing that agreement, stated to the Communist publications in New York City, and it was republished in the Daily Worker, in the editorial column, that "this agreement does not include the Third International."

MR. HEALEY. Mr. Steele, right at this point, can you describe what the Third International is?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir. I have included that in my statement.

The Third International is the world organization of Communist Parties. They are organized in 75 countries. The Communist Party in this country is one of those 75 sections that compose the Third International.

Now, the Russian Communist Party is a section thereof, and is the largest section. It has 1,800,000 members, as compared to what the Communist Party here claims directly, 75,000 members. Therefore that larger membership enables them to control and keep all of these Communist Parties throughout the world in line with the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, because on the higher committees

of that Third International, the high officials of the Soviet Government service.

Is that sufficient, Congressman?

Mr. HEALEY. I think that is all right.

Mr. STEELE. Again, shortly following that agreement between this country and Russia, the Soviet Government did something that they had not dared to do previously, but felt that after this agreement had been signed and they had openly abrogated it by the official statements which I have just referred to, that "it did not include the Third International," they became more open in their recognition of the movement in this country; and the Soviet Government itself—that is, its agencies, its official agencies in this country, like their bond-selling organization, selling Soviet gold bonds, and their travel agencies, their commercial agencies, and so forth—began to advertise in these Communist publications in this country. I have set forth a number of dates and the names of the publications, and the titles of those advertisements, so that I could easily submit the publications themselves, containing those advertisements, if you should happen to need them.

Now, I have shown the direct connections of the Communist Party, the International Labor Defense, the Young Communist League, the Young Pioneers, and other movements with the Third Internationale of Moscow and its subinternationals. I hope I have emphasized clearly the fact that all of these organizations in America are sections of the internationals mentioned, take their orders from them, and carry out these orders insofar as the United States is concerned, and, in many instances, carry out orders from the American section for action even in other countries.

I want to take now the Communist Party in this country—that is, the set-up of it. It claims to have 75,000 paid members in the Communist Party, but it also claims to have a great number of mass movements, as they say. I will bring these mass movements to the forefront later.

In these mass movements, plus the number in the Communist Party, I will show later in dealing with the mass movements individually, that they have approximately 6,500,000 members and followers in this country at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you compute that number?

Mr. STEELE. I compute that, as I will show you later, by the memberships in the mass movements.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean in the so-called front organizations?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You take the membership of the front organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What proof have you that the front organizations are connected with the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. I will bring those facts out as I deal with each mass movement later and give you my references in each case. In other words, the Communist Party, or the members of the Communist Party itself, are merely organizers and directors of the other movements I am going to mention.

Mr. HEALEY. Is it the policy of the Communist Party to limit their membership?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. HEALEY. The number of full-fledged Communists is limited?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To trained propagandists and agitators?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; and I will show you before I am through how they are trained in schools, what the subjects are, and so forth, and the system of the limitation of the Communist Party. In Russia, for instance, there are approximately 180,000,000 people, but they limit the Communist Party in Russia itself to 1 percent of the total population, which makes a membership in that party, as they claim, of 1,800,000, out of 180,000,000 people.

Of course, they have their mass movements there, too, as they have in every country. Communism is set up in every country in the same way. You could go to England and you would find the same organizations, by the same names, as you find here.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the same front organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They have a League Against Fascism?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; all these organizations I have mentioned have branches in all these other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. They are for peace; that is one of their big arguments.

Mr. STEELE. Yes. Of course, they do not have the League for Peace and Freedom operating in Russia. They have those organizations in non-Communist countries. They do not have the International Labor Defense to defend the workers when they are purged by the Soviet Government. They only have that in countries where they are trying to destroy non-Communist governments.

So when you find the international headquarters operated by Communist leaders, that does not mean they are operating in Russia, too, in every instance.

Now, as to the United States Communist Party, let us see how this main organizing, agitating, and directing group, The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is set up in the United States and how it operates.

First, the Communists have their work planned for them. This is to carry out the decisions of the Third (Communist) Internationale in Moscow.

They have this country divided into what they call districts. Each district is centralized in control and direction. There are 35 of those districts in this country.

When I testified before the committee headed by Congressman Fish, there were 20 of those districts; that was in 1930.

When I testified before the committee in 1934, headed by Congressman McCormack, of Massachusetts, there were then 28 districts. Today there are 35 districts. The reason is that their mass organizations have grown so they have had to increase the number of districts so as to decrease the number of members to be handled in each district, thereby continuing the centralization plan they have.

I will give you the districts, their headquarters, and what territory is included in each district, as follows:

District No. 1: Headquarters, Boston, Mass.; territory includes Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire.

District No. 2: Headquarters, New York City; territory includes Greater New York City and Yonkers and vicinity.

- District No. 3: Headquarters, Philadelphia, Pa.; territory includes Delaware and eastern Pennsylvania.
- District No. 4: Headquarters, Buffalo, N. Y.; territory includes western New York and a section around Erie, Pa.
- District No. 5: Headquarters, Pittsburgh, Pa.; territory includes western Pennsylvania.
- District No. 6: Headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio; territory includes State of Ohio.
- District No. 7: Headquarters, Detroit, Mich.; territory includes Lower Peninsula of Michigan.
- District No. 8: Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.; territory includes all of Illinois.
- District No. 9: Headquarters, Minneapolis, Minn.; territory includes all of Minnesota.
- District No. 10: Headquarters, Omaha; territory includes all of Nebraska.
- District No. 11: Headquarters, Bismarck, N. Dak.; territory includes North Dakota.
- District No. 12: Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.; territory includes Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.
- District No. 13: Headquarters, San Francisco, Calif.; territory includes California, Nevada, and Arizona.
- District No. 14: Headquarters, Newark, N. J.; territory includes all of New Jersey and Delaware.
- District No. 15: Headquarters, New Haven, Conn.; territory includes Connecticut.
- District No. 16: Headquarters, Charlotte, N. C.; territory includes North Carolina and South Carolina.
- District No. 17: Headquarters, Birmingham, Ala.; territory includes Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi.
- District No. 18: Headquarters, Madison, Wis.; territory includes Wisconsin.
- District No. 19: Headquarters, Denver, Colo.; territory includes Colorado and New Mexico.
- District No. 20: Headquarters, Houston, Tex.; territory covers Texas.
- District No. 21: Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo.; territory includes Missouri and Arkansas.
- District No. 22: Headquarters, Charleston, W. Va.; territory covers West Virginia.
- District No. 23: Headquarters, Louisville, Ky.; territory covers State of Kentucky.
- District No. 24: Headquarters, New Orleans, La.; territory covers Louisiana.
- District No. 25: Headquarters, Jacksonville, Fla.; territory covers State of Florida.
- District No. 26: Headquarters, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; territory includes South Dakota.
- District No. 27: Headquarters, Escanaba, Mich.; territory covers Upper Peninsula of Michigan.
- District No. 28: Headquarters, Indianapolis, Ind.; territory covers Indiana.
- District No. 29: Headquarters, Richmond, Va.; territory covers State of Virginia.
- District No. 30: Headquarters, Butte, Mont.; territory covers State of Montana.
- District No. 31: Headquarters, Oklahoma City, Okla.; territory includes Oklahoma.
- District No. 32: Headquarters, Des Moines, Iowa; territory covers State of Iowa.
- District No. 33: Headquarters, Chattanooga, Tenn.; territory covers Tennessee.
- District No. 34: Headquarters, Baltimore, Md.; territory includes Maryland and District of Columbia.
- District No. 35: Headquarters, Salt Lake City; territory covers Utah.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to give you the post-office addresses of some of those districts. The following are the post-office addresses of most of the districts:

Boston, Mass., 15 Essex Street.

New York City,¹ 50 East Thirtieth Street (national headquarters—scores of subheadquarters in New York).

¹ Central office, or district headquarters. Addresses following are subdistrict offices.

Philadelphia, Pa.,¹ 65 North Eighth Street and 104 South Ninth Street.
 Buffalo, N. Y., 75½ West Chippewa.
 Pittsburgh, Pa., 929 Fifth Avenue and 607 Bigelow Boulevard.
 Cleveland, Ohio, 1522 Prospect Avenue.
 Detroit, Mich., 5969 Fourteenth Street and 2610 Clifford Street.
 Chicago, Ill., 208 North Wells Street and 200 West Van Buren.
 Minneapolis, Minn., 10 South Tenth Street and 813 La Salle. (St. Paul, 344 North Exchange Street; Duluth, 4 East First Street; Austin, P. O. box 475; Virginia, P. O. Box 295.)
 Omaha, Nebraska, 311 Karback Block.
 Bismarck, N. Dak. (?)
 Seattle, Wash., P. O. box 332, 713½ Pine Street.
 San Francisco, Calif., 121 Haight Street and 170 Golden Gate Avenue.
 Newark, N. J., 206 Market Street, and 216 Halsey Street.
 New Haven, Conn., 32 Center Street, and 17 Broad Street.
 Charlotte, N. C. (?)
 Birmingham, Ala., P. O. box 1813.
 Madison, Wis. (?)
 Denver, Colo., P. O. box 2823, 522 Mining Exchange Building.
 Houston, Tex., P. O. box 1834.
 St. Louis, Mo.,¹ 506 North Vandeventer, and 3520 Franklin Avenue; Kansas City, Mo., 613½ Central Avenue.
 San Pedro, Calif., 244 West Sixth Street.
 Charleston, W. Va., P. O. box 92.
 Milwaukee, Wis., 419 West State.
 Louisville, Ky., P. O. box 1043.
 New Orleans,¹ La., P. O. box 465, 130 Chartres Street.
 Jacksonville, Fla., P. O. box 2008.
 Sioux Falls, S. Dak., P. O. box 532.
 Escanaba, Mich. (?)
 Indianapolis, Ind., 56 West New York Avenue.
 Richmond, Va., 205 North Second Street.
 Butte, Mont., P. O. box 33.
 Oklahoma City, Okla., P. O. box 245, 129½ West Grand Avenue.
 Des Moines, Iowa, P. O. box 108, 218 Youngerman Building.
 Chattanooga, Tenn., P. O. box 813.
 Baltimore, Md., 501-B Eutaw Street.
 Washington, D. C., 508 G Street NW.
 Salt Lake City, Utah, 134 Regent Street.
 Los Angeles, Calif., 226½ South Spring Street.

I want to show you that each of these districts is divided into sub-districts; in other words, sections as they call them.

The international offices of communism are located in Moscow, Russia. The national headquarters in the United States are located in New York City. As an indication of the number of centers the Communist Party, so-called political section of the Communist movement in the U. S. A., maintains in our major centers, we give you herewith the addresses of just a few of them. For instance, in Harlem, just one section of the great metropolis, New York City, we find that headquarters of 18 Communist Party sections have been set up at the following addresses: 415 Lenox Avenue, 1668 Madison Avenue, 2170 Third Avenue, 423 West One Hundred and Fifty-sixth Street, 321 West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, 191 Canal Street, 101 West Twenty-eighth Street, 230 Seventh Avenue, 131 West Ninety-seventh Street, 250 West One Hundred and Sixth Street, 417 East Eighty-fifth Street, 189 Second Avenue, 187 East Broadway, 141 East Twenty-ninth Street, 230 Seventh Avenue, 44 Avenue C, 400 West Forty-sixth Street, and 163 Bleecker Street. Of course, there are scores of other centers in Harlem, occupied by other branches of the Communist movement. Those which we have just mentioned

¹ Central office, or district headquarters. Addresses following are subdistrict offices.

are only "party" headquarters. Harlem is only one portion of New York City which, as a whole, has possibly 200 party sectional headquarters and two thousand or more headquarters of all branches of the Communist movement.

In Brooklyn, N. Y., as another example, there are 10 party headquarters. The addresses of these are: 434 Albee Square, 3200 Coney Island Avenue, 5302 Fourth Avenue, 2166 Eighty-sixth Street, 251 Schenectady Avenue, 307 Grand Street, 28 Graham Street, 1701 Pitkin Avenue, 1213 Fiftieth Street, and 1660 Fulton Street. Here again you will find that there are scores more Communist centers. The I. W. O. has six centers in Brooklyn; the Workers' Alliance, six, and so forth (Daily Worker, July 7, 1938, p. 5). Multiply this average a thousand times, and you will then have a faint idea of the number of headquarters the Communist Party alone has in the United States; and, remember, this does not include camps, schools, clubs, and allied movement headquarters, of which there are additional thousands.

I have shown that the United States is districted into 35 districts. I have also given you the centers in Brooklyn and Harlem. As an example of how States are divided into what are known as sections, I will show in what cities in New York and New Jersey there are sections.

New York: New York City, Kings, Bronx, Harlem, Queens, Nassau, Westchester, Buffalo, Dutchess, Staten Island, Albany, Elmira, Binghamton, Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Orange.

New Jersey: Paterson, Hudson, Mercer, Essex, Passaic, Bergen, Union, Camden, South Jersey, Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, Stelton, Long Branch, Lakewood, Toms River.

According to authoritative sources, we have learned that the Communist workers receive from \$20 a week up for their activities in the movement (Daily Worker, March 7, 1938, p. 9).

I spoke awhile ago of the increase in the districts since 1930. I want to state, in line with that, that during the past few years their membership has increased. For instance, in 1931 the Communist Party itself was claiming 8,339 paid members in this country. In 1938 they claim 78,000 members, so there is quite an increase there.

Now, another angle. The Communist Party, it will be demonstrated, hardly ever shows its voting strength until the time is ripe, as they call it. In other words, if they are faced with a situation that means life and death to the Communist Party, they exert their strength.

For instance, in Germany I will show they were claiming 220,000 members the fall before the Hitler election, and at that election they polled nearly 6,000,000 votes.

I will show that in Spain, according to their own documents, they claimed, in 1933, 800 paid members in the Communist Party in Spain, and yet that fall they polled over 400,000 votes.

I will show you that they claimed in France approximately 187,000 votes, 3 years ago, and that when the test came, to set up the so-called popular front government, they polled over a million votes in the Paris sector alone, and won a balance of power in the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, there is one point I want to clear up for the record, to stop some whispering talk: You are not, or never have been, a member of the Silver Shirt organization?

Mr. STEELE. I have never been connected with any such organization.

The CHAIRMAN. And any such rumor is without foundation.

Mr. STEELE. Absolutely; and I can prove it.

The CHAIRMAN. There is always a whispering campaign indulged in to discredit everybody who attempts to expose this movement.

Mr. STEELE. I have absolutely no respect for the Silver Shirts or any other such movement, and I want that understood here today.

In Russia—and this is referring to their strength again—referring to their own history of the revolution, written by Stalin and other authorities in Russia, consisting of four volumes, they claim they only had in Russia in the spring of the revolution 60,000 paid members of the Communist Party; and yet they had sufficient strength, all told, to destroy the Republic and take over absolute control of the Government.

In China the party claims today 416,000 members, and yet they claim or they control approximately one-fifth of China, which is set up in the form of a soviet state.

Now, they have polled in this country—that is, for their national officers—in 1936, 87,000 votes. That is more than they claim they have in the party itself.

And yet the reports of the State election boards throughout the country, which I gathered from the State election boards, which are printed reports, taking the highest vote cast for a Communist, whether he was a national candidate or not, and adding the previous vote in the seven States in which they were barred in 1936, which included Illinois—and you can hardly say because they were barred from the ticket the Communists moved from Illinois all at once—the total voting strength which has been shown is 226,760 in this country, in the 1936 election. The tabulation of that vote shows the following in each of the several States:

Alabama-----	678	New Jersey-----	1, 639
Arkansas-----	174	New Mexico-----	43
California-----	29, 574	New York-----	81, 588
Colorado-----	916	North Carolina-----	11
Connecticut-----	1, 625	North Dakota-----	540
Delaware-----	53	Ohio-----	8, 947
Indiana-----	1, 193	Oregon-----	104
Illinois-----	801	Pennsylvania-----	12, 867
Iowa-----	506	Rhode Island-----	481
Kentucky-----	204	Tennessee-----	319
Maine-----	257	Texas-----	283
Maryland-----	915	Utah-----	280
Massachusetts-----	11, 691	Vermont-----	905
Michigan-----	3, 384	Virginia-----	8, 907
Minnesota-----	16, 299	Wisconsin-----	2, 197
Missouri-----	417	Washington-----	1, 907
New Hampshire-----	193	Wyoming-----	91

Notes cast previously in 7 States in which Communists were not on ballots in 1936, 36,086.

I said that was not for the national candidates. These were for local candidates. They have polled in certain instances, where they thought they had a chance to elect a local candidate, as high as 108,000 in a State, for instance, in California. That was for a minor political office, and their candidate was Anita Whitney, one of the party leaders in that State.

They have elected a number of candidates; in Minnesota, a mayor of a small town; and they have elected some city councilmen in various States; for instance, in Illinois and Ohio. Recently there was a party who died in a small city in New York, and the Communist papers noted that this party had been a member of the Communist Party for years, and yet he did not run as a Communist Party candidate, when he was elected mayor of that city. So it is pretty difficult to know, often, who their candidates are.

While they have their own ballot—that is, their own ticket on the ballots—often they throw support to what they call “progressive” candidates or “liberal” candidates. They use those two words very freely.

But in the New York City elections in 1937, in four boroughs, they polled over 74,000 first-choice votes and 130,000 second-choice votes, in four boroughs in New York City. And yet the Communist Party section itself claims merely 30,000 members in the entire State of New York, according to the Daily Worker of May 20, 1938. I do not understand the law, but there were two other “liberal” candidates, and they elected some of the American Labor Party candidates to the city council. That is their claim. I do not know whether they did or not, of course.

Mr. THOMAS. May I say a word right here, Mr. Chairman, before the witness goes on? I want to say that I got the report I referred to in the early part of the afternoon from the F. B. I., and I just want to announce that I have gotten it. I announced that I had not gotten it at that time, early in the afternoon, but since then I have gotten the report and have received very fine cooperation from the F. B. I. I wanted to put that in the record.

Mr. STEELE. In 1937 they claim they have 300 local sections in these 35 districts that I speak of. They claim that these local sections are then divided into more than 2,000 street nuclei, over 500 shop nuclei, and, as they have stated, “hundreds upon hundreds” of cells and fractions.

In addition, the Communist Party section of the Communist movement has thousands of “functionaries,” as they call their advance agents, in organizations that they are attempting to penetrate.

All of the branches that have been referred to have their secretaries, who, as a general rule, are the heads, there being exceptions when the allied organization is rather large.

They have their agit-prop, or agitational and propaganda directors, literature agents, section committees, dues collectors, and so forth. These are referred to as tried and proven and loyal members, and they are obliged to carry down to the grass roots the rulings of the central (or ruling) committee of the party section of the movement in the United States.

I said awhile ago, and I have shown in the document I have presented here, the Party Manual, that the central committee of the Communist Party in this country are the absolute rulers of the Communist Party movement in this country. There are 60 members of that committee.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

William Z. Foster, Earl R. Browder, William Weiner, Charles Krumbein, Israel Amter, Max Bedacht, Phil Frankfeld, Alexander Bittlemann, Rebecca Grecht, Martin Young (real name, Leon Platt), Fred Brown (Alpi), William

W. Weinstone, Morris Childs, Carl Ross (Rosenbloom), Herbert Benjamin, V. J. Jerome (real name, Isaac Romaine), Thomas Nabried, Morris Raport (Rappaport), William Schneiderman, Rose Wortis, Nat Ross (Rosenbaum), Gil Green (Greenfeld), Moissaye J. Olgin, Max Saltzman, Alex Markoff, J. Mindell, John Sloan, Alfred Wagenknecht, Roy Hudson, Jack Stachel, James W. Ford, Clarence A. Hathaway, A. J. Berry, Margaret Cowl (Krumbein), Gene Dennis, Anna Burlak, Robert Minor, Ella Reeve Bloor, Patrick Toohey, John Williamson, Robert Hall, W. J. Binkley, Homer Brooks, B. K. Gebert, Jack Johnstone, Angelo Herndon, Sam Darcy, William F. Dunne, Ray Hansborough, Steve Nelson, Maude White, Henry Winston, Joe Clark, Robert Wood, Jim Porter, Peter Cacchione, Earl A. Welch, Alexander W. Trainor, Louise Thompson, Harrison George, Alex Trachtenberg.

The national officers of the Communist Party are William Z. Foster, national chairman, who is also a member of the executive committee of the Communist International; Earl Browder, national secretary, who is also a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and vice president of the American League for Peace and Freedom; William Weiner, national financial secretary, who is also president of the International Workers' Order and Jewish Committee Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism.

I am mentioning these instances because it shows the control of the other movements that I am speaking of.

The officers also include Charles Krumbein, national treasurer; Jack Stachel, executive secretary, central committee; V. K. Jerome (Isaac Romaine); Alex Bittleman, chairman, educational bureau; Gene Denis, chairman of the legislative bureau; William Gebert, national organizer of the central committee and also chairman of the fraternal committee organized to support the C. I. O.; Max Steinberg, secretary of the national organizing committee; Jack Johnstone and Roy Hudson, chairman of the trade-union organizing committee; Rose Wortis, secretary of the trade-union committee; Margaret Cowl, whose married name is Krumbein, chairman of the women's bureau; Morris Childs, chairman of the committee on struggle for peace; Rose Wortis, secretary of the platform committee; William Schneiderman and Frank Brown, whose real name is Alpi, chairman of organization and propaganda; Rebecca Grecht, chairman on recruiting; Alex Trachtenberg, director of literature and also heads their largest publishing house, International Publishers; Louise Thompson, chairman of the Negro Women's Commission; Theodore Bassett, A. W. Berry, Cyril Briggs, James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, members of Negro Commission, Communist Party; William L. Patterson, chairman of the Negro Men's Commission and also vice chairman of International Labor Defense, of which Vito Marcantonio is chairman; Gil Green, national vice chairman of the Young Communist League; Carl Ross, national secretary of the Young Communist League; Henry Winston, national executive secretary of the Young Communist League; M. J. Olgin, national chairman of the Jewish Commission; a party whose last name is Hans but whose first name I do not know, is national chairman of the German Commission; a party by the name of Harrison, whose first name I do not know, who is national chairman of the Greek Commission; J. Mindel, chairman of the central committee training school; Abraham Markoff, national director of Communist schools; Roy Hudson, national secretary of their marine committee; Carl Bristol, chairman of convention housing; Herbert Benjamin, national secretary of unemployment organization.

Then there is Clarence Hathaway, editor of their official organization, *Daily Worker*; Harrison George, a brother-in-law of Earl Browder, editor of *People's World*, the west coast official daily paper; Louis F. Budenz, editor of *Midwest Record*, their official daily organ; Earl Browder, Alex Brittelman, and V. J. Jerome, editors of the *Communist*, their official monthly organ.

I have listed all of the officials in each State. I will not, unless you want me to, bother about reading all of those. I will put them in the record. It would consume considerable time if I read them.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

INCOMPLETE LIST OF LEADING STATE OFFICIALS OF COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A., DOES NOT INCLUDE STATE HEADS OF ALL OTHER COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

NEW YORK STATE

Israel Amter, State chairman (organizer); Charles Krumbein, State secretary; Isidore Begun, State educational director; William E. Browder, State finance secretary; H. I. Cottrell, executive secretary, Jewish Bureau; Max Frimmel, legal counsel; Mary Bronson, secretary; Mortimer Don, editor, State Affairs.

Portion of State committee of 100: Israel Amter, Charles Krumbein, Isidore Begun, H. I. Cottrell, Irene Browder, William E. Browder, Carl Brodsky, James Ford, Simon Gerson, Paul Novick, Sam Banks, A. W. Berry, Charles Simons, Sadie Van Veen, Max Steinberg, Henry Forbes, Rose Wortis, Peter Cacchione, Paul Crosbie, Vera Saunders, John Little, Paul Connor, Harry Graham, George Lohr, Ben Davis, Carl Vedro, Jim Barker, Ann Rollins, Buffalo, N. Y.; Frank Herron, Org. Secy.

MASSACHUSETTS

Otis Archer Hood, State chairman (organizer); Phil Frankfeld, State Secretary.

Portion of State committee: Otis Hood, Phil Frankfeld, Arthur Emmet, Michael Tuysuzian, Hyman Gordon, Manual Blanc, Ordway Southard, Hugo Degregory, Ronald Thompson, Frank Asher, Fanny Hartman, Mary E. Moore, Alfred Porro, John Webber, David Grant, Joseph Figueredo, Jack Green.

PENNSYLVANIA

Jim Egan, State chairman (organizer); Pat Toobey, State secretary; Sam Adams, and Martin Young, State organizers.

Other leaders, including some members of the State committee: Carl Reeve (son of Ella Reeve Bloor), Ella Reeve Olmholz Bloor, Toney Manerich, Frank Cook, Merle Cooke, Fred Abbott, Ike Kastrow, Morton Winters, Dave Davis, Charles Spencer, Dan Slinger, Earl Vann, Russell Watson, Mac Harris, E. Soloway, Frank Hellman, Thomas Nabried.

RHODE ISLAND

Anna Burlak, State secretary; C. Ralph, State organizer; Morris Kominsky, State educational director.

NEW JERSEY

H. Sazer, and Lena Davis, State organizers; Eric Lindstrom, South N. J., organizer.

OHIO

John Williamson, State chairman; Helen Allison, State secretary; Herbert Goldfrank, State organizer; Andrew R. Onda, Cuyahoga County, Secretary; Mande Mae White, Cleveland organizer; Joe Dallet, Youngstown organizer; Frank Rogers, Cleveland organizer; Frank Cook, Y. C. L. organizer; Jack Cooper, Y. C. L. organizer; David Gordon, Toledo organizer; John Hirsch, organizer Hungarian branch; John Gates, Youngstown organizer; M. J. Berry, Mansfield organizer.

Committee members and leaders include: D. Coutts, John Willnecker, Yetta Land, I. O. Ford, Joe Nalls, Carl Winter, John Steuben, Phil Bart, Mat Argrakes, Fred Borer.

MICHIGAN

William Weinstone, State secretary; James Anderson, secretary, Trade Union Dept., Rifka Meyenberg, Detroit organizer; James Allen, organization secretary.

Other leaders are: Merrill C. Work, John Williamson.

KANSAS

Max Salzman, State secretary.

(See executive committee following page.)

CALIFORNIA

Anita Whitney, State chairman; William Schneiderman, State secretary; Louise Todd, State organization director; Al Richmond, propaganda director.

State committee: Anita Whitney, William Schneiderman, "Pop" Hanoff, Oleta O'Conner, George Paurer, L. Ward, Frank Spector, Betty Gannet, Paul Cline, Patty Perry, Rose Busch, Walter Lambert, Aubrey Grossman, Louis Goldblatt, Emma Cutler, Carol Barnes, Harrison George, Ray Studt, Saieto (Jap), Violet Orr, Mimi Carson.

The Kansas State executive committee of the Communist Party is composed of: P. M. Duncan, Galena, Kans.; Max Salzman, Kansas City; Leo Blanken, Pittsburg, Kans.; A. J. Fritter, Fort Scott, Kans.; Margaret Stevens (Armour Packing Co.), Kansas City, Kans.; John Hestor, 731 Tenney, Kansas City, Kans.; Helen Hestor, same address; William Burnley, 610 North 6th St., Kansas City, Kans.; Ed Cassell, Columbus, Kans.; Laverne F. Pratt, 838 Louisiana, Lawrence, Kans.; William Burnley; Ernest McNutt, 123 West 6th St., Topeka, Kans.; Dr. Henry C. L. Luck, 616 North Atchinson, Eldorado, Kans.; Lawrence Faught, Topeka, Kans.; James Pennington, 105 North 7th St., Leavenworth, Kans.

WASHINGTON AND OREGON

Louis Sass, district secretary; Morris Rappaport, district organizer; James Murphy, section organizer; Harry Jackson (real name, Henry Glickson), lumber organizer.

MONTANA

Arvo Fredrickson, State chairman; William F. Dunne, district chairman; Leo Garnet, State secretary.

Other leaders include: Joseph Maklin, Charles Taylor.

ALABAMA

Robert Hall, district and State secretary; Andy Brown, district organizer; Jim Mallory, State organizer.

State committee includes: Jane Speed, Larry Brown, Wallace Spradley, Frank Curry, John Parker.

KENTUCKY

D. L' West, State chairman; Norman Link, State organizer.

LOUISIANA

W. G. Buckley, State organizer.

IOWA

Jim Porter, State organizer.

INDIANA

Miles Blansett, State chairman; Phil Bart, State secretary; Andre Reemes, State organizer; J. Lawson; Ethel Stevens, section organizers.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Martin Chancey, secretary.

Leaders include: Ed Sheer, J. A. Renis, Sam Leibowitz, Sam Levin, Jack Menard, Mildred Egan, I. Leenov, Emanuel Levin.

MARYLAND

Earl Dixon, secretary, Communist Party; Carl Weiner, secretary, Young Communist League.

VIRGINIA

Donald Burke, State secretary; Martin Dewey, regional director.

CONNECTICUT

Michael Russo, State chairman; I. Wofsey, State secretary; William C. Taylor.

NORTH CAROLINA

Paul Crouch, State organizer.

COLORADO

James Allander, State organizer.

OKLAHOMA

Robert Wood, State chairman; Joe Clerk, State secretary.

TENNESSEE

Ted Wellman, State secretary; Earl Welsh, State organizer.

IOWA

Jim Porter, State secretary.

MISSOURI

Alfred Wagenknecht, State secretary; Bud Reynolds, district organizer.

TEXAS

Homer Brooks, State secretary.

FLORIDA

A. E. Williams, district and State organizing director; Jack Strong, State secretary; Alex Trainor, State organizer; Bob Davis.

ILLINOIS

Morris Childs, State secretary; Katherine Erlich, membership director; Ed Brown, organizational director; Beatrice Shields, field organizer; Jack Martin, educational director; Ray Hansborough, chairman, S. S., acting Cook County secretary; Elmer Johnson, Cook County secretary; Bill Carter, organizer, S. S. Chicago; Jack Kling, secretary, Y. C. L.; William K. Gebert, district organizer.

State committee members and leaders include: Mineola Ingersoll, Elizabeth Johnstone, Dolly Russak, Gilbert Roche, Bob Foley, Harry Shaw, Jack Johnstone, Sam Hammersmark.

WISCONSIN

Ned Sparks, State secretary; Gene Dennis, State organizer; and Fred Bassett Blair; Harold Cristie.

MINNESOTA

Nat Ross, State secretary; Sam Darcy (wanted in California); Erick Bert, organizing secretary.

Leaders include: Niel Hickey, Leo Koski, Pat McGran.

NORTH DAKOTA

Alfred Knutson, State secretary.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Alfred Benas, C. H. Sharp.

NEBRASKA

Ed Richards, State secretary.

Mr. STEELE. In the document which I presented a while ago, the Manual, it states that all the lower organizations are subordinate to the higher bodies. The highest authority of the party in the United States is the control commission of the central committee, made up of members of the central committee which, as I stated a while ago, were 60 in number. These, in turn, are subordinate to the Third Communist International at Moscow.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that statement? I did not hear all of it.

Mr. STEELE. I stated that all of the lower organizations are subordinate to the higher bodies. I am speaking of the districts and the cells and the sections, and so forth. The highest authority of the body in the United States is the control commission of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. You said something about Moscow there that I did not catch.

Mr. STEELE. These, in turn, are subordinate to the Third International in Moscow. That is shown in the Manual which I presented as evidence.

In other words, what I want to point out is that the 60 members making up the central committee of the Communist Party of this country control the Communist Party's activities in this country and that, in turn, they are subordinate to the Third International.

Now, as the document shows, the executive committee of the Communist International, which is also made up of 60 members, is the ruling committee of that group out of the congresses, and they say when the congresses shall be held.

For instance, they only held the ninth congress 2 years ago, although it has been in existence for 19 years.

Each of the 35 district organizations in the United States is subordinate to the central committee; section organizations are subordinate to the district committees; and units are subordinate to the section committees.

In connection with the decisions and orders of the Third International at Moscow, as far as the United States is concerned, we learn that "all decisions" of the World Congress of the Third International and of the committees of the Third International "must be fulfilled by all parties of the Third (Communist) International." All decisions of the national convention of the Communist Party, which are merely adopting procedures of the decisions and orders of the Communist International, must be fulfilled by the whole party; all decisions of the national convention must be fulfilled by the district conventions and committees, and all decisions

of the district conventions and committees must be fulfilled by the section conventions and committees, and followed out by the sections and local units.

All of this is from the Communist Party Manual which I submitted.

Each branch of the Communist Party is required to be set up in duplicate, according to the manual. This is something we have no information on, only that in their manual they state that each of these party machines, or each part of the party machinery, must be set up in duplicate.

And they state one is known as the legal organization and the other the illegal organization.

We find that what they mean by legal and illegal is that the legal organization, as we find it, is the organization that comes out in the public and does things under their own names; whereas the illegal organization is something we do not know a thing about, and we have never been able to get any information concerning that, as to whether they have actually set those up or not. However, that is part of their rule and instructions from the Third International, that they must have a duplicate machinery, and they state the reasons why they must have it. One reason is to protect the party machinery from destruction by Government agencies.

In other words, I presume you could have called the Bridgeman meeting in Michigan years ago, which the Federal Government raided—I presume you could have called that what they term an illegal branch. And, if I am not in error, they found some very incriminating documents when they raided that meeting, which they possibly would not have found if they raided what they call a legal headquarters.

Now, they claim that the basic organization of the party section is the shop unit which they also refer to as a nucleus. They state that this may consist of as few as three members in one shop, mine, dock, shipyard, mill, factory, railway terminal, office, store, or farm. And they also refer to these as cells occasionally.

The street or town unit is another basic organization. This consists of a group living within a given territory.

Next we have the section organization which is made up of shop, street, and town units. The party always strives to make the section organization as small as possible, as it says in this manual that I have presented.

After the district organization, which is made up of sections, comes the highest organization in the United States, the central committee, the members of which are the leading lights of the district committees and sections. Each unit, section, and district organization elects delegates to the national convention and the latter permits the central committee to elect delegates to the World Convention of the Third (Communist) International, after the Third International has designated the number to attend.

We find that the number that may attend the Third International, from this country, is set by the executive committee of the Third International on the basis of the paid party membership. I do not know what the percentage is.

MR. HEALEY. How many attended the last Congress?

Mr. STEELE. I believe there were seven.

The size of the party committees always depends upon the numerical strength of the organizations which elect. The approximate size of these committees is as follows:—and this is from the document—unit committees, 3 to 5 members; section committees, 9 to 11 members; district committees, 15 to 19 members; central committee, 50 to 65 members.

The bureau is the leading body in the section, district, and center, and between committee meetings acts with full authority in line, of course, with the instructions from the higher bodies.

The approximate size of the bureaus is as follows: Section bureau, nine members; district bureau, seven to nine members; political bureaus of central committee, seven to nine members.

As a rule, each of the committees meet as follows: Units, once weekly; section bureau, once weekly; section committees, twice a month; district bureau, once weekly; district committee, monthly; political bureau, once weekly; central committee, every 2 months.

The lower units also operate under what is termed a group system. These are made up on the basis of residence of members. For instance, a street unit has a territory of a number of city blocks, or a small town. Four or five members living close together organize into one group, what they call a group. The best-developed member is made captain of the group, appointed by the unit bureau. These captains see that their members are kept intact and attend meetings regularly. They also collect dues and bring assignments of duties to the members of the group from higher-ups.

The main committees of all of these larger organizations are the political bureau, central committee, organization commission, agit-prop—or, in plain English, agitation propaganda—trade-union commission, women's commission, Negro commission, agrarian commission, foreign-speaking commission, and youth commission.

Now, I have already submitted the party pledge, but it is also re-stated in full in the Communist Party Manual which I submitted. It is quite a bit more lengthy than that which is on the card. As I understand—in fact, I have a photograph here of them receiving a pledge from Mr. Browder and Mr. Krumbein at a meeting where they mustered in what they claim to be 22,000 new party members last fall. This pledges those who join in this country to lead the struggles—it pledges them to defend the Soviet Union which they call the land of victorious socialism. It states:

I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States.

They also state in that that they declare adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International, which I have presented, and the Communist Party of the United States of America and agree to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work. The party pledge is as follows:

I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggles against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the unions, in the shops, among unemployed, to lead the struggles for

the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist lies of the ruling class.

I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of soviet power in the United States.

Now, as to whether they appeal only to the so-called poor and downtrodden or not—and I think it is shown that they do not through the statement of their dues. That is, the amounts that each member of the Communist Party must pay. They start as low as \$10.85. That is the first bracket.

Mr. MASON. \$10.85 for what—a year's dues?

Mr. STEELE. No; that is weekly earnings. In other words, a person earning up to \$11.85 a week or up to \$47 a month, as they say, the monthly dues are only 10 cents. That goes on up to where a person earns from \$390.50 to \$400 a month, and the dues at that point amount, according to the schedule, to \$13. That is the monthly dues. And a regular fee in addition to that of \$1 a month. And in addition to that, an additional fee of \$12 a month.

In other words, a person earning from \$390.50 to \$400 a month pays the Communist Party \$26 a month dues. That is one of their avenues of revenue, but one of their very small avenues.

Mr. HEALEY. You are going to discuss their method of raising funds?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. Their own financial statement shows that from dues that they collected in the last 2 years—this document is not secret, by the way; it was in the Daily Worker, so anybody can see it, but I am going to hand it to the committee—it shows that in 1937 the total revenue from dues was only \$77,116.67; and in 1936 the dues received—that is, the money received from dues—was \$69,446.75. So you can see that that is a very small portion of their revenue.

Mr. MASON. That was published in the Daily Worker?

Mr. STEELE. That is correct.

Mr. MASON. Then that is a part of their legal organization?

Mr. STEELE. Oh, yes.

Mr. MASON. And it is public?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. MASON. But we do not know what the dues might have been if we received the information from the illegal part of the organization?

Mr. STEELE. No; that is true.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question at this point? That is what organization?

Mr. STEELE. This is the Communist Party, central committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Communist Party, central committee.

Mr. STEELE. It is their own report; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Does that mean that that is the total amount of the dues received in the entire United States?

Mr. STEELE. That is from Communist Party members, paid members in the Communist Party. As I stated a while ago, the Communist Party have paid members, and they have nonpaid members.

Mr. THOMAS. Would not that indicate, the small amount of those dues, taking into consideration their very large activities in all of the

United States, that they must be getting some financial assistance from some other source?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; it would.

Mr. HEALEY. You are going to develop that later?

Mr. STEELE. I think I can; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Who owns these newspapers that they publish?

Mr. STEELE. Most of the camps and newspapers and publishing houses and so forth, are set up as corporations under our system of government. For instance, this particular publication—I think they state in it that it is—the name of it is the Comprodaily Publishing Co. I know I have a copy of that paper here and I think it states on their editorial page exactly what it is. It says, "Published daily except Sunday by the Comprodaily Publishing Co." I presume "Comprodaily" means Communist propaganda daily. We find that they abbreviate all of their committees and names. For instance, agi-prop department is their agitation propapanda department.

DAILY WORKER OWNERSHIP

As to the ownership of the Daily Worker, an official organ of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (section of the Third (Communist) International), we find according to the record in the New York County Clerk's office that while the "Comprodaily Publishing Co., Inc.," is a corporation with only \$3,000 in capital stock supposedly owned by six Communists, that there is also what may be termed a "holding company" known as the "American Magyar Nepazowa, Inc.," which claims ownership of the Daily Worker. It will be noted that the same major characters, appearing on the one list printed below, appear on the other list.

AUGUST 30, 1938.

The mast head of the Daily Worker shows, "Central organ, Communist Party, U. S. A." Affiliated with the Communist International, founded 1924, published daily, except Sunday, by the Comprodaily Publishing Co., Inc., 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Algonquin 4-7954.

The records at the New York County Clerk's office show as follows:

Incorporation papers filed by Shorr, Brodsky & King, attorneys at law, 41 Union Square, New York, for the Comprodaily Publishing Co., Inc., as a corporation—30 shares of \$100 each and capital stock \$3,000.

The directors are as follows: J. Louis Engdahl, 26 Union Square, New York; Irving Franklin, 26 Union Square, New York; Alexander Trachtenberg, 26 Union Square, New York.

Names and post-office addresses of each subscriber of this certificate of Inc. and number of shares of stock each agrees to take are as follows: Isaae Shorr, 799 Broadway, New York (one share); Carl Weiss King, 799 Broadway, New York (one share); Fay Siegartel, 799 Broadway, New York (one share).

Affidavit sworn to before Joseph R. Brodsky, a notary public, New York County Clerk's office, No. 432, register No. 0-609; certificate filed in Westchester County, N. Y.; commission expires on March 30, 1939.

Incorporation papers filed at New York County Clerk's office on April 18, 1929, at 11:45 a. m.; index No. 4724/1929.

NEW YORK CITY, *June 23, 1938.*

WHO OWNS THE DAILY WORKER?

On numerous occasions people have wondered as to who the actual ownership of the Daily Worker was.

The Daily Worker is owned and controlled by the Amerika Magyar Nepazowa, Inc.

The directors are as follows: Jacob Grossman, 8002 Twenty-first Avenue, Brooklyn; Ethel Beaver, 1416 Walton Avenue, New York City; Sylvia Halpert, 682 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn; Anna Sisman, 1931 Walton Avenue, New York City.

Shareholders are Maximilian F. Wesranek, Margaret Burke, Ruben Mirrain, Isadore Szebely, William Weinstone, Philip Arenberg, Harry Blake, Fay Siegartel, Joseph R. Brodsky, Jack Stachel, and Isaac Shorr.

Besides, the columnists composing the Daily Worker staff are the following: C. A. Hathaway, editor; Sam Don, Harry Gannes, Louis Budenz, A. B. Magil, Joseph North, Ben Davis, Jr., Harrison George, Art Shields, Harry Raymond, Fred Ellis, S. W. Gerson, Milton Howard, John Meldon, Howard Boldt, Edward McSorley, Al Richmond, George Morris, Esther Cantor, Carl Reynolds, Beth McHenry, Sam Shaw, Peter Aprievsky, Spencer Raucks, Lester Rodney, Ben Burns, Mary Mack, Herbert Rosen, and Claudia Jones.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know what the circulation of that newspaper is?

Mr. STEELE. No; we do not. I presume that information could be obtained, if you wanted it, from the Post Office Department.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what the circulation is of the Daily Worker?

Mr. STEELE. No; I do not. I have seen it mentioned in a paper, the Sunday Worker, which is the Sunday section of that newspaper, that they have a circulation of 100,000. I have seen that in what they call party literature pamphlets. I have seen a claimed circulation of a certain amount.

Mr. HEALEY. That amount of \$77,000—is that the high figure of dues for the years that you have?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, that is the high figure for the amount of dues for the years that we have.

Mr. HEALEY. That indicates a gain, does it not?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. For instance, it shows here that what they received in 1936 was \$69,446.75, and in 1937, \$77,116.67.

Now, in this report they show receipts of other kinds. For instance, initiation fees, receipts from initiation fees. Receipts from donations from organizations and donations from individuals.

Then they have what they call the international solidarity fund, which they state was, for 1937, \$35,083.61.

The total amount of receipts, in other words, for the 2 years, is something over \$700,000. That is for this one branch here.

I stated a while ago that they direct not only the activities of this country but they direct many of the activities in Latin and South American countries.

On this report which I have before me there is shown the amount of money that they sent in 1936 to Ireland, Germany, Ethiopia, Costa Rica, China, Chile, Cuba, Canada, Bulgaria, Brazil, and so forth.

It shows also the amount that they have expended in what they call labor struggles. That is their name for strikes. This is broken down into the amount that they spent on steel struggles, auto struggles, textile struggles, railroad struggles, marine struggles, unemployed struggles, metal struggles, and so forth.

Mr. MOSIER. What does that show that they spent in the so-called steel struggle?

Mr. STEELE. It shows that they spent \$5,600.22. That is this section here in the steel struggle, as they call it. That is in 1 year. They spent in the year before \$3,593.54.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you give us a break-down of the receipts for the 2 years?

Mr. STEELE. I have that here, and I will file it for the record.

Mr. THOMAS. Just state what it is approximately; did you say \$700,000?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. It is all broken down in this report which I will leave for the record.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you read some of the larger items there?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I stated the dues that they had. They got initiation fees and donations from organizations. For the year 1937 the amount was \$67,829.29. The year prior to that it was \$59,617.83.

Donations of individuals amounted to \$59,379.59 in 1937 and in 1936, \$56,753.42.

The International Solidarity receipts, as they call it, were \$35,083.61 in 1937, and \$34,159.03 in 1936.

Mr. THOMAS. That is called the International Solidarity account?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Where does that come from?

Mr. STEELE. I know that part of it comes from members. I do not know where all of it comes from.

Mr. THOMAS. What does it mean?

Mr. STEELE. I think it means international solidarity with the movements in other countries.

Mr. THOMAS. Does it represent dues?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; those are dues.

Mr. THOMAS. That comes in as dues?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I want to present for the record here at this time a membership book.

Mr. HEALEY. Do all of the dues go directly to the national headquarters or is any part of it detained in the district organization?

Mr. STEELE. The districts also receive moneys which are not included in this.

I have here a party membership book No. 6364 for 1938. It is a brand new one and has the party secretary's seal on it. It has the initiation stamp and has the membership dues up to the time that it was taken.

Here is the International Solidarity stamp which you were just questioning me about. In addition to that, they also have a convention stamp. In other words, they raise money in advance for their conventions. They have a stamp for that, too.

This book, you will note by the watermarks in it, that this is for the "Communist Party of the U. S. A. Section of Communist International." On every page there is the watermark through the pages. It carries the membership dues schedule that I just mentioned a while ago.

It also carries the pledge, and I would like to introduce this as an exhibit.

(The book was marked "Exhibit No. 82" of this date.)

Mr. STEELE. I will introduce for the record this table of dues in the Communist Party.

(The table referred to is as follows:)

Weekly earnings	Monthly earnings	Monthly dues	Regular	Addi- tional
Up to \$10.85	Up to \$47	\$0.10	\$0.10	-----
\$11.00 to \$25.85	\$47.66 to \$112	.50	.50	-----
\$26.00 to \$36.92	\$112.66 to \$160	1.00	1.00	-----
\$37.04 to \$39.23	\$160.50 to \$170	1.50	1.00	\$0.50
\$39.35 to \$41.54	\$170.50 to \$180	2.00	1.00	1.00
\$41.65 to \$43.85	\$180.50 to \$190	2.50	1.00	1.50
\$43.96 to \$46.15	\$190.50 to \$200	3.00	1.00	2.00
\$46.27 to \$48.46	\$200.50 to \$210	3.50	1.00	2.50
\$48.58 to \$50.77	\$210.50 to \$220	4.00	1.00	3.00
\$50.88 to \$53.08	\$220.50 to \$230	4.50	1.00	3.50
\$53.19 to \$55.38	\$230.50 to \$240	5.00	1.00	4.00
\$55.50 to \$57.69	\$240.50 to \$250	5.50	1.00	4.50
\$57.80 to \$60.00	\$250.50 to \$260	6.00	1.00	5.00
\$60.11 to \$62.31	\$260.50 to \$270	6.50	1.00	5.50
\$62.42 to \$64.62	\$270.50 to \$280	7.00	1.00	6.00
\$64.73 to \$66.93	\$280.50 to \$290	7.50	1.00	6.50
\$67.04 to \$69.23	\$290.50 to \$300	8.00	1.00	7.00
\$69.35 to \$71.54	\$300.50 to \$310	8.50	1.00	7.50
\$71.66 to \$73.85	\$310.50 to \$320	9.00	1.00	8.00
\$73.96 to \$76.16	\$320.50 to \$330	9.50	1.00	8.50
\$76.27 to \$78.46	\$330.50 to \$340	10.00	1.00	9.00
\$78.57 to \$80.77	\$340.50 to \$350	10.50	1.00	9.50
\$80.88 to \$83.08	\$350.50 to \$360	11.00	1.00	10.00
\$83.19 to \$85.38	\$360.50 to \$370	11.50	1.00	10.50
\$85.49 to \$87.69	\$370.50 to \$380	12.00	1.00	11.00
\$87.80 to \$90.00	\$380.50 to \$390	12.50	1.00	11.50
\$90.11 to \$92.31	\$390.50 to \$400	13.00	1.00	12.00

Members who are 2 months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members failing to carry out party discipline are dropped. Members suspected of "telling tales out of school" are dropped. Members desiring to move from one locality to another are required to first obtain a "transfer" to another section. If a member is sick he must receive a "leave of absence."

I want to introduce this Communist Party finance statement from which I have been reading.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY ISSUES FINANCE STATEMENT

The income of the Communist Party, United States of America for 1937 totaled \$258,316.62, and expenditures totaled \$257,729.81, a statement issued by the central committee of the Communist Party at the party's tenth national convention, now in session at the Hotel Center, 108 West Forty-third Street, declared.

An approximate difference of \$100,000 in income and expenditures between 1936 and 1937 was attributed to the party's election campaign in 1936.

The financial statement which the party's central committee made to the delegates to the convention follows in full:

EXHIBIT A.—Balance sheet as of Dec. 31, 1937

ASSETS	
Cash on hand	\$1, 403. 86
Loans receivable	68, 715. 90
Furniture and fixtures	8, 556. 33
Deferred assets	151. 72
Total assets	78, 827. 81
LIABILITIES	
Loans and accounts payable	10, 429. 88
Surplus	68, 397. 93

EXHIBIT B.—Cash statement

	1937		1936	
	Paid	Received	Paid	Received
Dues.....		\$77, 116. 67		\$69, 446. 75
Initiations.....		4, 427. 97		3, 271. 81
Org. supplies and buttons.....		5, 599. 84		3, 511. 39
Dontations:				
Organizations.....		67, 829. 29		59, 617. 83
Individuals.....		59, 379. 59		56, 753. 42
International solidarity (schedule 1).....	\$35, 083. 61	35, 538. 54	\$33, 645. 27	34, 159. 03
Ninth convention.....			17, 869. 59	21, 353. 01
Wages.....	20, 106. 95		20, 035. 00	
Organization expense.....	9, 722. 47		7, 270. 74	
Labor struggles supported (schedule 2).....	19, 345. 88		14, 456. 12	
Traveling.....	11, 876. 84		4, 734. 76	
Telegraph, cables communication.....	8, 076. 33		7, 582. 79	
Telephone.....	2, 345. 48		2, 028. 15	
Postage and express.....	2, 041. 08		2, 201. 46	
Stationery and supplies.....	4, 549. 70		4, 686. 86	
Rent.....	4, 800. 00		4, 800. 00	
Agitprop.....	10, 237. 34		10, 650. 42	
Plenums.....	5, 101. 11		3, 284. 32	
Recruiting drive.....	1, 775. 94			
Organization conference.....	520. 23			
Taxes.....	356. 61			
Editorial expenses.....	550. 00			
Traveling auditor.....	504. 59			
Painting and repairs.....	1, 756. 54			
1936 election campaign.....	289. 95		152, 017. 91	146, 156. 80
Miscellaneous.....	1, 008. 22		1, 699. 04	
Subsidies—Districts (schedule 3).....	31, 979. 92		25, 548. 11	
Subsidies:				
Organizations.....	34, 900. 83		30, 915. 98	
Individuals.....	3, 249. 80		3, 081. 81	
Party press.....	21, 506. 64		25, 059. 28	
Loans receivable.....	24, 750. 72		17, 370. 72	
Loans payable.....		8, 424. 72	3, 500. 00	
Furniture.....	1, 302. 03		1, 024. 30	
Total received.....		258, 316. 62		394, 270. 04
Total paid.....	257, 729. 81	817. 05	393, 453. 66	. 67
Balance January 1.....				
Balance December 31.....	1, 403. 86		817. 05	
Total.....	259, 133. 67	259, 133. 67	394, 270. 71	394, 270. 71

SCHEDULE 1—International solidarity

Paid	1937		1936	
	Paid	1937	1936	Paid
Anti-Nazi.....			\$238. 08	\$130. 45
Brazil.....	\$70. 00		1, 482. 69	655. 00
Bulgaria.....	400. 00			2, 033. 87
Canada.....	364. 26		3, 358. 81	
Cuba.....	5, 769. 45		4, 210. 00	
Chile.....	93. 25			
China.....	100. 00			
Costa Rica.....	350. 00		100. 00	
Caribbean.....	5. 94		457. 56	
Ethiopian aid.....	62. 50			
Germany.....	8, 195. 00		7, 645. 00	
Ireland.....	1, 200. 00		1, 200. 00	
India.....				\$130. 45
Italy.....				655. 00
Mexico.....			\$6, 825. 15	2, 033. 87
Nicaragua.....			200. 00	
Philippines.....			2, 225. 96	3, 868. 56
Porto Rico.....			1, 054. 10	1, 115. 25
Portuguese.....			6. 00	
Delegations and commu- nications.....			8, 132. 00	7, 150. 00
Total.....			35, 083. 61	33, 645. 27

SCHEDULE 2—Labor struggles supported

	1937		1936	
	1937	1936	1937	1936
Steel.....	\$5, 600. 22	\$3, 593. 54		
Auto.....	4, 094. 10	1, 013. 44		
Textile.....	2, 786. 61	781. 00		
Railroad.....	1, 997. 75	1, 250. 00		
Marine.....	1, 858. 75	2, 998. 55		
Unemployed.....	1, 085. 00	95. 00		
Metal.....	205. 00			
Rubber.....			\$85. 00	\$200. 00
Oil.....			490. 00	18. 00
Mining.....			135. 00	675. 00
District No. 17.....			120. 00	462. 54
Miscellaneous.....			978. 45	1, 986. 82
Total.....			19, 345. 85	13, 073. 89

SCHEDULE 3—Subsidies—Districts

	1937	1936		1937	1936
District:			District—Continued.		
1.....	\$485.00	\$484.00	20.....	\$1,257.09	\$842.43
2.....			21.....	1,307.00	1,772.38
3.....	521.00	1,061.85	22.....	749.00	734.50
4.....	625.00	221.81	23.....	840.25	853.89
5.....	2,910.00	2,473.89	24.....	1,398.80	1,115.51
6.....	1,510.00	1,053.50	25.....	1,675.94	1,101.42
7.....	364.00	116.00	26.....	372.72	5.00
8.....	1,210.00	123.00	27.....	830.00	683.00
9.....	1,305.66	8.94	28.....	720.00	367.95
10.....	878.00	941.02	29.....	1,404.91	1,600.05
11.....	299.94	99.55	30.....	1,349.03	435.00
12.....	115.75	60.19	31.....	809.90	326.39
13.....	143.25	1,501.31	32.....	623.00	419.57
14.....	30.00	317.00	33.....	1,024.60	-----
15.....	-----	-----	34.....	93.75	-----
16.....	3,056.61	1,581.42	35.....	245.00	-----
17.....	3,057.64	3,854.22	Total.....	31,979.92	25,548.14
18.....	443.43	589.79			
19.....	323.65	803.34			

Mr. STEELE. Higher-ups in the party are known as professional revolutionists. That is according to their manual. That is the name that they give them. Here is what they say a professional revolutionist is:

A professional revolutionist is a highly developed comrade, trained in revolutionary theory and practice, tested in struggles, who gives his whole life to the fight for the interest of his own class.

A professional revolutionist is ready to go whenever and wherever the party sends him. Today, he may be working in a mine organizing the party, the trade-unions, leading struggles; tomorrow, if the party decides, he may be in a steel mill; the day after tomorrow he may be a leader and organizer of the unemployed. Naturally, these professional revolutionists are supported by the party organization if their assignment doesn't send them to work in shops or mines. From these comrades the party demands everything. They accept party assignments—the matter of family associations and other personal problems are considered but are not decisive. If the class struggle demand sit, he will leave his family for months, even years. The professional revolutionist cannot be demoralized; he is steeled, stable. Nothing can shake him. Our task is to make every party member a professional revolutionist in this sense.

That is in their manual which I presented awhile ago.

Every party member is commissioned, as they state there, to the—organizing and leading of the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of a new-world Soviet America.

I have already stated that the Communist Party admits that they do carry out the Third International's decisions, but I have quoted some more here on that subject; also to the effect that these things are binding upon the party members.

The Communist does not believe in morals. He believes in doing and stating anything in the interest of communism. Therefore, he does not hesitate to lie, deceive, conspire, sabotage, and so forth. He will emphatically deny, when placed in a serious position, that the Communist Party "takes orders from Moscow," that it "accepts Moscow gold." He will swear that Communists do not intend any harm to our constitutional form of government. For the purpose of meeting such denials in advance of the publication of my charges that they do take orders from Moscow and that they do accept and have accepted Moscow gold, I refer you to their own statements. That which I am about to quote is taken from the Communist Party Manual on Organi-

zation, an original copy of which I have presented to this committee of Congress in order that all the statements I am about to make can be verified. On page 23 of this document, the following statement may be found:

The lower party committees and all party members of the given organization have the duty of carrying out the decisions of the party committees and of the Communist International.

In other words, decisions of the Communist International and of other higher party committees are binding upon the lower bodies.

Party discipline is observed by the party members and party organizations because only those who agree with the program of the Communist Party and the Communist International can become members of the party.

After a decision has been made by the leading committees of the Communist International, by the central committee of the Communist Party, or by the national convention, this decision must be unreservedly carried out. * * * All decisions of the world congress and committees of the Communist International must be fulfilled by all parties of the Communist International.

It is clear that basic principles and decisions, such as for example the program of the Communist International, cannot be questioned in the party. * * * We cannot imagine a discussion, for example, questioning the correctness of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, or the necessity for the proletarian dictatorship. We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. * * * We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc., of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Party discipline is based upon the class consciousness of its members. * * * This discipline is based upon the acceptance of the Communist International and the party program and in accordance of the membership in the Communist International and in the central committee. * * *

I will show you, later on, their printed rules on how to lie and plot.

I have stated that the so-called political wing of the Communist movement in the United States, the Communist Party, is only one of the many angles of the Communist movement in our country.

I want now to list for you 640 national organizations which are affiliated, allied with, or carry on some phase of Communist Party line in the United States, or are cooperating in various ways with the movement as a whole. I am not going to read the list unless you want me to, of these 640 organizations, but I would like to insert them for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see about that. What evidence is there that they are connected with the Communist movement?

Mr. STEELE. The evidence is taken from their own party publications in the way of donations, and activities, which I will show later here.

The CHAIRMAN. You are taking statements that they have themselves made?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the officers of those organizations in a number of instances, those officers are known Communists?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The names of prominent Communists are found all through these organizations; is that a fact?

Mr. STEELE. I could not say that I have analyzed every one of the organizations from that angle. I have merely taken these names from their lists.

The CHAIRMAN. They claim that those organizations are front organizations for the Communist movement in the United States?

Mr. STEELE. They claim that they are active with their mass organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. And that they have been responsible for the organization of those various movements?

Mr. STEELE. No; I cannot say they have claimed that in every instance.

Mr. MASON. But they make use of them?

Mr. STEELE. That they have made use of each one of these organizations; yes. In other words, I can show, according to their own documents, that they have used them in their mass turn-outs. I would not have to exhibit anything further than the Daily Worker of April 30, for instance, where they published nearly this entire list.

Mr. MASON. I am curious to know if the League for Peace and Democracy is in that group.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. MOSIER. Is the C. I. O. in there?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir. Certain sections of it are.

Mr. MOSIER. Certain sections?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. The C. I. O. as a whole is not.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Labor's Non-Partisan League listed?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir. It is not included in this list.

Mr. THOMAS. In the donations which you refer to—you refer to donations from those organizations to the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; that is right. Those are occasionally published, and I have taken them from the published list here.

Mr. THOMAS. As you come to each organization, are you going to mention whether they made donations to the Communist Party or not?

Mr. STEELE. I have not listed them in that respect. I have included them in a list of donations. I have not described each of these organizations. I mean, I have described some of them, some of the larger ones, and their absolute connections. But I am including the list of donations as part of my evidence and where I obtained that information, to show the ones that do donate.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other evidence except the claims made by the Communists themselves?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. STARNES. Those claims were made in the Daily Worker.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; and some in other publications, the Party Organizer and other publications they control. For instance, the Party Organizer is gotten out by the central committee of the Communist Party. You will find some of these matters in the Daily Worker and in some other publications. If you want me to read them, I will do so.

The CHAIRMAN. That will not be necessary.

Mr. STEELE. Some of these are organizations among the employed and unemployed, and some are known as sports, educational, and cultural movements. Some are youth movements, and some of them are known as defense and legal aid movements. There are some atheist movements, and there are some of miscellaneous types. I will submit this for the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

I have stated that the so-called "political" wing of the Communist movement in the United States, the Communist Party, is only one of the many angles

of the Communist movement in our country. I want to now list for you 640 national organizations which are affiliated and allied with, or are carrying on some phase of the Communist line in the United States or are cooperating in various ways with the movement as a whole.

ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING AMONG EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. Alaska Cannery Workers Union (sections).
2. Amalgamated Cloth Workers Industrial Union (sections).
3. American Artists Schools.
4. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
5. American Communications Association (sections).
6. American Federation of Labor Trade Union Committee for Unemployed and Relief.
7. American Federation of Labor Rank and File Committee.
8. American Russian Institute.
9. American League for Peace and Democracy (formerly American League Against War and Facism).
10. American League of Playwrights.
11. American Negro Labor Congress.
12. American Social Democratic Party.
13. American Veterans Association.
14. American West Indian Defense Committee.
15. Anti-Eviction Committee.
16. Anti-Facist Committee.
17. Anti-Facist League.
18. Anti-Facist Literature Committee.
19. Anti-Mortgage Foreclosure Committee.
20. Anti-Nazi Federation.
21. Associated Workers Club.
22. Austrian Fighters of Facism.
23. Auto Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
24. Auto Workers Union (sections of).
25. Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America.
26. Bermuda Benevolent Association.
27. Bollettino de Information (Italian).
28. Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants Unions.
29. Book Managers Corporation.
30. Bricklayers Section, The.
31. Brooklyn Finnish Society.
32. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers, District C, No. 9.
33. Building and Construction Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
34. Building Maintenance Workers Union.
35. The Building Trades Industrial League.
36. Butchers, Poultry and Meat Cutters Union (section of the Food Workers Industrial Union).
37. Cafeteria Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
38. California Conference on Repeal of Criminal Syndicalism Act.
39. Cannery and Field Workers Union (now in C. I. O.).
40. Cannery and Agricultural Workers Ind. Union (now in C. I. O.).
41. Carpenters Section, The.
42. C. C. C. Protective League (organized in Government C. C. C. units), now in Workers Alliance.
43. C. C. C. Workers League.
44. Central Literature Distributors.
45. Charity Workers Union.
46. Chilean Workers Club.
47. China and Glassware Workers Union.
48. China Glass Workers.
49. Chinese Anti-Imperialist Alliance.
50. Chinese People's Association for Salvation of China.
51. Chinese Seamen's Patriotic Association.
52. Chinese Vanguard.
53. Chinese Workers Center.
54. Chinese Workers Club.
55. C. I. O. (sections of).

56. Civil Service Workers Unit, C. P.
57. Cleaners, Dyers, and Pressers Union.
58. Club Obrero Espanol.
59. Comitato Italian Anti-Fascista.
60. Comite Pro-Democracia Espanol.
61. Committee Brass Workers Industrial Union.
62. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Workers.
63. Committee To Aid Victims of German Facism.
64. Confederation Opera Mexicana.
65. Confederation of Spanish Societies.
66. Cooperative Meat and Grocery Workers.
67. Cooperative Opticians.
68. Croatian American Workers Club.
69. Croatian Club.
70. Custom Tailoring Works Independent Union.
71. Dairy Workers Industrial Union.
72. Dental Technicians Unit C. P., N. Y. C.
73. Descendants of American Revolution.
74. Detroit Workers Cooperative.
75. Deutscher Anti-Faschisten.
76. Domestic Workers Independent Union, The.
77. Domestic Workers Union.
78. Drug Clerks Union.
79. Empire State Motion Pictures Operators Union.
80. E. R. B. unit D. O. 17 (New York City).
81. E. R. B. Workers Union, D. O. 26 (N. Y. C.).
82. Esthonian Workers Club.
83. Ethiopian World Federation.
84. Ex-service Men's League (offices in 60 cities).
85. Farmers Committee of Action.
86. Farmer-Labor Party.
87. Farmers Regional Committee of Action.
88. Federal Workers Branch.
89. Federation Du Front Populaire (American Section, New York City).
90. Federation of Flat Glass Workers.
91. Federation of Workers and Farmers.
92. Filipino-American Citizenship League.
93. Filipino Workers Club.
94. Finnish Farmers Club.
95. Finnish Federation.
96. Finnish Women's Club.
97. Finnish Workers Club.
98. Finnish Workers Federation (INTO).
99. Finnish Workingmen's Association (INTO).
100. Finnish Workers Progressive Society.
101. Flambean Troopers.
102. Food Workers Independent Union.
103. Fortune Magazine, C. P. Unit.
104. Fraternal Orders Committee (Communist C. I. O. movement).
105. Freiheit Arbeiter Club.
106. Frente Popular Espanole.
107. Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York City.
108. Friends of the Chinese People.
109. Friends of Garibaldi Brigade.
110. Friends of Loyalist Spain.
111. Friends of New Masses.
112. Friends of Workers Education.
113. Fruit Workers Independent Union.
114. Furniture Workers Union (some locals of).
115. Furriers Joint Council of New York.
116. Furrier Workers International.
117. Fur Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
118. Furniture Workers Industrial League (now in C. I. O.).
119. German-American Clubs.
120. German-American League for Culture.
121. German-Jewish Club.
122. German Workers Clubs.

123. Greater New York Coordinating Committee for Unemployment.
124. Greek Spartaens.
125. Group Social Workers.
126. Grupo Antorcha.
127. Habla Espanol.
128. Harlem Hospital Unit, C. P. (New York City).
129. Harlem Prolets.
130. Harlem Spanish Club.
131. Harlem Tenants League.
132. Home Relief Bureau Unit, C. P. (New York City).
133. Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union (now in C. I. O.).
134. Housewives League.
135. Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society.
136. Hungarian Women's Circle.
137. Hungarian Workers Club.
138. Icor.
139. Independent House Wreckers Union.
140. India Political Council.
141. Industrial House Wreckers Union.
142. International Mothers Club.
143. International Publishers.
144. International Seamen and Harbor Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
145. International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers.
146. International of War Vets and War Victims.
147. Irish American Trade Union.
148. Israel Zion Hospital Unit, C. P.
149. Italian Dressmakers Union No. 89.
150. Italian Unemployed Association.
151. Italian Workers Club.
152. Japanese Peace Society.
153. Jewelry Workers Industrial Union.
154. Jewish Peoples Committee Against Anti-Semitism and Fascism.
155. Jewish Workers Clubs.
156. Jewish Workers University.
157. Joint Board Dress and Waistmakers Union, New York City.
158. Jugoslav Workers Club.
159. Jules Mello Cuban Club.
160. Korean Society to Aid China.
161. Labor Sports Union (many leagues with many local teams).
162. La Liga Obreara de.
163. Lamb and Rabbit Workers Union Local No. 85.
164. Las Companeras.
165. Laundry Workers Union.
166. Lawyers Security League.
167. League of Professional Groups.
168. League of Struggle for Negro Rights.
169. Lettish Workers Club.
170. Liberators.
171. Lithuanian of America.
172. Lithuanian Workers Association.
173. Lumber Yard Workers.
174. Lumber Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
175. Lumber Yard Workers Union.
176. Macedonian Peoples League.
177. Maine Workers Industrial Union, The.
178. Mapleton Workers Club.
179. Medical Workers Industrial Union.
180. Metal Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.)
181. Metropolitan Hospital, C. P. Union, New York City.
182. Michigan Farmers League.
183. Millinery Workers Independent Union (now in C. I. O.).
184. The Mine Smelter Oil Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
185. Modern Book Shops.
186. Mt. Sinai Hospital Unit, C. P.
187. Nailebu.
188. National Auto Workers Independent Union (now in C. I. O.).

189. National Brotherhood Unity Movement.
190. National Committee of Action.
191. National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.
192. National Convention Committee Against Unemployed.
193. National Croppers Union (now in C. I. O.).
194. National Maritime Union of America, New York City (now in C. I. O.).
195. The National Miners Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
196. National Negro Congress.
197. National Railroad Industrial League.
198. National Railroad Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
199. National Slovak Society.
200. National Textile Workers Union (now in C. I. O.).
201. Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
202. New and Old Woolen Clips Workers Union.
203. New York Clothing Cutters Union No. 4.
204. New York Urban League (some branches of).
205. North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
206. Noxy Mir Club.
207. Nurses and Hospital Workers League.
208. Office Workers Union (now in C. I. O.).
209. Oil and Refinery Workers Union (now in C. I. O.).
210. Packing House Workers Independent Union (now in C. I. O.).
211. Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (operates in Latin and South America in conjunction with United States Communist branches).
212. Paper and Wood Box Workers Industrial Union.
213. Paper Workers League.
214. Parents Teachers Associations (certain locals).
215. Pen and Hammer Club.
216. Peoples Front.
217. Philadelphia Fur Workers Industrial Union.
218. Photographic Workers Union.
219. Pioneer Publishing Co.
220. Pioneer Women's Organization.
221. The Plumbers Group.
222. Pocketbook Workers.
223. Popular Front German Immigrants.
224. Portuguese Workers Clubs.
225. Poster Project Union of W. P. A., New York City.
226. Press League, The.
227. Printers Industrial Union, The.
228. Professional Guild.
229. Progress Builders of America.
230. Progressive Book Shops.
231. Progressive Women's Council.
232. Provisional Committee for Defense of Trade Unions.
233. Public Library Unit, C. P., New York City.
234. Railroad Amalgamated Committee.
235. Railroad Brotherhood Unity Leagues.
236. Rank and File Cutters League.
237. Rank and File Union Committee.
238. Red Builders.
239. Red Front, The (military unit).
240. Relief Workers Protective Union (organized in F. E. R. A. and other relief organizations of the Government—now in Workers Alliance).
241. The Rubber Workers Independent Union (now in C. I. O.).
242. Russian Workers Cooperative Restaurant.
243. Russian Workers Club.
244. Russian Progressive Group.
245. Russian-Ukrainian Colony.
246. Scandinavian Workers Club of Boston.
247. Scandinavian Workers Club.
248. Sheet and Metal Workers Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
249. The Shoe and Leather Industrial Union (now in C. I. O.).
250. Slovak Workers Club.
251. Small Farmer League.
252. Southern Tenant Farmers.
253. South Slavic Union.

254. Sugar Beet Workers Union (now in C. I. O.).
255. Suitcase and Bag Workers Union.
256. Sunnyside Hill Branch, C. P.
257. Taxi Workers Union.
258. Teachers League for Academic Freedom.
259. Teachers Union.
260. Telegraph Messengers Union (now in C. I. O.).
261. Tenants League.
262. Textile Workers Union (sections of).
263. Textile Arts Committee.
264. Theatre Collective and Theatre Union.
265. Thomas Paine Committee.
266. Tobacco Workers Industrial Union, The (now in C. I. O.).
267. Tomachay Talmud Torah.
268. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief.
269. Trade Union Council (many union committees).
270. Trade Union Educational League.
271. Trade Union Unity League (formerly composed of national unions with many locals and cells—now head of the units in the C. I. O. and A. F. L. rank and file).
272. Trade Union Youth Committee.
273. Tunnel Workers Industrial Union.
274. Twentieth Century Bookshop.
275. Tyomies Society.
276. Ukrainian Labor Club.
277. Ukrainian Proletarian Writers.
278. Ukrainian Workers Clubs.
279. Unemployed Councils (organized within 38 States and in hundreds of cities now in the Workers Alliance).
280. Unemployed Teachers Association.
281. Unemployed White Collar Workers Committee.
282. Unemployed Writers Association (now in Workers Alliance).
283. Unione Nazionale Degle Amici Della Brigate Garibaldi.
284. Union of Revolutionary Writers.
285. Unit 2287, Bricklayer's (Yorkville, N. Y.).
286. United Council of Working Class Women.
287. United Farmers League.
288. United Farmers Action Committee.
289. United Election Front Committees.
290. United Electric and Radio Workers of America (now in C. I. O.).
291. United Front Committees.
292. United Front For Stockyard Workers Committee.
293. United Korean Society.
294. United Poultry Workers Union (section Food Workers Industrial Union).
295. United Retail Drug Store Employees of Greater New York.
296. United Sausage Workers Union.
297. United Spanish Women's Committee.
298. United Ukrainian Toilers.
299. United Workers Organization.
300. Universum Publishers and Distributors.
301. Vanguard Community Center.
302. Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Battalion.
303. Veterans League.
304. Veterans National Liaison Committee.
305. Veterans National Rank and File.
306. Waiters and Waitress Union, Local No. 2.
307. Waldorf Astoria Hotel Unit, C. P.
308. White Collar Workers Union.
309. Window Cleaners Union, The.
310. Women's League Against the High Cost of Living.
311. Workers Alliance of America.
312. Workers Center Barber Shops, New York City.
313. Workers Cooperative Organization.
314. Women's Council.
315. Workers Ex-service Men's League.
316. Workers and Farmers Cooperative Alliance.
317. Workers and Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance.

- 318. Workers of H. R. B.
- 319. Workers of International Revolution.
- 320. Workers Library Publishers.
- 321. Workers Music League.
- 322. Workers Relief Protective Union.
- 323. Workers Protective Union (operates among relief workers), now in
Workers Alliance.
- 324. W. P. A. Elevator Operators and Porters, (New York City).
- 325. W. P. A. Engineers Unit, C.P.
- 326. W. P. A. Teachers Union.
- 327. Writers Organizing Committee.
- 328. Writers Union, The.

SPORTS AND EDUCATION CULTURAL GROUPS AND MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

- 1. Afro-American League.
- 2. American Dance Association.
- 3. American Hungarian Singing Society, The.
- 4. American League Against War and Fascism.
- 5. American League Theatre.
- 6. American Music Alliance.
- 7. American Prolet-kino.
- 8. American Revolutionary Dancers.
- 9. American Russian Chamber of Commerce.
- 10. American Workers Club.
- 11. American Writers Congress.
- 12. American Youth Federation.
- 13. Arbeiter Saengenchor.
- 14. Artef (Jewish) Theatre.
- 15. Artef Players Collective.
- 16. Artists Union.
- 17. Art Students League and John Reed Clubs.
- 18. Association of Friends of Independent Film Criticism.
- 19. Authors League.
- 20. Blue Blouse Drama Studio, Chicago.
- 21. Blue Blouse Group of San Francisco.
- 22. Blue Blouse Theatres.
- 23. Book Union, Inc.
- 24. Bow Park Workers Club.
- 25. Bulgarian Macedonian Workers Educational Club.
- 26. Bronx Workers Club, The.
- 27. Cameo Theater (New York City).
- 28. Camp Followers of the Trail.
- 29. Central Pioneer Bureau.
- 30. Century Theatre (New York City).
- 31. Chinese Cultural Club.
- 32. Civic Club, The.
- 33. Cleveland Workers Theatre Spartakaide.
- 34. Club Clover.
- 35. Congress of American Revolutionary Writers.
- 36. Crammercy Art Group.
- 37. Croatian Singing Society.
- 38. Downtown Music School.
- 39. Drama League of America.
- 40. East Side Dramatic Group.
- 41. East Side Hungarian Singing Circle.
- 42. East Side Photo Club.
- 43. Eastern District Soccer League.
- 44. Education Workers League.
- 45. Epieurus Educational League (Lowell, Mass.)
- 46. Esthonian Sport Club.
- 47. Federal Theatre Workers (New York City).
- 48. Film League.
- 49. Frederick Engels Club.
- 50. Finnish Cultural Federation, The
- 51. Finnish Workers Educational Alliance.

52. Finnish Workers Cultural Federation.
53. First National Workers Theatre Council, The
54. Freiheit Gezang Verein.
55. Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra (New York City).
56. The Friends of the Soviet Union.
57. Garrison Films Co.
58. Garrison Film Distributors.
59. Greek Workers Educational Federation.
60. Greek Workers Educational League.
61. Harlem Experimental Theatre.
62. The Hoe and Hammer League.
63. Homeless Youth of America.
64. Hospital Workers League.
65. Hungarian Proletarian Writers League.
66. ICOR.
67. Industrial Union Party, The.
68. International of Adult Education.
69. The International Book Stores (all large cities).
70. International Peasant Council.
71. International Union of the Revolutionary Theatres.
72. International Workers Order.
73. International Workers Order Schools (116 cities).
74. International Workers Theatre Olympiad.
75. Italian Drama Section, Harlem.
76. Jack London Clubs.
77. Jack London Drama Club.
78. The Japanese Cultural Federation.
79. Jewish Workers Clubs.
80. John Reed Art League.
81. John Reed Club, The.
82. John Reed School of Art.
83. John Reed Writers Club, The.
84. John Reed Writers Group.
85. Labor Research Association.
86. Labor Sports Union of America.
87. League of Professional Groups (professors, writers, artists, etc.).
88. League of Propsownel Group D.
89. League of Workers Theatres.
90. League of Workers' Theatres of United States of America.
91. Lettish Club, The.
92. Lithuanian Literary and Dramatic Club.
93. Lithuanian Literary Society.
94. Little Theatre (shows Communist plays and pictures).
- 94^{1/2}. Marxian School, The.
95. Maxim Gorky Cultural Federation.
96. Midwest Workers Cultural Federation.
97. Modern School of Music.
98. Moscow Summer Institute Committee in United States of America.
99. Mothers League, The.
100. National Committee Against Censorship of The Theatre.
101. National Cultural Council.
102. National Education Committee, I. L. D.
103. National Film and Photo League.
104. National Film and Photo League of W. I. R.
105. National Friends Photo Group.
106. National Legion of Youth Against War, The.
107. National Student League (now American Student Union).
108. National Training School.
109. National Twiner Clubs.
110. National Youth Committee Against War and Fascism.
111. Nature's Friends.
112. Nature Friends Dance Group.
113. New Dance Group.
114. New Duncan Dance Group.
115. New Masses Clubs.
116. New Singers Club.
117. New Star Recording Co.

118. New Theatre League.
119. New York Film and Photo League.
120. New York Workers Theatre Spartakade.
121. Philosophers Club.
122. Proletarian Camps.
123. Proletarian Dramatic Society of America.
124. Prolet-Buhne (German Theatre).
125. Prolet-Buhne German agit-prop troop.
126. Proletpen.
127. Psychologist League.
128. Rebel Dance Group of Newark.
129. Rebel Players, The.
130. Rebel Poets.
131. Red Dancers.
132. Red Dancers of the W. I. R.
133. Red Players.
134. Red Poet, The.
135. Red Sports Athletic Clubs.
136. Revolutionary Writers Federation.
137. Revolutionary Writers Federation of America.
138. Russia Progress in Women Society.
139. Russian Cooperative Association.
140. Russian Educational Society.
141. Russian Godless Society.
142. Russian Jewish Workers Club.
143. Russian Workers Dramatic Group.
144. The Save Our Schools Committee.
145. Scandinavian Club.
146. Scandinavian Workers Athletic Club.
147. Slovenian Singing Society (Sloga).
148. Social Dance Group Studio.
149. Society for Cultural Relations With Soviet Russia.
150. Soviet Union Information Bureau.
151. Sport Aces Youth Clubs.
152. Squeeros Experimental Workshop (New York City).
153. Summer Training Camps (under various names, "Nitgedaaget," "Unity").
154. Theatre of Action.
155. Theatre Club, The.
156. Theatre Collective, The.
157. Theatre Collective Dance Group.
158. Theatre Guild.
159. Theatre of Workers Schools.
160. Timely Recording Co.
161. Timely Records, Inc.
162. Torgsen.
163. Tourist Bureaus (various names).
164. Ukranian Drum Circle.
165. Union Cultural Mexicana.
166. United American Artists.
167. United Armenian Committee to Aid Soviet Armenia.
168. United Council of Working Class Women.
169. United Farmers Educational League.
170. United Workers Cooperative Colonies.
171. Vanguard Dance Group.
172. Visual Education Service.
173. West Side Hungarian Working Women's Singing Society.
174. Women's League, The.
175. Workers of American Museum of Natural History.
176. Workers Book Shops, The.
177. Workers Camps (32 cities).
178. Workers Centers, The (1,500 or more cities in United States of America).
179. Workers Circulating Libraries.
180. Workers Cultural Federation, The.
181. Workers Dance League.
182. Workers Dramatic Council.
183. Workers Dramatic League, The.
184. Workers Education Conference.

185. Workers Film & Photo League, The.
186. Workers Forums.
187. Workers Gymnastic and Sports Alliance, The.
188. Workers International Hiking and Outdoor Organization.
189. Workers Laboratory Theatre.
190. Workers Music League.
191. Workers Reading Clubs.
192. Workers Schools (178 cities).
193. Workers School Forum, The.
194. Workers Sick and Death Benefit Fund of United States of America.
195. Workers Soccer League, The.
196. Workers Short Wave Club, The.
196. Workers Sport League.
197. Workers Theatres.
198. Working Men's Society Benevolent and Educational Federation.
199. Workmen's Singing Society.
200. Young Workers Dance League, The.

MOVEMENTS AMONG THE YOUTH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. American League Against War and Fascism (now American League For Peace and Freedom).
2. American Student Union.
3. American Youth Club.
4. American Youth Congress.
5. American Youth Social Club.
6. Blue Blouses, The.
7. Camps in the United States.
8. Chinese Youth Club.
9. Clubs (dance, art, writers, strike, interracial, etc.).
10. College News.
11. Fight.
12. Friends of Workers Children.
13. Homeless Youth of America.
14. Intercollegiate Russian Students of America.
15. International Youth.
16. IWO Jewish Schools.
17. John Reed Youth House.
18. John Reed Y.C.L.
19. Junior Red Dancers.
20. Labor Sports Magazine.
21. Liberator, The.
22. Lithuanian Youth Committee.
23. National Students League (now American Student Union).
24. New Pioneers.
25. October Clubs.
26. New Youth Group.
27. Pioneer Youth of America, Inc.
28. Rebel Guard, The.
29. Red Star Troops.
30. Russian American Youth Club.
31. Schools in United States.
32. Society for Advancement of Young Musicians.
33. Southern Negro Youth Congress.
34. Spartakus Sport Club.
35. Student Review.
36. Students Rights Association.
37. Students World Committee.
38. Sunday Schools (atheism).
39. Unattached Youth, The.
40. United Children's Camp Society.
41. United Peace Committee.
42. United Youth League.
43. United Youth Organization.
44. W. I. R. Shock Brigade Troops.
45. Workers Child, The.
46. World Youth Congress.

47. W. P. A.—Y. C. L. League.
48. Workers International Relief Scouts.
49. Young Communist.
50. Young Communist League of United States of America.
51. Young Defenders of Spanish Democracy.
52. Young Labor Poets of America.
53. Young Liberators.
54. Youth (Communist) Publications in United States.
55. Youth Publishers, New York City.
56. Young Comrade.
57. Young Defenders, The.
58. Young Liberators.
59. Young Pioneers of America.
60. Young Spark, The.
61. Young Worker.
62. Young Workers Shock Troops, etc.

“DEFENSIVE” AND “LEGAL AID” MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. All-American Anti-Imperialist League.
2. American Civil Liberties Union.
3. American Fund for Public Service.
4. Anti-Fascist Action.
5. Anti-Fascist League.
6. Anti-Horthy League.
7. Emergency Committee for Relief of Southern Political Prisoners.
8. Free Speech Defense League.
9. Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society.
10. International Labor Defense.
11. International Workers Order.
12. Mother Bloor Defense Committee.
13. National Committee for Defense of Herndon.
14. National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.
15. National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners.
16. National Committee for Defense of Scottsboro Boys.
17. National Committee for Liberation of Mooney-Billings.
18. National Council for Protection of Foreign Born.
19. National Mooney Council of Action.
20. Prisoners Relief Committee.
21. Prisoners Relief Fund.
22. Professional League for Civil Rights.
23. Red Fighters League.
24. Red Front (military unit).
25. Russian Mutual Aid Society.
26. Scottsboro Action Committee.
27. Scottsboro Defense Committee.
28. United Anti-Imperialist Forces of China in U. S. A.
29. United Committee Against Child Starvation.
30. Workers International Relief.
31. Workmen's Sick, Benevolent and Education Federation.
32. Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Brooklyn.
33. Writers Protest Committee, etc.

ATHEIST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. And All Communist branches.
2. Communist Party of the United States of America.
3. Egrotocrat Clubs.
4. Open Forums.

Mr. STEELE. In a letter dated June 16, 1936, written by Herbert S. Frankel, marketing consultant for one of the official organs of the Communist Party, the Daily Worker, published in New York City, Frankel states to a prospective client that “The Daily Worker, through the organizations it influences, covers 800,000 industrial workers in the metropolitan area.”

This letter was sent to an advertising agency in New York City, by the way, and it states in this letter, soliciting advertising accounts, that—

The Daily Worker, through the organizations it influences, covers 800,000 industrial workers in the Metropolitan area.

It further states that—

Among these organizations are over 50,000 members of the International Workers Order, over 7,000 members of the Progressive Women's Council and its influence in practically every trade-union. The loyalty, which I mention, properly directed, can be focused on any product your advertising accounts market.

He says further—

In making an analysis, I found that for the past 14 years, the Daily Worker has operated at an annual deficit. The deficit last year, alone, amounted to \$120,000.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have the total deficits of the Daily Worker for the last 2 years mentioned?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; I have it for what he said it was for that 1 year, and I notice that the Daily Worker has substantiated this amount by a statement made at the time they were launching a drive for donations.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he say how they made up the deficit?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; but I know they made a part of it up by donations.

Mr. THOMAS. From where?

Mr. STEELE. From different organizations and individuals. A list is in the Daily Worker. A part of the last I have here. However, they do not list many of the individuals or their names, but they do it by sections or States, and there is a miscellaneous statement of so much.

Mr. THOMAS. They do name certain organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; certain organizations and individuals.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you read the names of the organizations and the individuals?

Mr. STEELE. That is included in the last of organizations that I have just submitted. I have included them in that list of organizations.

Mr. THOMAS. Does it state definitely in the list of organizations whether they did make donations to make up the deficit of the Daily Worker?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; it does not. I did not have time to go into each one of the organizations that deeply.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have the names of a few of the organizations which helped to make up the deficit of the Daily Worker?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you name those few?

Mr. STEELE. The International Working Order was one, some of the Communist camps throughout the country and a number of left-wing labor organizations in New York.

Mr. THOMAS. Which ones were they?

Mr. STEELE. I would not want to say without referring to the list. I do not think it would be safe to say.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have the list right there?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; but I do not have it designated, showing which ones did contribute. That is the trouble.

Mr. Thomas. Will you submit to the committee a list of the organizations that helped to make up the last deficit of the Daily Worker?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Now, in another document, the Sunday Worker, which is another organ of the Communist Party, this statement appears:

The Communist Party is now celebrating its eighteenth anniversary. It has grown from a small sect into an important factor in the political life of our country. From a small pioneer group which first pointed the way on such questions as industrial unionism, independent political action, it has become a mature political party participating in movements that embrace millions.

That is from the Sunday Worker issue of September 5, 1937.

The Western Worker, which is another party organ, in stating the strength of the organization, made this statement:

Certainly there are more than 55,000 Communists in America today. There are thousands and thousands of workers, professionals, farmers, outside our ranks, that not only call themselves Communists, but act as Communists.

It says further—

It is no exaggeration to state that besides the 55,000 party members, there are today tens of thousands of individuals who are active in every field of the progressive movement, carrying out the line of the party in practice. They work shoulder to shoulder with the party members, following the party line through our press—through our mass activities and struggles in which the Communist Party is in the forefront.

In another place, the Party Organizer No. 6, volume 11, says that "Between 1936 and 1938" we notice that 582 industrial units were built, and they state that between 1936 and 1938 "the neighborhood branches increased to 14,000 more than a year ago."

It further says—

The figures of the employed in the shops since 1936 have tripled in light industries and increased substantially in basic industries. Where a real effort has been made, as an example in steel, the results are obvious.

They state that in 1936 only 12,000 party members had gotten into trade unions, whereas in 1938, 27,000 party members are active in trade unions. This does not include their mass organizations members who also swell left-wing labor ranks.

They claim that in October they had 7 units in the water-front unions, but that today they have 22 units therein.

The report states that in Detroit 8 new shop papers with 10,000 circulation, were established in 1937.

The agit-prop division of the Communist Party is one of the largest and most important divisions of the Communist movement in any country. So important is it that the Third International in point No. 1 of its program and regulations, issued to its sections throughout the world, including its section in the United States, states:

The press organs of the party must be managed by responsible Communists, who have proved their devotion to the cause.

Point No. 2 states—

The periodical and nonperiodical press and all party publishing concerns must be under the complete control of the party management.

Point No. 1 further states—

The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely communistic character and agree with the program and the decisions of the Third Communist International.

The No. 18 point rules—

All the leading press organs of the parties of all countries are obligated to print all important official documents of the executive committee of the Communist International.

These are the principal rules on propaganda, and they account for the largest Communist publications in the United States carrying all of the rulings and statements of the Third International.

The propagandists work in complete harmony with each other, preparing the ground work for the agitators. The writing is done chiefly by party members and by members of the American Writers League and the John Reed Club, both sections of the International of Revolutionary Writers. There are, as you will note in another section of this report, over 600 communistic publications printed and circulated in the United States, not including socialist, anarchist, and radical pacifist publications. There are more than 79 publications printed in Russia and shipped to this country.

HERBERT S. FRANKEL

MARKETING CONSULTANT

35 East Twelfth St., New York City.

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-7983.

FEBRUARY 24, 1938.

DEAR ———: Recently I have been commissioned by the Daily and Sunday Worker to represent its advertising and merchandising departments. Before accepting this commission, I made a thorough analysis of the paper and its history.

In making this analysis, I found that for the past 14 years the Daily Worker has operated at an annual deficit. The deficit last year alone amounted to \$120,000. I found that these annual deficits have always been met by voluntary contributions from its readers, contributions not from two or three monied individuals but in fives, dollars, and dimes from practically all of its readers.

This to me shows indisputable evidence of the loyalty which the Daily Worker commands from its readers and in the many spheres it influences. Loyalty such as this is priceless. Therefore, the advertising policy formulated is evolved around that loyalty.

In the past, the Daily Worker has attempted to do a job for many advertisers, rather than confining its powerful influence to benefiting one large advertiser in each field, and do an exceptionally good job of merchandising for that one.

The Daily Worker, through the organizations it influences, covers about 800,000 industrial workers in the metropolitan area. Among these organizations are over 50,000 members of the International Workers Order, over 7,000 members of the Progressive Women's Council, its own 40,600 readers, and its influence in practically every trade-union.

That loyalty, which I mention, properly directed, can be focused on any product your advertising accounts market, selling at a price the Daily Worker's followers can and are willing to pay, to an extent that tremendous results could be obtained by them, through the following merchandising campaign, at no added expense to you.

The plan is as follows:

1. One week prior to the first insertion of your account's copy a series of advertisements will be inserted by me in the Daily Worker appealing to the Daily Worker readers to exclusively patronize and choose the advertiser's products for their needs. These, I shall be glad to submit to you.

2. Simultaneously with the first insertion of your account's copy an open letter to the Daily Worker readers will be published appealing to them to buy that product. This letter, in one form or another, will be repeated from time to time throughout the account's advertising campaign.

3. Large posters showing your account's products and another set of large posters with another appeal will be posted in over 700 meeting halls and club-rooms in the metropolitan area.

4. A letter will be written to several hundred workers' organizations directing its members, their families, and friends to use those products.

5. Your account's advertisements in the Daily Worker will be discussed at many organizational meetings in conjunction with the financial condition of the Daily Worker.

This merchandising campaign is, without a doubt, the most intensive one that any publication of any size would or could do for you. It is bound to result in a tremendous amount of business for any merchant who is enterprising and has the imagination enough to visualize this market's possibilities.

During the course of an advertiser's campaign, preferably for an entire year, the Daily Worker would agree not to solicit any competitive product of its advertisers.

I firmly believe that with this plan the advertising percentage charged against gross sales for your account's products in Daily Worker space used could be reduced to such an amount as to prove infinitesimal.

Attached hereto is a statement from the Metropolitan News Co., dated June 16, 1936, and addressed to the Daily Worker showing that the paper is being sold on at least 4,100 newsstands in greater New York. This does not include paid subscriptions, or in the area outside mentioned. The circulation since then has grown and we have at least a 40,000 coverage in newsstands at present.

The Sunday Worker until last week had a circulation in the neighborhood of 100,000, but since February 12, 35,000 of that was lopped off, due to the fact that it will confine itself to covering the territory east of Pittsburgh. That 35,000 will be taken by the Mid-Western Record, whose first edition came out February 12.

The circulation west of the Rockies is being taken by a third unit, the People's World, published in San Francisco. It might be interesting to note that the Sunday Worker sold 5,000 copies weekly in San Francisco, which is more than that of the New York Times, notwithstanding the fact that it arrived in San Francisco 5 days after date of publication.

However, the Sunday Worker magazine section, which is a 12-page insert in the Sunday Worker, will appear in both the Mid-Western Record and the People's World. Its initial circulation will be in the neighborhood of 175,000 weekly.

The merchandising plan outlined does not include amusements, theatrical, and financial advertising.

Also attached hereto please find rate cards for both national and local display advertising.

Under separate cover I am mailing today copies of both papers and a descriptive booklet called "This Family Goes to Market." The booklet, I believe, you will find both interesting and enlightening. The Daily and Sunday Worker are recognized today as the most exciting and thought-provoking papers published in the United States. In addition its readers are among the most progressive thinking in the news world.

I would appreciate it if you would address any further inquiries, with regard to advertising in those publications, direct to me.

Hoping that the Daily Worker will be favored with your copy, I remain,

Very truly yours,

HERBERT S. FRANKEL,

HSF: NF

METROPOLITAN NEWS COMPANY

47-53 CHRYSTIE STREET

NEW YORK

Telephone: DRy Dock 4-7600.

JUNE 16, 1936.

DAILY WORKER,

50 E. 13th St., New York City.

(Attention: Mr. G. Wishnak.)

Dear Mr. WISHNAK: In reply to your letter of June 15, please be advised that we have over 4,100 stands in Greater New York, handling the Sunday Worker. This includes Greater New York only.

Very often people referring to the metropolitan area, refer to a radius of 50 miles from New York. In that case, we would have to give you a revised list. Please let us know exactly what territory you are referring to.

Yours very truly,

METROPOLITAN NEWS CO.
W.M. ROSE.

PROPAGANDA DISTRIBUTING CENTERS

The next point to be considered is the method and means of distribution of these publications. The Communists have set up a Nation-wide distribution machine. Not only do they maintain a Nation-wide sales force in the form of subscription solicitors and newsboys, but they also take advantage of the regular newsstand system of circulation. In addition, they have literature counters in all of their party offices, meeting places and club rooms. They maintain a regular bookstore chain. The chief of this is the "Workers' Library," with main offices located at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City. Its stores are located in the principal cities. We list herewith a few of the more important:

- 115½ West Heron Street., Aberdeen, Wash.
- 39 East Market, R. 304, Akron, Ohio.
- 501a North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md.
- 2475 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, Calif.
- 1907 North 5th Avenue, Birmingham, Ala.
- 8 Beach Street, Boston, Mass.
- 75½ Chippewa Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
- 119 Hamilton Street, Butte, Montana.
- 19 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Mass.
- 304 Federal Street, Camden, N. J.
- 200 West Van Buren, 1326 East Fifty-seventh St., Chicago, Ill.
- 540 Main Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- 1522 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
- 522 Mining Exchange Building, Denver, Colo.
- 218 Youngerman Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
- 2610 Clifford Street, Detroit, Mich.
- 28 East First Street, Duluth, Minn.
- 319 Bridge Street, Grand Rapids, Mich.
- 315½ So. Elm Street, Greensboro, N. C.
- 652 N. Western Avenue, Hollywood, Calif.
- Meridan Life Building, R. 301, Indianapolis, Ind.
- 226½ S. Spring Street, 2411½ Brooklyn Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
- 521 State Street, Madison, Wis.
- 914 North Plankinton Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.
- 631 Third Avenue, South, Minneapolis, Minn.
- 216 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.
- 38 High Street, New Haven, Conn.
- 130 Chartres Street, New Orleans, La.
- 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.
- 491 Tenth Street, Oakland, Calif.
- 129½ W. Grand Avenue, Oklahoma City, Okla.
- 301 Kurbach Block, Omaha, Nebraska.
- 201 Market Street, Paterson, N. J.
- 104 South Ninth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- 508 Court Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- 323 Southwest Salmon Street, Portland, Oreg.
- 335 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.
- 205 State Street, Racine, Wis.
- 224 North Ninth Street, Reading, Pa.
- 205 North Second Avenue, Richmond, Va.
- 1024 Sixth Street, Sacramento, Calif.
- 3520 Franklin Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
- 26 East Fourth Street, St. Paul, Minn.

- 74 West First, South, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 625 E Street, San Diego, Calif.
 170 Golden Gate Avenue, 1609 O'Farrell Street, 15 Embarcadero, San Francisco, Calif.
 244 West Sixth Street, San Pedro, Calif.
 208 West Sixth Street, San Pedro, Calif.
 208 West Canon Perdido, Santa Barbara, Calif.
 701 Pine Street, Seattle, Wash.
 114 North Bernard, Spokane, Wash.
 601 Tower Avenue, Superior, Wisc.
 1004 Tacoma Avenue, Tacoma, Wash.
 214 Michigan, Toledo, Ohio.
 509 G Street, NW., Washington, D. C.
 114 East Federal Street, Youngstown, Ohio.

Each of the above listed offices has a mail order division. Publications are also circulated through agents. Each of the 15,000 sections of the Communist Party is ordered to promote the distribution of red literature in its locality and many left wing union centers sell and distribute same. All Communist camps and schools are distribution centers. Many saloons and pool rooms also sell communist publications, as do some barber shops in foreign sections of many of our industrial centers.

There is a People's Book Store chain and a Progressive Book Store chain, as well as an International Publishers system of stores. For instance, in New Orleans the People's Book Store at 130 Chartres Street, and the People's Book Store, 204 West Second Street, Richmond, Va., are branches of this chain. Some of the stores are camouflaged with regard to the names thereof, such as the Holyoke Book Shop at Harvard University, and the Jane Speeds Book Store at Birmingham.

The May 31, 1938 (p. 9), issue of *New Masses* published a statement which read in part:

Today International Publishers supplies the party with the books it needs to promote political understanding among its members. * * *

Alexander Trachtenberg, born in Odessa, Russia, November 23, 1885, is the manager of International Publishers. He is a Yale graduate. While at Yale he became active in radical student activities. He was president of the Trinity College Socialist Society in 1910, and president of the Yale Socialist Club in 1911-13. From 1914 to 1915 he was organizer and treasurer of the Collegiate Anti-Militarist League. In 1913 he was a delegate to the International Congress of Students in Europe. He was active in American Socialist Party movements in 1906, and became secretary of the Russian Social-Democrats of New York in 1907.

Trachtenberg joined the Communist Party in 1921. In 1921 he was secretary of the American Labor Alliance for Russian recognition, and also Director of Records for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (a C. I. O. unit). He was the delegate to the Fourth International Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1922, a member of the executive committee of the Third International in 1923; Communist Party candidate for Congress from the Tenth Congressional District in New York in 1924; member of the Teachers' Union of New York; candidate for Communist Party in 1930 Congressional elections, and again in city elections in New York City in 1936. He is at the present time a member

of the central committee of the Communist Party (Daily Worker, March 28, 1938, p. 3). He is a member of the sponsoring committee of the American Student Union; board of directors, American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy; editorial board, Book Union (a "best-book-of-the-month" club); national committee, International Workers' Aid; member of the Workers' Cultural Federation. Trachtenberg was a member of the executive committee of the Workers' (Communist) Schools in New York City in 1931, and headed the Communist Convention Committee in 1936.

"Universum Publishers and Distributors," with offices at 38 Union Square, New York City, with Abraham Kertesz as manager, are also publishers and distributors of some 11 or more Communist newspapers printed in the German language, and hundreds of Communist books and pamphlets all printed in German for distribution among the German-speaking people in the United States. The authors of some of their more widely circulated publications include Clara Zetkin, George Dimitrov, Joseph Stalin, Karl Marx, Frederic Engels, Zur Muhlen, Smirnoff, Heckert, Weiskopf, Wolf, Laserstein, Kirov, Ehrenburg, Rubinstein, Becher, Katz, Heller, Kun, Kersten, Sokolow, Hirsch, Neubauer, Losowski, Radek, Muzenberg, Wolen, Segal, Ruhle-Gerstel, Lassale, Bucharin, Rothstein, Motylewa, Patnizki, Grinko, Agnes Smedley, Gorki, and Weinberg.

The Timely Recording Co., of New York City, produces and sells Communist propaganda records for amplifying systems. These records deal with various angles of communism. Some of the recorded songs are Rise-Up, Internationale, Forward, United Front, Soup Song, Sit-Down, and Solidarity. These records are produced under the supervision of the German refugee, Hans Eisler, who, we understand, is connected with the Works Progress Administration music project. Max Blitzenstein directs the orchestration, and the Bausman-Groverman Singers vocalize.

The American Russian Institute, of New York City, headed by Dr. George Connts, Lewis Gannett, Mary Van Kleeck, John A. Kingsbury, Allan Hirsch, Aaron Bodansky, John Rothschild, Maurice Wertheim, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and others, is circulating 70 Russian periodicals relating to the Communist government of Russia.

The following statement appeared in the May 31, 1938, issue of New Masses (p. 9):

But publishing means less than nothing without distribution, which brings us around to Workers' Bookshops, one of the largest book store chains in America. * * * They sell more magazines, pamphlets, and almost as many books as any other book store in America.

We mentioned that at the 1938 congress of the Communist Party, held in New York City, a resolution was adopted to distribute 15,000,000 pieces of literature in the United States during the present year (1938). Communists already claim to have saturated our libraries and schools with the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and the 100,000 copies already on the book shelves will be supplemented with many additional volumes in the near future. The Communists have issued millions of books and pamphlets in the last 2 years on possibly 500 different subjects. In their Guide to Readings on Communism, issued by the Workers' Bookshops in New York City, 136 different special titles are listed in the "suggested reading" columns.

These are all published by the "reds" in the United States. The titles range from subjects like *Why Communism*, by Moissaye J. Olgin; *Communist Manifesto*, by Marx and Engels; *Foundation of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin; *Communism in the United States*, by Earl Browder; to *Problems of Revolution, State and Revolution*, by Lenin; *Jews Without Money*, by Mike Gold. A little so-called "culture" is said to be included in the book *Red Virtue*, by Ella Winter; Jack Conroy adds his offering of *A World to Win*; Agnes Smedley, *Chinese Destinies*; *Lenin on the Woman Question*, the *Road to Negro Liberation*; *Social Planning in the Soviet Union*, by Corliss Lamont, the son of a Wall Street Banker; the *Program of the American Youth Congress*, the *Most Burning Question—Unity of Action*, by Bela Kuhn; *A Labor Party for My Workers*, by Israel Amter, are among the many books included in the "red" list of books and pamphlets.

A complete formula is published by the "reds" on ship papers. All "red" units in industry are urged to issue shop agitational papers at intervals until they become strongly entrenched to such an extent that they are in a position to issue regular publications for the shop. The *Shop Paper Manual*, issued by the Communist Party, is prepared by Gertrude Haessler. It outlines the importance of shop papers to agitation for strikes, in keeping strikes in operation, for Communist organization and action. The manual instructs agents in the financing of such papers; how to prepare and issue them, and how to circulate them. It suggests that abbreviation of names of Communist organizations be used to hide the real names thereof from the authorities, and emphasizes the injecting of the words "Defend the Soviet Union" in all publications.

The publication of *Science and Society*, a Marxian quarterly, was announced in *New Masses*, June 28, 1938. The list of writers includes Communists, Socialists, and other types of radicals. The announcement stated the articles are "uncompromisingly Marxian in scope and direction."

The publishing houses in the United States include International Publishers, Inc., New York City; Vanguard Press, New York City; Comprodaily Publishing Co., New York City; Workers' Library Publishers, New York City; New Age Publishers, New York City; Youth Publishers, New York City; New Pioneer Publishing Co., New York City; Working Women Publishing Co., New York City; Women Today Publishing Co., New York City; World Publishing Co., Chicago; Weekly Masses Co., New York City; World Publishing Co., San Francisco.

There are published in the United States over 600 regular Communist and pro-Communist line publications, 482 or more in the English language, and approximately 100 in foreign languages. In addition, some 100 regularly issued publications are printed in English, as well as in other languages in Russia and sent to the Communist centers in the United States for general distribution. We list below the publications, the names of such as we have been able to obtain. In addition to these, according to Communist reports, there are several hundred shop, local committee, and organization papers published by the Communists. Add to these the millions of copies of books and pamphlets published and circulated by the "reds" in the

United States, to say nothing of the millions of agitational handbills, and you may have at least a vague idea of the world's largest monopolized press and propaganda mill, directed at the undermining of American institutions and ideals in the hope that a "Soviet America" may some day be shackled upon our people. (Exhibited display board before the committee containing original copies of over 1,000 communistic, Nazi, Socialist, atheist, and ultra-pacifist publications, including many from Russia and Germany obtainable in the United States of America.)

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

1. The African (monthly).
2. Alarm (Swedish, semiannual).
3. Amerikos Zihna (Lettish).
4. Amrakai Magyar Vilag (Hungarian, daily).
5. Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung (German, weekly).
6. Avanguardia (Portuguese).
7. Bollettine Di Informazion (Italian, monthly).
8. Bunevestnik.
9. Contempo.
10. Cultura Poletaria (Spanish).
11. Darbeninkio Balsas (Lithuanian).
12. Der Arbeiter (German).
13. Der Hammer (Jewish, monthly).
14. Desteperea (Rumanian, weekly).
15. Deutsches Volksecho (weekly).
16. Deutsche Volks Zeitung (daily).
17. Die Volks Illustrierte (German).
18. East Harlem Reporter (Italian, monthly).
19. Ej Elore (Hungarian, daily).
20. El Martillo (Venezuelan).
21. Emproco (Greek).
22. Eteepain (Finnish, daily).
23. Freie Arbeiter Stimme (weekly).
24. Freie Jugen (German, monthly).
25. Frente Popular (weekly).
26. Funk (Yiddish).
27. Gegen Angriff (German, weekly).
28. Hammer (monthly).
29. Hungarian Proletarian Writers Association.
30. Illavatore (Italian).
31. Empros (Greek, daily).
32. Korean Toiling Masses.
33. La France d'Anjourd'hui (French, monthly).
34. Laisve (Lithuanian, daily).
35. La Jroduccion (Spanish).
36. La Voz (Spanish, daily).
37. Lodovny Dennik (Slovak, daily).
38. L'Ouvrier (Canadian).
39. Lucha Obrera (Spanish).
40. L'Unita Operaia (Italian, weekly).
41. Morning Freiheit (Jewish: circulation, daily, 46,400).
42. Mundo Obrero (Spanish, monthly).
43. Nailebn (Jewish Life).
44. Naisten Viiri (Women's Banner, weekly).
45. Neighborhood Szomszed.
46. Neue Deutsche Blatter (German, monthly).
47. Nor Askor (Armenian).
48. Novy Mir (Russian, daily).
49. Nyugat (Hungarian).
50. Ny Tid (Scandinavian).
51. Obrana (Bohemian; now Novy Denik).
52. O'Brama (Czechoslovakian weekly).
53. Organizational (Italian).
54. Panvor (Armenian weekly).

55. Pienikki (Finnish).
56. Probtariche Derzng (monthly) International Workers order.
57. Radniki-Glasnik (Croatian weekly).
58. Rodo Shinbun (Japanese).
59. Rodo Sinbo (Japanese).
60. Rovnost Ludu (Czechoslovakian weekly).
61. Rundschau (German weekly).
62. Russky Golos (Russian).
63. Saznanie (Bulgarian biweekly).
64. Signal (Norwegian-Danish semiannual).
65. Signal (Jewish).
66. "Solidarity" (German monthly).
67. Soveritar (Finnish).
68. Ternstelt Worker.
69. Toreri (Finnish).
70. Trybuna Robotnicza (Polish).
71. Tyolaismainen (Finnish weekly).
72. Tyomies (Finnish weekly).
73. Uj Elore (Hungarian monthly).
74. Ukrainian (daily) News.
75. Ukraine Proletariat Writers and Correspondence Association Bulletin.
76. Unita (Italian).
77. Unsere Zeit (German monthly).
78. Unter dem Banner des Marxismus (German quarterly).
79. UTs Ilm (Estonian weekly).
80. Vanguard (Chinese).
81. Vanguard (Portuguese).
82. Vida O Brera (Spanish).
83. Vilnis (Lithuanian daily).
84. Voice of Ethiopia (weekly).
85. Volksecho (German).
86. Volkfront (German weekly) peoples' front.
87. Volks Zeitung (German weekly).
88. Western Workers (Hungarian).
89. Yungoarg (Yiddish monthly) International Workers order.

ENGLISH

1. A. B. C. Paper Worker.
2. Acord.
3. Action.
4. Action (California) United Defense League Against Fascism.
5. Advance (monthly).
6. Alarm.
7. Altro Worker.
8. American Quarterly on Soviet Union.
9. Amplifier (weekly) American League for Peace and Freedom.
10. Among Friends (Friends of the Spanish International Brigade) monthly.
11. A New World.
12. Anti-Imperialist Review (monthly).
13. Anvil.
14. A. O. P. News.
15. A. O. P. Projects.
16. Arlington Naborhood Worker.
17. Armour Worker.
18. Armour Young Worker.
19. Art Front (monthly).
20. Art Work.
21. A. S. U. Courier (weekly).
22. Auto Worker.
23. Auto Worker News.
24. Barley Worker.
25. Beacon Light (World-Telegram).
26. Beacon, The (monthly) Young Communist League, San Francisco.
27. Black Diamond.
28. Black News.
29. Blast.
30. Bloomingdale Worker.

31. Boeing Worker (Seattle).
32. Book-Cadillaack Hotel Bulletin.
33. Boston Store Worker.
34. Bremerton (Navy Yard) Workers.
35. Brooklyn Navy Yard Voice.
36. Broom, The.
37. Bulletin on Soviet Union (semimonthly).
38. Call to Unity.
39. Calumet Worker.
40. Campus Problems.
41. Camp Spark (Civilian Conservation Corp camps).
42. Carnegie Worker.
43. Champion (monthly).
44. Champion of Youth (monthly).
45. Chart, The (monthly).
46. Chevrolet Worker.
47. Chicago & Northwestern Headlight.
48. China Today (monthly).
49. Citrus Worker.
50. City College Spark (monthly).
51. Class Mark, The.
52. Cleveland Unemployed Worker.
53. Coal Digger.
54. Coastwise Unity.
55. College News.
56. Combate.
57. Communist (monthly).
58. Communist International (monthly).
59. Communist Party Weekly Legislative Bulletin.
60. Communist Review.
61. Consumers Voice.
62. Contempo.
63. Continental Can.
64. Cooperatives.
65. Crane Worker.
66. Daily Worker (58,000 circulation December 10, 1934) daily.
67. Davey Steel Worker.
68. Decker Worker.
69. Deering Worker.
70. Dejur Flash.
71. District Eight Organizer.
72. District No. 12 Monthly Guide.
73. District Recruiter.
74. Dock Worker.
75. Dodge Worker.
76. Duquesne Eye Opener.
77. Dynamo.
78. Eastern Market Worker.
79. Eastside Worker.
80. East River Power Worker.
81. Economic Notes.
82. Economic Review of Soviet Union (monthly).
83. Educational Vanguard (Teachers College, N. Y.).
84. Evening Flash (Y. C. L., New York City).
85. Fairchilds Bulletin.
86. Falls Workers.
87. Farmers National News.
88. Farmers Weekly.
89. Farmers National Weekly.
90. Fight (circulation 28,000) (weekly).
91. Fighting Milliner.
92. Fighting Miner.
93. Film Front (monthly).
94. Firestone Worker.
95. Fischer Naborhood Worker.
96. Fisher Body Worker.
97. Food Worker.

98. Ford Body Workers.
99. Ford Worker (20,000 circulation).
100. Foresters Voice.
101. Fortnightly (monthly).
102. Furniture Worker.
103. Galley Wireless (weekly).
104. Gary Steel Worker.
105. Gary Tin Mill Worker.
106. G. & E. Live Wire.
107. GGG Clothing.
108. Gimbelites.
109. Goal (monthly sports).
110. Goodrich Worker.
111. Green Horn (quarterly).
112. H. & H. Worker.
113. Harlem Organizer.
114. Harlem Worker.
115. Harvard Communist (monthly and quarterly).
116. Harvester Worker.
117. Headlight (quarterly by American League for Peace and Democracy).
118. Health & Hygiene (sold by all Communist centers by order of Communist Party—party organizer, p. 31, July 1937).
119. Hearst Workers.
120. Hellgate Flash.
121. High School Leader (American Student Union).
122. High School Out Post.
123. Hook and Anchor.
124. Hot Billet.
125. Hot Wire.
126. Howard Clothing.
127. Hudson Worker.
128. Hunger Fighter (California) Los Angeles.
129. Hunger Fighter (Chicago).
130. Hunger Fighter (Portland, Oreg.).
131. Hunger Fighter (Washington, D. C.).
132. Idealist, The.
133. Illinois Steel Worker.
134. Imprecorr (International Correspondence) (weekly) (now World News & Views).
135. Independent Worker.
136. Industrial Unionist, The.
137. Industrial Workers Voice.
138. Inland Spark.
139. Inspector.
140. International Correspondence (monthly).
141. International Harvester Worker.
142. International Literature (monthly).
143. International Publishers.
144. International Theatre (monthly).
145. International Union of Revolutionary Writers Bulletin.
146. International Youth (monthly).
147. Irish Workers Voice.
148. IWO Rooster News.
149. Jewish Life (monthly).
150. Jewish Peoples Voice (monthly).
151. Jewish Workers Voice (monthly).
152. Klien Workers Voice.
153. Labor Challenge.
154. Labor Defender (40,000 circulation) (monthly).
155. Labor Front (weekly).
156. Labor Monthly.
157. Labor Notes.
158. Labor Research Association (service to organizations and publications).
159. Labor Sports.
160. Labor Unity.
161. Lakeview Worker.
162. Left.

163. Left Front.
164. Left Review.
165. Leftward.
166. Liberator, The.
167. Listen (monthly for New York railroad industry).
168. Literature Manual.
169. Live Wire.
170. Lock Shop.
171. Lodi Dye Worker.
172. Longshoreman, The.
173. Longshore Unity.
174. Los Angeles Workers School Bulletin (quarterly).
175. Macy Worker.
176. Madhouse News.
177. Magazine.
178. Majestic Worker.
179. Magnet, The.
180. Manhattan Municipal Employee.
181. Manley Rebel, The.
182. Marine Worker.
183. Marine Workers Voice.
184. Market Worker.
185. Martin Events.
186. Mascots.
187. M. C. Worker (medical center).
188. Mesa Voice.
189. Messengers Voice.
190. Michigan Organizer.
191. Michigan Worker.
192. Midland Worker.
193. Mid-West Daily News.
194. Militant.
195. Milwaukee Headlight.
196. Miners Call.
197. Miners News.
198. Minneapolis Worker.
199. Monthly Literary Service.
200. Monthly Review.
201. Mt. Clare's Shop News.
202. Morris Park Red Rail.
203. Mucker, The.
204. Murray Body.
205. Naborhood Spokesman.
206. Naborhood Voice.
207. Nabor's Voice.
208. Nabor Worker.
209. Namm Worker.
210. Nativity.
211. National Student League Bulletin.
212. National Student Mirror.
213. National Textile Worker.
214. Navy Yard Worker (Washington, D. C.).
215. Needle Worker.
216. Needle Worker's Voice.
217. Negro Champion.
218. Negro Liberator (monthly).
219. Negro Worker.
220. New Dynamo (New York City power-house).
221. New Frontiers (California Young Communist League).
222. New International (monthly).
223. News (Twelfth A. D. Manhattan Communist Party organ).
224. News Letter.
225. New Masses (28,000 circulation).
226. New Order (monthly).
227. New Pioneer (monthly).
228. New Red Billet.
229. New Social Diagnosis (weekly).

230. News of Spain (weekly).
231. New South (monthly).
232. New Sports and Play (monthly).
233. New Theatre (monthly).
234. New Tide.
235. New York Metal Worker.
236. New York Municipal Employee.
237. New York Party Builder.
238. Non-Stop (Young Communist League West Coast).
239. North Side News.
240. Office Worker.
241. Ohio Foundry Worker.
242. Oil Worker.
243. Oracle.
244. Order (International Workers order (monthly)).
245. Organizer, The (Omaha packing house section).
246. Otis Worker.
247. Oven.
248. Pacific Digest (monthly).
249. Pacific Maritime Worker (weekly).
250. Packard Worker.
251. Packing House Worker.
252. Packing House Workers Voice.
253. Painters.
254. Pan Pacific (weekly).
255. Panvor, The.
256. Partisan (monthly).
257. Partisan Review (monthly).
258. Partisan Review and Anvil (monthly).
259. Party Builder.
260. Party Organizer (monthly).
261. Pen and Hammer (Yiddish Communist organ).
262. Penn Worker.
263. Peoples World (daily).
264. Peoples News.
265. Philco Broadcast.
266. Plattsburg Voice.
267. Plymouth Gladiator.
268. Power Worker.
269. Presto Voice.
270. Progressive News.
271. Projectile.
272. Project Musician (Communist Party unit, Works Progress Administration music project).
273. Project News.
274. Prophet.
275. Pulse.
276. Portland Worker (Oregon).
277. Producers News.
278. Proletarian.
279. Pullman Worker.
280. Queensboro Voice.
281. Radio Call.
282. Railroad Unity News.
283. Railroad Worker.
284. Rank & File Coal Diggers.
285. Rank & File Federalionist.
286. RCA Broadcast.
287. Rebel Guard.
288. Rebel Post.
289. Recreational Leader.
290. Red.
291. Red Beacon.
292. Red Billet.
293. Red Bolt.
294. Red Broadcast.
295. Red Bullet.

296. Red Button.
297. Red Driver.
298. Red Dynamo.
299. Red Eagle.
300. Red Express (New York Central Railroad).
301. Red Flower.
302. Red Front.
303. Red Hackle.
304. Red International & Labor Union.
305. Red Memo (monthly).
- 305½. Red Motor.
306. Red Opera Pump.
307. Red Paint (Federal Art Project).
308. Red Pen.
309. Red Piper (monthly-Morris H. S., New York City).
310. Red Reporter.
311. Red Roller.
312. Red Rubber Worker.
313. Red Signal.
314. Red Sparks (R. H. Macy Department Store, New York City, until C. P., monthly).
315. Red Sports Clubs.
316. Red Sport.
317. Red Spot Light (Works Progress Administration Federal Theater Unit C. P., New York).
318. Red Star Press.
319. Red Thread.
320. Red Watch.
321. Republic Worker.
322. Revolt.
323. Revolutionary Age (weekly).
324. Rhinehart Bulletin.
325. Robins Worker Voice.
326. R. R. Headlight.
327. Rubber Worker.
328. Rural Worker.
329. Science & Society (A Marxian quarterly is also announced by the Communist journals and is sold at Communist centers as is "Photo-History").
330. Scope.
331. Seaman Body Worker.
332. Seamen's Lookout.
333. Shake-up, The (International Longshoremen's Association rank and file, Port, New York).
334. Shipmates Voice.
335. Shop Paper Editor.
336. Shop Paper Guide (annual).
337. Shop Paper Review.
338. Silk Shop Bulletin.
339. Sing Democracy (semi-annually).
340. Sisco Voice (Staten Island Shipyard).
341. Social Diagnosis (weekly).
342. Social Welfare (Workers Alliance).
343. Social Work.
344. Soldiers Voice.
345. Solidarity (monthly).
346. South End Voice (Boston).
347. Southern Textile Bulletin.
348. Soviet Culture Review (monthly).
349. Soviet Russia Today (monthly).
350. Soviet Union Review (monthly).
351. Spark (28-page YCL) monthly (City College, New York).
352. Spark Plug.
353. Sparrow Point Worker.
354. Spot Light (Iowa).
355. Spring Worker.
356. State of Affairs (monthly).

357. Steel & Metal Worker.
358. Steelton Worker.
359. Stewart-Warner Worker.
360. Stock Yards Workers (Chicago).
361. Stone Shoe Worker.
362. Street, The (monthly) Wall Street section Communist Party.
363. Strikers News.
364. Struggle Against War.
365. Studebaker Worker.
366. Student Advocate (monthly).
367. Student Above.
368. Students Book Service.
369. Student Herald.
370. Student Outpost, The.
371. Student Review (monthly).
372. Student Soap Box (monthly).
373. Student Voice (Bernard College).
374. Sunday Worker (120,000 circulation). The Communists claim that the Sunday Worker has a circulation of over 100,000 copies an issue.
375. Sunnyside Red Rail.
376. Swift Workers Blade.
377. Tac (monthly).
378. Tailors Voice.
379. Tannery.
380. Taxi Worker.
381. T & C Blast.
382. Tenth Ward News.
383. Terminal Jack.
384. Textile Notes.
385. Theatre Work Shop.
386. 386. Tim Holmes Brigade News (monthly).
387. Times Square Shuttle.
389. Title Worker.
390. Truth.
391. Tube Workers.
392. Under the Ford Hood.
393. Unemployed Leader.
394. Unemployment Insurance Review.
395. Unemployment Review.
396. Unemployed Teachers.
397. Union Iron Workers.
398. Union Leader.
399. United Action.
400. United Action (New York), Emanuel Levin, editor.
401. United Farmer.
402. Union Iron Worker.
403. Unison (monthly).
404. United Workers Press.
405. U. S. A. Bulletin.
406. U. S. Veterans.
407. U. S. Worker.
408. Upsurge (monthly).
409. Vanguard (monthly).
410. Veterans.
411. Veterans Rank and File.
412. Village News.
413. Voice of 1885.
414. Voice of Action.
415. Voice of Building.
416. Voice of China (monthly).
417. Voice of Council (weekly).
418. Voice of N. B. C.
419. Voice of the People.
420. Voice of Working Women.
421. Voice of Youth (American Student Union).
422. Wall Street Worker.

- 423. Walnut Hill News.
 - 424. Wanamaker Worker.
 - 425. War and Fascism Bulletin.
 - 426. Watch Tower.
 - 427. Waterfront News.
 - 428. Waterfront Worker.
 - 429. Weekly Legislative Service (weekly).
 - 430. Welcome News.
 - 431. West End Voice.
 - 432. Western Worker Bulletin.
 - 433. West Front.
 - 434. Westinghouse Worker.
 - 435. Western Workers Bulletin.
 - 436. Whip, The.
 - 437. Wings (Douglas Aircraft, unit Communist Party).
 - 438. Winner, The.
 - 439. Wisconsin Party Builder.
 - 440. Wisconsin Steel Torch.
 - 441. Women on the March (monthly).
 - 442. Women Today (monthly).
 - 443. Women's Strike Bulletin (Gary, Ind.).
 - 444. Word.
 - 445. Work.
 - 446. Workers Age (weekly).
 - 447. Workers Alliance, The.
 - 448. Workers Child.
 - 449. Workers Club Review.
 - 450. Workers Dance League Bulletin (monthly).
 - 451. Workers Defense, The.
 - 452. Workers Ex-service Men's National News Bulletin.
 - 453. Workers and Farmers.
 - 454. Workers Library.
 - 455. Workers News.
 - 456. Workers Press Committee.
 - 457. Workers Reference Bulletin.
 - 458. Workers Republic (monthly).
 - 459. Workers School Bulletin (monthly).
 - 460. Workers Theatre Magazine (monthly).
 - 461. Workers Voice.
 - 462. Working Woman (monthly).
 - 463. World Builders Service.
 - 464. Wright Propeller.
 - 465. X-Ray.
 - 466. Yaletown Worker.
 - 467. Yankee Organizer (Communist Party organ in Massachusetts).
 - 468. Yard Worker.
 - 469. YCL Beacon, The.
 - 470. YCL Builder.
 - 471. YCL Pilot.
 - 472. YCL Star.
 - 473. Young Comrades.
 - 474. Young Communist.
 - 475. Young Communists Review (monthly).
 - 476. Young Communist Yell.
 - 477. Young Fighter (monthly).
 - 478. Young Pioneer (monthly).
 - 479. Young Spark.
 - 480. Young Spartacus.
 - 481. Youngstown Worker.
 - 482. Young Worker (weekly).
 - 483. Youth (monthly).
- Addition. City College Teacher.

NOTE.—This does not include all of the publications; some issued more irregularly than some of the above. The Communists claim 97 shop papers in New York City alone, many of which are not included above. They claim eight new shop papers in Detroit which are not included above.

Some of the publications printed in Russia by the Soviet State Press and circulated in the United States of America by Bookniga Corporation, New York City, and through certain newsstands, certain types of book stores in the United States of America, and through the mails:

1. Academy of Architecture (bimonthly).
2. Acta Physicochimica URSS (English, French, and German, monthly).
3. Amepnkabekkar Tenhnka I Promishlenost (Russian, monthly).
4. Architecture of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (monthly).
5. Art (bimonthly).
6. Art of the Cinema (monthly).
7. The Banner (monthly).
8. Bezbogenik (Russian, weekly) atheist.
9. Bolshevik (fortnightly).
10. Bulletin de Biologie et De.
11. Bulletin de L'Institut Metchnikoff (English, French, and German, monthly).
12. Change (Russian, monthly).
13. Chess in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (monthly).
14. Clinical Medicine (monthly).
15. Communist International, The (monthly).
16. Communist Replacement, The (monthly).
17. Comptes Rendus De L'Academie Des Sciences de L'URSS (French, English, German, monthly).
18. Creative Art (monthly).
19. Crocodile, The (Russian—humor magazine—monthly) 36 numbers a year.
20. Crocodile Tears (Russian, weekly).
21. Daswort (The Word) (German, monthly).
22. Deutsche Blatter.
23. DZZ (German Proletarian central newspaper) German, daily—organ of the Soviet Union.
24. Economic Review (English, monthly).
25. Evening Moscow (Russian, daily).
26. Foreign Commerce (monthly).
27. Historical Magazine (monthly).
28. Imprecorr (International Press Correspondence) (now World News and Views). In English and all other languages—weekly editions and special monthly editions.
29. Industry (Russian, monthly).
30. International Literature (English, German, and Russian monthly).
31. Izvestija Tsik SSSR i Vtslk (News of Council of Deputies of working masses of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) Russian daily.
32. KNHO (motion-picture magazine) (Russian, monthly).
33. La Litterature Internationale (French, monthly).
34. Le Journal de Moscow (French, monthly).
35. The Literary Critic (monthly).
36. Literary Newspaper (Russian, weekly).
37. L'URSS en construction (French, monthly).
38. Machine Construction (Russian, monthly).
39. Medicine Experimentale De L'URSS (English, French, and German, monthly).
40. Messenger of the Air-Fleet (monthly).
41. Messenger of Engineers and Technicians (monthly).
42. Military Messenger (monthly).
43. Moscow Daily News (English).
44. Moscow (weekly) News (English).
45. "Murzilka" (Dusty Kiddie) monthly.
46. Nachrichten (Deutsche Tageszeitung) German daily—organ of the Soviet Union of sports, politics, theaters, and music.
47. Nature (monthly).
48. New World, The (monthly).
49. Nemyj Mir (Russian, monthly).
50. October (monthly).
51. "Ogonek" (Little Light) 36 numbers a year.
52. Our Country (monthly).
53. Physikalische Zeitschrift Der Sowjetunion (English, German, and French, monthly).

54. Planned Economy (monthly).
55. Pravda (official organ Soviet Union) (Russian, daily).
56. Primary School, The (monthly).
57. Red Archives, The (bimonthly).
58. Red Virgin Soil, The (monthly).
59. Revue de Moscow (French, monthly).
60. Soviet (Russian, daily).
61. Soviet Arctic (monthly).
62. Sovietland (English, monthly magazine).
63. Soviet Medicine (fortnightly).
64. Soviet Music (monthly).
65. Soviet News (Russian, daily).
66. Soviet Photo (monthly).
67. Soviet State (bimonthly).
68. SSSR na Strojke (Russian monthly).
69. Technical Physics of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (English, French, and German, monthly).
70. Theatre (monthly).
71. Star, The (monthly).
72. Star, The (monthly).
73. Uj Hang (Russian, monthly).
74. Under the Banner of Marxism (monthly).
75. USSR in Construction (English, monthly).
76. We Are Building (Russian, monthly).
77. Working Woman (Russian, weekly).
78. World Economy and World Policy (monthly).
79. Young Guard, The (monthly).

And a number of others by titles in languages which we were not able to have translated.

Bookniga Corporation of New York City also distributes Soviet publications and advertises extensively in Communist publications printed in the United States. It recently offered free an 800-page book on "Moscow Trials," with a year's subscription to some of the propaganda journals printed in Russia in English and circulated in the United States.

Before analyzing for you some of the largest of the movements in the country, I desire to point out this additional fact about these Communist organizations, i. e., that most of the Communist leaders have never been workers; most of them are not American born; many of them have had experiences in revolution, having taken part in the prerevolutionary struggles in Russia. Another point to be emphasized is that not only do these organization leaders swear allegiance to the Communist International, but also to the Soviet Union government. This is not only true of the Communist Party section itself, but also of the organizations posing as workers' defense movements, sport and cultural groups, educational groups and pacifist groups. Some of them will even display and carry an American Flag to hide their traitorous activities. Many who have enjoyed the blessings and wealth provided for them in this country swear to support and defend Russia. We find, for instance, the son of a Wall Street banker heading a number of communistic organizations. We find sons and daughters of wealth, not the sons and daughters of workingmen, as a rule, in the leadership of many of these communistic movements. Certainly they have not been down-trodden by so-called capitalism.

We will take up the film, theater, and other angles of the propaganda and agitation activities in another part of this report.

COMMUNIST SCHOOLS

(The National School address is 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City.)

Communist schools are, of course, important to the propaganda division of the Communist movement, because here the young reds are trained to become skilled revolutionists, and the older reds are taken in for special instruction. These schools are scattered throughout the United States. The largest is the Workers' School in New York City, which is the central directive of the Nation-wide system.

Organized in 1923, the Workers School has now built up a chain from coast to coast. The International Workers' Order also maintains schools. The following is a list of some of these schools, as taken from Communist documents at various times:

New York City and vicinity: 615 East One Hundred and Fortieth Street, 1761 Washington Avenue, 804 Forrest Avenue, 614 West One Hundred and Seventy-seventh Street, 2109 Arthur Avenue, 288 East One Hundred and Seventy-fourth Street, 1135 Simpson Street, 1310 Lafayette Avenue, 1400 Boston Road, 2700 Bronx Park East, 1334 Southern Boulevard, 792 Tremont Avenue, 1013 East Tremont Avenue, 925 Leggett Avenue, 1149 Stratford Avenue, 3451 Giles Place, 1831 Bryant Avenue, 492 East One Hundred and Ninth Street, 67 West One Hundred and Ninth Street, 66 East One Hundred and Fourth Street, 100 Avenue B, 48 Sheriff Street, 25 Montgomery Street, 223 Throop Avenue, 56 Manhattan Avenue, 35 East Twelfth Street, 390 South Second Street, 92 South Tenth Street, 1026 DeKalb Avenue, 1855 Pitkin Avenue, 371 Saratoga Avenue, 638 Stone Avenue, 149 Sutter Avenue, 461 Bristol Street, 257 Schenectady Avenue, 92 Sutter Avenue, 508 New Jersey Avenue, 69 East Ninety-fifth Street, 1163 Lenox Road, 1373 Forty-third Street, 1109 Forty-fifth Street, 2006 Seventieth Street, 2972 Bath Avenue, 1839 Stillwell Avenue, 3159 Coney Island Avenue, 2709 Mornald Avenue, 9615 Avenue L, 1 Fulton Avenue, 2700 Bronx Park East, 108 East Fourteenth Street.

Massachusetts: 42 Venona Street, Roxbury; 88 Hawthorne Street, Chelsea; Crescent and Summer Streets, Brockton; 417 Cross Street, Malden; 105 Shirely Avenue, Revere; 1 Main Street, Peabody; 74 Wildwood Street, Dorchester; 357 Charles Street, Dorchester; 24 George Street, Lynn; 1 Main Street, Chelsea; 919 Washington Street, Boston.

Chicago, Ill.: 3308 Crystal Street, 1290 South Karlov Street, 2653 West Division Street, 1224 South Albany Avenue, 3507 West Lawrence Avenue, 951 East 55th Street, 3322 Greshaw Avenue, 1342 North Levitt Street, 3245 West Armitage Avenue, 1554 Homam Avenue, 2653 West Division Street.

Cleveland, Ohio: 14101 Kinsman, 926 East 105th Street.

Milwaukee, Wis.: 1658 Twelfth Street.

Washington, D. C.: 509 G Street NW.

Waukegan, Ill.: McCans Grove.

Pittsburgh, Pa.: 649 Grant Street.

St. Paul, Minn.: 344 North Exchange Street.

Seattle, Wash.: 302 Maritime Building.

Rockford, Ill.: 1015 Third Avenue.

Philadelphia, Pa.: 801 Ritner Street, 2456 North Thirtieth Street, 1137 North Forty-first Street, 1314 Walnut Street.

Detroit, Mich.: 9148 Oakland, 2540 Grand, 8622 Twelfth Street, 15326 Meureland, 17429 Brush, 11718 Dexter.

Hartford, Conn.: 111 Barbara Street, 1109 Albany Avenue.

Norfolk, Va.: East Freemason Street.

Youngstown, Ohio: 307 North Walnut Street.

Lancaster, Pa.: 413½ Green Street.

Duluth, Minn.: 4 East First Street.

Minneapolis, Minn.: 10 South Tenth Street.

Rochester, N. Y.: 443 Ormond Street.

San Francisco, Calif.: 463 Hayes Street.

Los Angeles, Calif.: 2704 Brooklyn Avenue, 3654 Wabash Avenue.

Baltimore Md.: 1206 East Baltimore Street, 2043 West North Avenue.
 New Jersey: 584 Fifteenth Avenue, Newark; 1067 East Jersey Street, Elizabeth; 743 Main Street, Passiac; 3 Governor Street, Paterson; 7 Union Street, Trenton.

Buffalo, N. Y.: 760 main Street.

Richmond, Va.: 301 N. First Street.

Denver, Colo.: 1450 Lawrence Street.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.: 325 East Market Street.

There are many others mentioned elsewhere in this report which carry on a special work of instruction.

The reds also carry on a "correspondence school" with headquarters in New York City under B. Blosser and "Five-Week Party Training Schools" in every section, also circuit schools and traveling book stores and libraries.

The tasks of these schools from a communist viewpoint is set forth by A. Markoff, national head of the schools, who says (Party Organizer, April 1938 issue):

The historic decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the concrete application of the decisions to the American conditions by our party, placed before our schools the following question: What is the task of the Workers Schools in line with the new tactical orientation of our party, what steps are necessary to make the schools effective instruments in the building of the united front movement, in the propaganda for the people's anti-Fascist front, in the building and promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States of America? In the consideration of these questions we have felt that we can no longer be satisfied with the scope of our work, that we must expand, broaden the base of operation, that we must speak to broader sections of the population.

It is impossible to lay down a blueprint plan which will suit every one of our schools. Each school operates in a definite territory; there are specific conditions and problems and each school will have to solve these problems; adapt itself to the specific conditions and requirements. Nevertheless, some general aspects of the question can be discussed as a basis for the solution of the specific problems.

The first consideration in line with the broadening of the schools is the curriculum. An examination of our curricula will reveal that the subjects are in many instances too general and abstract. We must make our courses reflect the many problems which arise in the present complexity of rapid changes. The subjects taught must throw light on those problems which agitate every student coming to the school. * * *

In the consideration of the task of broadening the base of our Workers' Schools we have observed a number of wrong tendencies. These tendencies, if allowed to develop, will have the effect of obscuring or even negating the Leninist character of our teaching. * * *

The proposal to convert our schools into "people's schools," nonpartisan schools, is tantamount to a negation of our theory. Can we as Marxists-Leninists recognize nonpartisanship in theory? Can we as Communists substitute eclecticism in place of dialectics in working-class education? Comrade Lenin referred to eclecticism as "illogical confusion of materialism and idealism.")

On the contrary, it is precisely at this time with the development of broad people's movements in which our comrades will have to play an active role, that we must build and strengthen our schools. Comrade Dimitroff, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, emphasized very strongly the need for consolidation of our parties, not only in a quantitative but also in a qualitative sense. He stressed the importance of carrying on sharp struggles against sectarianism on the one hand and right opportunism on the other. In his concluding remarks he said:

"Our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, Lenin used to say. It is such a theory that our cadres need and they need it as badly as they need their daily bread, as they need air, water. Whoever really wishes to rid our work of deadening, stereotyped schemes, of pernicious scholasticism, must tear them out with a red-hot iron, both by real, practical, active struggle waged together with and at the head of the masses, and by untiring effort to grasp the mighty, fertile,

all-powerful Bolshevik theory, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin."

It should be clear to every comrade that in order to carry on effective work in the various movements in which our comrades have to participate, such as the Townsend movement, the National Union for Social Justice, the movement for social credit, and others, the comrades must be equipped with the correct theory of Marxism-Leninism.

"The Workers' School is that institution where we arm our leading cadres with weapons which give them the ability to resist the influence of class enemy ideas, to combat them, to overcome them. The school is where they master the ideological weapons of Marxism-Leninism and put them into effect in the mass struggles. Let us grasp the full meaning of that slogan of our great leader, Marx, that an idea becomes power when it is seized upon by the masses. Our ideas are not forces in themselves. They are instruments of the masses for the carrying through of the class struggle."—Earl Browder, "Communism in the United States," p. 310.

The tendency, therefore, to convert our schools into nonpartisan schools is incompatible with the correct understanding of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in the revolutionary movement.

The following are a few more of the schools maintained by the International Workers' Order and the Communist Party: 906 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; 113 East Wells Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; 852 Eighth Avenue, San Diego, Calif.; 5969 Fourteenth Avenue, Detroit, Mich.; 139 Opera Place, Cincinnati, Ohio; 230 Spring Street; Los Angeles, Calif.; 25 Chauncey Street, Crown Heights, N. Y.; 430 Sixth Avenue (John Reed Club Writers' School), New York City; 202 Collino Building, Seattle, Wash.; 222 Lafayette Street, New Haven, Conn.

The Summer Day School in New York City in 1938 was located at 35 East Twelfth Street (during July and August). It was headed by Abraham Markoff, D. Lure, Abe Goldstein, Elizabeth Lawson, Saul Schatz, and Herbert Newton.

The Marks Avenue (New York City) mansion of Ludwig Nissen, a prominent New York jeweler, houses a Soviet elementary school for 35 young Russian boys and girls, the children of Amtorg (Russian trade agency) officials and other Soviet leaders now in the United States. This elite red school, for the families of officials only (not the proletariat) was established in 1935 in the Bronx. P. S. Benukh, former director of the Moscow Experimental Teachers' Institute, was sent to this country to take charge of the new Soviet school. The building contains 20 rooms. Those not used for classrooms are used as club rooms and play rooms. The ballroom has been transformed into a gymnasium. The walls of the rooms are decorated with pictures of Communist heroes. In the summer the young students are transferred to a summer camp near Napanoch, N. Y., where their education in communism continues. These red officials will not take any chances of their children becoming Americanized, and an American flag is not, of course, displayed in the institution. If the down-trodden proletariat of Russia could only see the splendor surrounding their dictators, what a shock they would receive!

Abraham Markoff is director of the communist school system in the United States. Markoff is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party. He was the Communist Party candidate for Congress from New York in 1932. Markoff is a Russian by birth. He is a member of the advisory council of the Book Union, a book-of-the-month club operated by "reds." E. Smith is the assistant director of communist schools. He was the Communist Party

candidate for State assembly from the Bronx (New York City) in 1934, and for justice of the supreme court in New York in 1936.

These "red" schools have three terms—spring, fall, and summer evening. The tuition fees are \$3.50 a week and up. According to communist documents the attendance has totaled upwards of 10,000 a term. Subjects studied at the schools include political economy, principles of communism, Marxism—Leninism, social economy, trade-union problems, dialectical materialism, class struggle, and organizational principles.

Teachers for 1938, as listed in the main New York school catalog, includes Elizabeth Lawson, Simon Larkin, Arthur Carey, Carl Brodsky, Timothy Holmes, Saul Ruddy, Philip Cabot, Harold Williams, George Norman, Elizabeth Lowell, Beatrice Blosser, George Lewis, Gabriel Kent, Sam Schatz, Robert Pain, Arthur Stein, Murray Blyne, Alfred Goldstein, Harry Raymond, William Wessel, H. Levine, Julius Loeb, Angel Flores, Doris Payne, Steve Kingston, Harry Mayor, Herbert Newton, Zachery Gisenkin, Frasquita Alonzo, George Blake, Charles Elstein, Harry Mann, Meyer Weisel, James Leonard, Allen Ross, Frank Gilbert, Abraham Berg, Harry Martel, Israel Amter, A. H. Harfield, David Lurie, Mark Rosenberg, Theodore Bassett, Charlotte Todes.

I will not attempt to go into the personnel of all of the numerous schools. I desire, however, to call attention to the personnel of the Chicago Workers' School, located at 330 South Wells Street, the instructors of which are: M. L. Samuels, Arch Henderson, S. Larkes, M. J. Kingsley, Al Masser, Eugene David, Ed Brown, Ben Levin, Irma Martin, Irving Herman, L. Krueh, K. Erlich, Howard Lawrence, Frank Meyer, John Schmies, Ray Davis, Judith Rose, R. Cooper, Gilbert Rocke, Nathan Greene, Joseph Tauber, Frank Scheiner, David Freedman, Harry Sacher, Joseph Brodsky, Ethel Stevens, Lois Lord, Gary Resnick, Eugene Bechtold, M. Topchevsky, Bernard Gusse, Jack Martin, Romania Ferguson, Judith Schoenberg, and Beatrice Shields.

Dr. Albert Bloomberg, Ph. D., formerly of Johns Hopkins University, is head of the Workers' School in Baltimore. He addressed a gathering of communist students of the school in Washington, D. C., at a picnic held at Rock Creek Park on June 26, 1938. Prof. H. W. L. Dana, formerly of Harvard, is with the Workers' School in Boston.

The communist school in Philadelphia, located at 1314 Walnut Street, which, according to its last announcement to party members, was expanded from a "student body of 300" to its "present enrollment of approximately 1,000 students," is headed by Carl Reeve, son of the veteran Communist leader, Ella Reeve Bloor. Ernest Pendrell is assistant director; Nan Pendrell is the secretary thereof. Members of its faculty include C. Spencer, secretary of the Workers' Alliance in Philadelphia; R. Glick, of the American Youth Congress; H. Martel, Albert Blumberg, of Johns Hopkins University; T. Nabried, of the National Negro Congress; F. Hellman, business agent for the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (C. I. O.); L. Kastrow, membership director, Communist Party, in eastern Pennsylvania; M. Gates, Ella Reeve Bloor, Dr. B. Fredericks, Samuel Putnam (author), P. Smith, Dr. H. Soran, H. Fox, and M. Nabut, Russian scholar.

CAMPS

Next to schools in importance are communist camps. At these camps the reds catch many new recruits during the vacation period. The mainstay of the Communist camp movement in the United States is the Parent and Children's Camp Association, Inc., with headquarters in New York City. A. Rady is president of the association; M. Grossman, secretary; Charles Nemeroff, manager. There are, in addition, separate camp corporations set up by the "reds." The following are only a few of the many camps whose openings have been announced recently (1938) in the red journals and documents: Camp Unity, located at Wingdale, N. Y., of which Louis Pasternak is manager. According to the official organ of the Communist Party, Pasternak is secretary of the Wingdale Camp Corporation. He conferred with Floremond Bonte, the French Communist leader who came to the United States to attend the Tenth Annual Convention of the Communist Party, on the progress of Communist camps in France.

Camp Unity opened this year with the showing of the Soviet film, *We Are From Kransstadt*. The Finnish Workers' camp, near Finleyville, Pa., opened with an address by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, last year. Camp Kinderland, Hopewell Junction, N. Y., is now open for the summer season. The camp officials publicized the fact that Reuben Ehrlick of the Spanish "red" front army will be the lifeguard at the camp. Camp Unity, at Franklin, Mass., was opened under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Camp Timberland, at Pottersville, N. Y., with Israel Kessler as manager; camp Farrington, R. F. D. No. 4, New Brunswick, N. J., Peg Buxbaum, manager (for boys and girls from 3 to 12 years of age); camp Lincoln (formerly camp Unity), located near Milwaukee; Nature Friends camp, near Philadelphia; Pioneer Youth camp, near Rifton, N. Y., with Mrs. F. Frumes in charge; Chi-Wan-Da camp, near Ulster Park, N. Y., Jacob Doroshkin, manager; another by the same name near Lakewood, N. J., Sonia Geybaum, manager; Tall Timber camp, at Lake Mohegan, N. Y.; Eager Rose Garden, near Bushville, N. Y.; Hill-top Lodge, Hopewell Junction, N. Y., Sol Rothauser and Paul Wolfson, managers; Golden Bridge Cooperative Colony, Goldenbridge, N. Y., M. Maigolen, manager; Camp Lebedek, in the Berkshires, a "progressive camp" under the management of A. Leib and Bella Pervin; camp Wo-Chi-Ca, near Port Murray, N. J., a "modern progressive camp" for boys and girls between 9 and 15 years of age; Camp Indra, Brewster, N. Y., for boys and girls between 4 and 12 years of age; Camp Robin Hood, East Otis, Mass., managed by J. Greenbaum; Sunnyside Progressive School camp, Jewett, N. Y., under the management of Mrs. P. Schiff (caters to boys and girls between the ages of 4 to 8); Lakewood Modern School camp, Carmel, N. Y.; Camp F. O. N., West Norwood, N. J., The Alliance, Lake Huntington, N. Y.; Camp Ridgedale, Sunnyside, Pa.; Mountain Lake Farms, Union Grove, N. Y., under the management of E. Keiser; Harmony Country Club, near Hurleyville, N. Y.; Camp Richmond, West Nyack, N. Y.; Camp Irendale, Phoenicia, N. Y.; Raven Lodge, near Lakewood, N. J., I. Gold, manager, announced "special rates" to readers of one of the communist publications;

Chaits Farm, Accord, N. Y.; Arrow Head Lodge, Ellanville, N. Y., under the management of Dr. D. Newman and Samuel Slutsky; Forrest House, Lake Mahopac, N. Y., Rebecca Silver, manager; Alpine Woods, Peekskill, N. Y., Bernard Levine, manager; Echol Lake Lodge, Warrensburg, N. Y., opened for the summer with a "3-day program for the League of Refugees"; Locust Grove, Hopewell Junction, N. Y., G. Podorson, manager; Green Mansions, Warrensburg, N. Y., under direction of Sam Garlen; Vineyard Lodge, Ulster Park, N. Y., J. Rosenthal, manager; Echol Glen, Monroe, N. Y., Mrs. Lillian Eilesberg Frindel, manager; Camp Annisquani, Gloucester, Mass., Abraham Resnick, manager; Uncas Lodge, Uncasville, Conn., Abe Newman, manager, a "modern adult" camp; Allaben Acres camp, Allaben, N. Y., with Moe Kaplan, manager; Forrest House, Lake Mahopoe, N. Y., Rebecca Silvers, manager, Birdland camp, Central Valley, N. Y., under management of Fannie Goldberg; Twin Pines, Lake George, N. Y.; Sacks Farm, Saugerties, N. Y.; Nell's Farm, Laconia, N. H.; Blue Mountain Lodge, Peekskill, N. Y.; Camp Chodikee, Highland, N. Y.; Camp Milford, Kent, Conn.; Hunts Brook Lodge, Oakdale, Conn.; Camp Lincoln, Bristol, Wis.; Camp Liberty, near Detroit; Camp Trumbeniks, Glenham, N. Y.; Cooks Falls Lodge, Cooks Falls, N. Y.; Chester's Zunbarg, Woodbourne, N. Y.; Camp Nitgedaiget, Beacon, N. Y.; Camp Nitgedaiget, Upper Marlboro, Md. (latter two, with camps Unity and Kinderland), among the largest red camps in the United States); Nature Friends camp, Boyerton, Pa.; Lakeside Pioneer camp, Tamarack, Minn., are only a few of the communist camps which are located in every section of the country.

"Nature Friends" is an international and is a Communist-affiliated movement which has within the past few years swept over our Nation through its appeal to lovers of outdoor life. According to an authoritative source, "Nature Friends" was in 1932 organized in 21 countries, including the United States. It claimed a membership then of 170,000, and maintained over 400 camps. It was founded in Vienna in 1895 as a "hiking club," but, as all left-wing movements, it soon widened its scope of activity to include workers' education, agitation and propaganda, and fund raising along left-wing lines, and to support left-wing political efforts in all countries in which it is organized.

In 1931 Nature Friends maintained branches and camps in New York City, Rochester, Syracuse, Newark, Paterson, Jersey City, Philadelphia, Allentown, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Detroit, San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles. Today it has branches in these and many other large cities throughout our Nation. In 1932 the national offices in the East were located at 43 East Eighty-fourth Street, New York City; in the West, 143 Albion Street, San Francisco, Calif. The offices in New York City are now located at 11 West Eighteenth Street, while in San Francisco they are located at 121 Albion Street. Headquarters have also been set up in Stamford, Gary, Oakland, Passaic, Midvale, N. J.; Platte Grove, Elka Park, N. Y.; Boyerton, Pa.; Manlius, N. Y.; Lima, N. Y.; Salt Lake City; Crisman, Ind.; Sierra Madre, Mill Valley, Calif.; and Brooklyn, N. Y.

Nature Friends now refer to themselves as the Workers' International Hiking and Outdoor Organization. All Communist movements claim to be workers' international movements. The New

Sport and Play (official organ of the Labor Sports Union of America, section of the Red Sports International, a Communist sports movement) reports that Nature Friends is also affiliated with it. The fact that the Labor Sports Union of America is a full-fledged Communist movement cannot be denied.

Nature Friends, as we have said, maintains many camps in the United States for summer activity—hiking, swimming, tennis, baseball, soccer, fishing, etc. In the winter they also engage in outdoor sports, such as hiking, skiing, skating, and sledding. In addition, they maintain indoor centers where dances are held, plays, concerts, and lectures are given. Nature Friends, like all Communist movements, discourage parents from sending their children to semimilitarist organization camps, and urges them to send the children to Nature Friends for safe-keeping under the supervision of trained leaders. The rates at these camps are from \$12.50 up a week. Whether or not Nature Friends are in any way connected with the nudist fashion which has been adopted by certain elements is not yet known, but it is common knowledge that nude bathing among mixed sexes is practiced at Communist summer resorts.

The Communists maintain offices for the Soviet Telegraph agency in the United States which keeps Russia well informed concerning their interests in this country.

Visual Education, a service operated from New York City, pictures or charts Communist subjects for use in the Communist centers. It also serves several left-wing labor unions in a like manner.

The Communist Party of the United States would lead Americans to believe that a new constitution adopted by it at its tenth annual convention in New York City in May 1938 Americanized the Communist movement and eliminated the reasons for the claim by its opponents that it was a Moscow movement threatening to destroy our republican form of government as provided for and guaranteed to our people in the Constitution of the United States.

Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, in writing to the official organ of the Communist International (see International Press Correspondence, now World News Events, No. 32, June 25, 1938, pp. 769-770) says:

The tenth national convention laid down as the most important task for the party the further struggle for united action of all forces of the working class, for the purpose of securing joint action of all democratic elements of the country. The convention indicated the concrete forms of the struggle for unity of the working class; in the first place to overcome the split in the trade union movement in the United States of America, by creating a uniform confederation of labor. The convention formulated the program of the democratic front, the program of uniting the American people. * * *

Among these sections in the red program, as adopted by the convention, was one which stated:

The workers must strive in the first place to achieve at all costs the defeats of the candidates of reaction and fascism. For this purpose must be achieved the union of all democratic forces for the election of progressive candidates.

Gentlemen of Congress, what happened was that the Communist Party and the C. I. O. both immediately issued a black list, urging the defeat of scores of the most constructive Members of the United States Congress, and purges in the ranks of political officeholders were even launched from other avenues.

Although the financial statement of the Communist Party for the 2 years ending December 31, 1937, does not, to any extent, indicate the total amount spent by even the Communist political section of the movement in the United States, in that it does not include the income and expenditures of its enormous list of publishing houses, publications, and the allied movements, the report does show that the expenditures of the national office of the party amounted to \$751,183.47 for the past 2 years, and that the total assets (including only \$1,403.86 cash balance) was \$78,827.81. It shows, also, that the party collected only \$146,563.42 of the \$751,183.47 in dues and \$116,133 for International Solidarity, but it does not say from what source it was received. The report shows that the party subsidized organizations in the United States to the extent of \$65,816.81, and that it loaned \$42,000 in addition. It shows that the party spent \$68,728.88 for Communist activities in Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Chile, Costa Rica, China, Ethiopia, Germany, Ireland, India, Italy, Mexico, Nicaragua, Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Portugal. It accounts for the expenditure of \$32,419.77 in steel, auto, textile, railroad, marine, metal, rubber, oil, and mining strike activities, in addition to the amount other Communist organizations expended along those lines. It shows that it subsidized its 35 districts to the tune of \$57,527.06. How much money the districts and sections raised and spent is not known to us. The Communist Party spent \$12,000 in 1937 for radio, the money for which was taken out of a radio fund, not mentioned above. It costs \$120,000 a year more to operate the Daily Worker than the newspaper takes in each year (Daily Worker, October 4, 1937, p. 1). In other words, it costs about \$250,000 a year to operate it. None of which is included in the central committee report.

The Scottsboro committee spent \$64,351.75 in 1 year and about a half million dollars in 3 years. Over \$10,000 a year is spent in donations to jailed Communists and their families. The International Labor Defense in its financial report shows liabilities amounting to \$204,134.13 for 1 year. At times its reports have shown upward of \$180,000 expenditures in the United States for a period of 1 year. The International Workers' Order report showed \$487,300 annual receipts and assets totaling \$598,841.08, with a surplus on hand of approximately a million and a half dollars.

Aid movements in the United States for the Spanish "red" front, according to Department of State, United States of America, reports, have raised over \$1,000,000 in the last year, approximately \$300,000 of which has been spent for so-called advertising and office expenses of the American group.

With regard to the source of a portion of the approximately \$10,000,000 a year which enables the un-American movements to carry on their extensive activities in the United States and, in addition, which makes it possible for them to even hand out money to Communist movements in other countries where the party is illegal and must have the coin delivered in secret, I submit the following. Of course, this does not account for anywhere near all of the money which they expend. It must be understood, also, that the hundreds of movements in the United States, with their wide membership and fund-raising campaigns, raise millions of dollars, although hardly

from the poor workingman or the unemployed, with the exception of those on Government relief.

The plan of activity of the Communist Party is as follows:

1. The dissemination of propaganda through hundreds of journals, newspapers, shop papers, club papers, school, camp and language publications and millions of books, pamphlets, pocket leaflets, petitions, etc.

2. Forums, clubs, camps, schools, street-corner meetings, unions, factory cells, marches, leagues, political controversies, protest meetings, court proceedings, films, theaters and radios, political and labor action.

3. Rank and file committees and cells within labor unions. Culture groups with thousands of local units; Nation-wide youth movements with many State and local branches; atheist movements; defensive groups with hundreds of local units; formations of pacifists, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, and pro-"Democracy" groups; spy and sabotage groups; the creation of strikes, protests, hatred toward non-Communists and the United States Government, and demanding of relief.

The period plan, referred to by communists, is as follows:

Period 1. Propaganda.

Period 2. Agitational and organizational.

Period 3. Manifestos followed by local strikes, riots, and marches.

Period 4. Nation-wide strikes, riots, marches, consolidation of forces on issues involved.

Period 5. Finale, revolution, seizure of power.

While advocating pacifism, the communists have secretly organized a "Red Annapolis," located at camp Nitgaiget, only 65 miles north of New York City on the outskirts of Beacon, N. Y. They have also opened a "West Point of the Air," near West Point, N. Y., which they hope will overshadow Randolph Field, Tex., the American "West Point of the Air." It is reported that up to November 1937, 30 "red" seamen had been turned out of "Red Annapolis" and had gone forth to engage in the task of planting a Communist cell and, finally, a Communist unit on every American ship. Others, it has been hinted, have gone forth into the C. I. O. maritime unions in an effort to win more recruits. An observer reported that among the graduates of "Red Annapolis" were Frederick (Blacky) Myers, Ferdinand E. Smith, and K. Owens, all connected with the National Maritime Union.

THE RED PLAN TO PENETRATE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

PROGRAM OF "FEDERAL WORKERS' BRANCH" COMMUNIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., AS PRESCRIBED BY THE NEW YORK OFFICE OF THE PARTY

1. The main task is to rouse the masses of the Federal employees to struggle against the attacks on their wages, conditions, lay-offs, etc.

2. In order to create a firm basis for this work, it is necessary to carry on extensive enlightenment as to the wages of the employees throughout the whole period, including the so-called period of prosperity, the actual drop in the cost of living, especially with regard to the vital necessities of life which enter into the budget of the low-paid employees, the prospect of rise in prices which are already under way. To expose the Roosevelt program of economy at the expense

of the workers while the bankers, railroad magnets, etc., continue to receive billions in subsidies, and at the same time pay dividends and high salaries to the officials of these corporations.

3. We must definitely and through concrete facts and figures expose the policy of lobbying as bankrupt and show through experience of workers in the industries that only through their organized mass strength and pressure can they maintain their standards, fight for their interests. In this respect the policies of the existing organizations must be exposed as in reality an aid to the Government to keep the masses of employees passive while they are being attacked.

4. The method of bringing these questions to the employees must be through persistent work in the places of work, through the meetings of the various unions, through leaflets, through meetings, and through the establishment of a Washington Federal employees discussion group which will organize discussions and forums on questions most vitally concerning the employees. Such a forum can be useful not only to bring forward our views but it will also serve as a center to crystalize supporters around our program. These supporters will be of great importance in the departments at the union meetings and to undertake any action we may decide.

5. All other activities must be directed toward strengthening the main work of establishing committees on the job. To begin with the simple method of personal contact, petitions, etc., can be used to form such committees. These petitions shall be on the basis of the problems the workers themselves wish to take up. With regard to recruiting into the unions this is, for the present, of secondary importance. However, if we carry on our work in the departments properly, and at the same time stress our program and the need for unity of all workers to carry through the program, we will strengthen our position, not matter which union the workers join. Our task is to work within the unions, ask the workers to come to the union meetings, elect officers who represent their views, etc. We will, of course, in numerous cases recruit to this or that union, depending on the needs in order to strengthen our position. But no matter which union the workers join we will aim to unite them through the joint committees in the departments.

6. Leaflets may be issued through the department committees, the various branches of the union, the forum group, or even a group of workers in a given department, etc.

7. Special stress in all the work must be laid to the actual development of the struggle around the 15-percent cut, the possibility of a forced 90-day furlough, shifting lay-offs, etc. The fact that on July 1 a new Executive order must be issued to extend the period of the cut, and the fact that the President has arbitrary power, must be utilized to prove to the worker that all is not finished and that there exist great possibilities for winning back some of the wages, etc. For this purpose, as the work progresses, we must develop mass meetings, protest meetings, petitions, delegates demanding that on July 1 the old scale prevail. This, of course, does not exclude the immediate fight for immediate modification of the Executive order.

8. In order to make this campaign effective, steps must be taken to keep in contact with other cities and with other groups and categories of Federal employees, such as postal workers, etc., and jointly to work out a positive program of demands, not only of a defensive character, but of a more basic character, such as wage increases, shorter hours, etc.

UNITED FRONT OR POPULAR FRONT MOVEMENT

The August 18, 1936, issue of *New Masses* (p. 13), a Communist publication, quotes William Z. Foster, head of the Communist International's movement in the United States, as follows:

The success of the Spanish and French united fronts are a glowing justification of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. They are a glowing signal for all branches of the toiling masses in the United States to join in one broad united front.

Propaganda used in France to put over the so-called popular front, people's front, or united front, is now being exhibited in Communist schools in the United States to acquaint the American Communists with the tactics used so successfully in France.

In Earl Browder's report to the New York convention of the Communist Party of the United States, June 24, 1936, he begins his sugar-coating of the united-front efforts by saying:

With full knowledge that the great majority are not yet prepared to turn to socialism, we Communists come forward with an immediate program which the masses are ready to support. * * * It can be realized within the framework of the present economic system by a people's government backed by the organized masses * * * If we can record with pleasure the increasing progressive role being played by the trade-unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization, in political life, as well as in trade-union questions, the case is the opposite with the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, representing the craft union forces and led by Green, Woll, and Hutcheson. * * * The Committee for Industrial Organization has taken up the task of organizing all the mass-production industries of America in industrial unions. The success of this effort is a basic necessity. * * * The Communist Party unconditionally pledges its full resources, moral and material, to the complete execution of this great project.

In referring to the united front among youth, Browder said:

It is precisely among the younger generation that we witness the broadest progressive united front which has risen under the banner of the American Youth Congress, involving the majority of important youth mass organizations from church bodies to communists. * * * The Young Communist League, with the assistance of the party, has from the beginning played an important part in building the Youth Congress movement and formulating its program and activities. * * * Another great victory for the united front among the youth was the successful unification of the National Student League and the League for Industrial Democracy into the new American Student Union.

Significant progress has been made in building a united front of struggle for Negro liberation. The National Negro Congress which met in Chicago in February and established a permanent organization found the correct road to a broad unity. * * * It is a broad people's movement. The Negro people have learned to expect and demand from Communists the greatest sensitivity to their problems, the greatest energy in their defense, the closest solidarity in their struggles.

National unification of the unemployed organizations is one of our outstanding achievements of the united front since our Eighth Congress. We Communists were the pioneers in this, as in many other fields. The unemployment movement dates back to the great Nation-wide demonstrations of March 6, 1930, called by our party.

In connection with another united front in the United States, the Communists report:

A united labor defense movement is becoming a pressing necessity. * * * The International Labor Defense is unquestionably the outstanding and most effective organization in the field. [This organization is an American section of an international in Moscow.] It has a fine record of achievements. * * * I am sure the leading comrades of the International Labor Defense will agree with me [Earl Browder] when I declare that we are willing to meet all groups interested in a united labor defense movement.

The American League Against War and Fascism [now the American League for Peace and Democracy] is one of the outstanding examples of a broad people's front. * * * Its Third Congress, held in Cleveland last January, registered a representation of mass organizations of the most varied kind with a membership of over 3,000,000. * * * Its program has brought the beginnings of clarity and unity into the chaotic peace movements in the United States. It is impossible to speak of the American League and its work without noting the outstanding contribution of its devoted chairman, Dr. Harry F. Ward. * * * We will be glad to cooperate in making it even broader than it is. The coming World Peace Congress, called for Geneva in September, to which the American League Against War and Fascism is sending a delegation in common with most of the peace societies of the country, including the National Peace Conference and the League of Nations Society, should be the occasion for an all-around strengthening of the league in every locality. * * *

It is interesting to note how this united front idea was also casually injected into the picture by Reverend Ward at the Third Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland in January 1936. Reverend Ward, in his welcoming address to several thousand delegates, including those from church organizations, pacifist groups, Communists, Socialists, students, professors, and ministers' circles, said, in part:

There is going to form in this country a united people's movement which will be the counterpart of the Front Populaire in France. This year we have made considerable gains, we can honestly say, in understanding the problems of the United Front, and in learning United-Front behavior. * * * A good many times our constituent forces and those who come to our meeting ask us this: "Is the American League Against War and Fascism anticapitalist?" Of course it is. * * * How could we be against fascism without being against capitalism?

In the report of the American League Against War and Fascism is found a resolution adopted by the Cleveland Congress proclaiming—heartly greetings to our valiant comrades of the People's Front in Spain. Your successful example renews our courage and inspires us to redouble our efforts to attain the same indispensable end in the United States. * * * We are heartened by the increasing response of the American people to an appeal for united action. * * * We are one with you in spirit and shall stand shoulder to shoulder until the final victory is achieved.

Throughout the Nation meetings sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism are raising huge funds for the Spanish People's Front Army.

The Communists claim in their American "cultural" front magazine, the New Masses of September 1, 1936, that the recent American Federation of Teachers' Convention held in Philadelphia, "Took steps to promote that broader unity—which is the unity of the People's Front of France and Spain. * * * Toward developing a broad front; the convention made a number of unprecedented moves. After long and heated debate, it voted cooperation with the American League Against War and Fascism—it reaffirmed its support of a Farmer-Labor Party. It went on record condemning the McNaboe investigation—a committee appointed by the State Legislature of New York to investigate Communist activities in educational institutions in New York. It voted to support the American Student Union to reinstate Robert Burke," a student suspended from Columbia University. "It manifested unyielding opposition to 'loyalty oaths' for teachers," and the convention was called upon to raise \$5,000 from among its members for the support of the Spanish People's Front, which is the organization of reds in control in Spain who are destroying churches, monasteries, and property, and slaughtering priests and nuns.

The official organ of the Communist Party in the United States a section of the Third Communist International, in its August 6, 1936, issue, contained the following statement on their united front movement among religious circles in the United States:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successfully united fronts with church groups. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such on our part. In fact, by going among religious masses we are for the first time able to bring our antireligious ideas to them. * * *

The above statements have purposely been documented because the Communists and those churchmen, educators, students, labor, and pacifist leaders and organizations, which have been hoodwinked into becoming a part of communism's well-planned united front, will, of course, attempt to deny the above facts. There are also many who have been so blinded by propaganda they will not believe that the things which are taking place in other countries can happen in the United States. But communism is already here. It isn't "just around the corner" any longer. It is spreading to a great extent in what is commonly considered fields unfertile for Communists.

In the past few years the Communists' People's Front, all over the world has continued to march on practically unhampered and, in fact, with the aid of individuals who could hardly be credited with being roped in by the "reds." The atheists have united—the International Freethinkers have united with the International Proletarian Freethinkers in a World Union of Freethinkers. Both have sections in this country. The Red Sports International has united with the Socialist Labor Sports International. They both have branches here. The Negro movements have united in the National Negro Congress. The students have united in the World Youth Congress, the American Student Union, the American Youth Congress, etc. The aliens have united in numerous movements, then into a confederation. The pacifists and many left-wing church, youth, and labor unions have united in the American League for Peace and Democracy. Left-wing labor has united in the C. I. O., Labors Non-Partisan League, American Labor Party, Communist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, and the Commonwealth Federation. Its next move will be a united front labor-farmer party. The cooperative movements have united in the international cooperative movement; the unemployed and relief workers in the Workers' Alliance. On May Day, pacifist, protest, aid movements for alien "reds," movements for legislation and against legislation of the left-wing variety all join in "united fronts" in the United States.

The following are excerpts from reports made by the Communists in the United States to the Third (Communist) International in Moscow. All are taken from *Imprecor*, the mouthpiece of the Communist International, numbers 1, volume 16; 31, volume 16; 20, volume 16; 4, volume 17, and 27, volume 17:

The successful struggles and organization of the marine workers into the Pacific coast and the Gulf Ports Marine Federations is a powerful factor for unity of the marine transport workers. The organization of the Committee for Industrial Organization, composed of the leaders of eight powerful American Federation of Labor unions, with a membership of more than 1,000,000 workers, is arousing interest among the toilers in the heavy and basic industries. These workers are anxious to unite in order to fight against American monopoly capital.

In the face of growing Fascist reaction, the increasing desire of the masses to fight fascism is finding such various forms of expression. The Communist Party is taking steps to mobilize this growing militancy in the huge nation-wide May Day demonstrations. In three large cities united front May Day committees have been set up on the basis of agreements between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

In New York City a provisional committee consisting of eight powerful trade unions—Socialists and Communists—have called 2,000 trade unions, fraternal and political organizations to a conference to organize one united front May 1 demonstration, in which at least 250,000 will participate. * * *

In every country the time has come to rally the enormous forces of all non-Fascist youth organizations—Communist, Socialist, democratic, pacifist, liberal, religious, cultural, and sports—in a united front.

On the basis of the decision of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International, the Communist and Socialist students in Spain, Great Britain, United States of America, Belgium, and Austria have created unified organization in different forms. The new American Student Union has been formed in the United States of America by the merging of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and the new organization is at the head of the powerful antiwar movement of the American students.

While continuing to help build such organizations as the Youth Division of the International Workers' Order, with its 17,000 members; as the American Student Union, with its 20,000 members; as the youth organizations around the Farmer-Labor parties; as the dozens of independent clubs under our influence; we must especially emphasize the need for a radical transformation of the character of our Young Communists' League on the basis of the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communists' League.

In Wisconsin the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, a united front of Communists, Socialists, farmer, and labor organizations, won a tremendous victory: 22 seats in the State assembly, six in the State senate, 6 Congressmen, and many lesser offices. It was an important factor in the overwhelming victory of the Progressive Party State Governor, Philip La Follette, whose program was that of the federation. The federation was the most important factor in electing, in addition to its own candidates: 24 assemblymen who ran on the Progressive Party ticket, 8 Progressive Party senators, and 1 Progressive Congressman. Communists participate openly in the leading committees of the federation.

Labor Fact Book No. 3, published by International Publishers, New York City, and prepared by Labor Research Association, both Communist organizations.

Page 147:

Early in March 1933 the executive committee of the Communist (Third) International addressed a manifesto to all labor organizations and Social-Democratic parties asking them to unite with it against "hunger and the capitalist offensive."

Again, in February 1934, Communists proposed a united front from the assistance of Austrian workers.

In October 1934 the Communists and Young Communist International appealed to the Labor and Socialist (Second) International and its constituent parties for a united front in support of a revolutionary struggle in Spain.

At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, which met in Moscow, July 25 to August 21, 1935, the general secretary, Georgi Dimitrov, hero of the Reichstag fire, placed as "the immediate and central task of the International Proletarian movement the establishment of unity in action among all sections of the working class in the struggle against fascism."

Dimitrov voices the unanimous sentiments of the approximately 400 delegates, from 70 Communist * * * represented at the congress.

Page 148:

Dimitrov, in the name of the Communist International, appealed, September 27, 1935, to the Second International for a united front against Fascist war. Again, on October 5, an appeal was made to the executive committee of the Second International which was meeting in Brussels. This time, with representatives of 17 countries present, a majority, or all but 5, were in favor of the Communist International's offers. Nevertheless, because the Socialist parties of England, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Czechoslovakia opposed the united front, the executive committee of the Second International in its resolution of October 12, 1935, declared it could not accept the invitation of the Comintern.

But while rejecting any world-wide united front with the Communist International, the executive committee of the Second International, in keeping with a previous resolution of November 17, 1934, left the way open for Socialist parties in various countries to unite with Communists.

Page 149:

Unity of Socialists and Communists in Spain was forged in the revolutionary struggle of October 1934. This revolt against the forces of reaction was suppressed, some 30,000 persons imprisoned. Accordingly a popular front was formed of Left Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, and others. One of the chief demands of the united front, amnesty for the 30,000 political prisoners, was carried out.

Page 151: Shows united fronts formed in the United States between general defense committee (Industrial Workers of the World), International Labor Defense, League for Industrial Democracy, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, Non-Partisan Labor Defense. It says:

at the 1935 A. F. of L. convention militant socialists and economists united to support industrial unionism, the Labor Party and other progressive issues.

Page 151:

"Other united fronts listed are Scottsboro Defense Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, International Labor Defense, League for Industrial Democracy, Methodist Federation for Social Service and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Congress—the American Student Union—the Workers Alliance of America.

THE PEOPLES FRONT, BY EARL BROWDER, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS—COPYRIGHT 1938

Page 44:

The Young Communist League, with the assistance of the party, has from the beginning played an important part building the Youth Congress movement and the formulating its program and activities.

Another great victory for the united front among the youth was the successful unification of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy into the new American Student Union.

Page 45:

Our eighth convention placed the youth question of the entire party. The results since then, even with inadequate attention by the party committees, have been most valuable. Tenfold progress will be made when every party committee takes up the question, giving guidance and aid to the young people. This convention must begin an even brighter period in the youth movement. Who wins the youth wins the future of America.

Page 47:

Significant progress has been made in building the united front of struggle for Negro liberation. The National Negro Congress, which met in Chicago in February and established a permanent organization, found the correct road to a broad unity of the varied forces among the Negro people and their friends. It is broad people's movement, which at the same time has a firm working class of Negro unions and working-class leaders.

The position won by our party among the Negro masses carries with it corresponding responsibilities. The Negro people have learned to expect and demand from the Communists the greatest sensitivity to their problems, the greatest energy in their defense, the closest solidarity in their struggles.

The unification of the unemployed organizations is one of our outstanding achievements of the united front since our eighth convention. It was the Communists who raised the slogan of national unification, fought for it consistently, and finally brought about the merger of all into the Workers Alliance.

Page 49:

A united labor defense movement is becoming a pressing necessity. The International Labor Defense is unquestionably the outstanding and most effective organization in the field. It has a fine record of achievements. Many forces which must be united, do not yet accept the International Labor Defense as their common organ.

The American League against War and Fascism (at its Youth Congress, held November 1937, its name was changed to American League for Peace and Democracy) is one of the outstanding examples of a broad people's front organized around issues affecting the whole population. Its third congress, held in Cleveland last January, registered a representation of mass organizations of the most varied kind with a membership of over 3,000,000.

Page 57:

Our Sunday Worker, with a regular circulation of 120,000, is our greatest single achievement. But it is far from sufficient. The number of local papers is increasing and their quality improves, but this also does not keep with the developments among the masses.

Circulation of books and pamphlets in 1935 reached almost two and a half million copies, compared to slightly more than a million in 1934, but closely to 5,000,000 in 1936. Press and literature are the fundamental weapon of mass education.

Page 58:

We are the party of socialism, of the proletarian revolution, of Soviet power. Socialism will come out of life, out of the class struggle. Only that party which is the vanguard of millions in their struggles will lead these millions to the final struggle of the Socialist revolution.

Page 182:

And not the least source of our pride is the fact that over 60 percent of the Lincoln Battalion members are members of the Communist Party. There is now being organized among the Americans in Spain a second—the George Washington Battalion.

All the more must we who remain on the American front redouble our efforts in Spain, which means for democracy and peace everywhere. The work of the North American Committee for Support of Spanish Democracy must be increased and made more efficient; the Medical Bureau must be helped to enlist even wider support. The friends of the Lincoln Battalion must provide more of those necessities and comforts for our boys in Spain and popularize much wider the knowledge of their heroic deeds.

Above all, we must arouse the conscience of America to the crimes of fascism in Spain. It is an indelible blot of shame upon our country that our Government rushed to apply the infamous "neutrality" law to martyred Spain. We can never rest until that shameful blot is wiped out.

Page 183:

The months leading up to this congress must witness the strengthening of the American League Against War and Fascism, the rallying of new forces to it, the enlistment of the best active workers, the revival of local league councils, the rallying especially of the trade unions, the establishment of relations with other peace organizations, the widening of the circulation of the league's excellent magazine, *The Fight*. * * * We demand of every State and city organization of the party that it shall seriously discuss and act upon the problem of giving practical help and forces to the American League * * *.

Page 186:

We must get every mass organization, every trade-union, every church, every lodge, every peace group; and these must be given organizational form in the American League Against War and Fascism. If, with certain organizations, this is not possible, let these then be brought into cooperative relations with the league.

UNITED FRONT

Browder report to ninth convention, Communist Party:

Page 33:

Another great victory for the united front among the youth was the successful unification of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy with the new American Student Union.

Page 32:

The Young Communist League with the assistance of the party has from the beginning played an important part in building the American Youth Congress and formulating its program and activities.

Page 35:

Significant progress has been made in building the united front of struggle for Negro liberation. The National Negro Congress which met in Chicago in February and established a permanent organization found the correct road * * *.

The Negro people have learned to expect and demand of the Communists the greatest sensitivity to their problems.

COMMUNIST PARTY ON FORCE

Labor Fact Book No. 2, published by the International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, year 1931:

Page 202:

The Communist Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the American working class. Its central attack is against the capitalist system in all its forms and for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

In preparation for the overthrow of capitalism the Communist Party seeks to lead the workers and exploited indirect struggles, such as strikes and mass demonstrations, for their ultimate daily needs. It endeavors to build revolutionary industrial unions and revolutionary minorities within the old unions for carrying on militant struggles against the employers and their labor lieutenants, the reactionary craft union officials * * *. It seeks to convert imperialist wars into civil war for the purpose of ending the rule of the capitalist class.

The Communist Party was originally organized in 1919 by left-wing elements which broke with the Socialist Party.

Page 203:

Special attention is given to agitation and organization within the factories, shop papers being published for this purpose. The Daily Worker, the parties official organ, was the only daily Communist paper printed in the English language in 1930 * * *. Organs are also published in Italian, Spanish, Finnish, Jewish, German, Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Swedish, and other languages. All party papers are owned and administered by the party * * *. It now issues the Southern Workers New South, the first revolutionary paper of the South.

Page 204:

Besides its Negro department for "special work" in that field, the party also has a woman's department with its paper the Working Woman, and a farm department with its own organ the United Farmer. The Young Communist League, with its publication, the Young Worker, carries on agitation and organization among the youth over 16. For children under 16 the work is conducted by the Young Pioneers, with its illustrated magazine, the New Pioneer.

Other organizations listed as among their closest movements on pages 204 and 205 include the International Labor Defense, the

Workers International Relief, the Anti-Imperialist League of the United States, the League for Struggles for Negro Rights, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Labor Sports Union, the International Workers Order, the John Reed Club, and New Masses.

At its convention in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934—page 71, Labor Fact Book No. 2, the Communist Party adopted a resolution on "The Magnitude of Struggles" stating in part that these struggles

show that the masses are accumulating enormous revolutionary energy and that big class battles are maturing * * *. These are signs of the growing elements of the transformation of the economic crises into a revolutionary crises and only the destruction of the capitalist system, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the Soviet power, can free the millions of toilers from the bondage and misery of the capitalist system.

It says further, the concrete steps to be taken by a workers' government when it comes to power are envisioned as follows:

It will confiscate the banks, the factories, the railroads, the mines, and the farms * * *.

COMMUNISM'S "ANTISEPTIC SQUAD"

There has grown up in the United States quite a vast group referred to freely in non-Communist circles as Russians' and communism's "antiseptic squad," meaning small groups devoting its efforts toward ridiculing the idea of a "red" menace and attempting to discredit anyone who charges that there is such a menace. This group also protests attempts of Congress and State legislatures to advance laws to deal with revolutionists and their activities. It carried on a vocal and "in the paper" campaign for recognition of Russia. It condemns the releasing of radicals from college and other professional and political positions. It comes to the front in event of attempted deportations of alien "reds" and for the advancement of citizenship to aliens who refuse to swear allegiance to our country. In other words, its job is to defend Russia and communism and to soothe our people into calmness in face of the reality of a "red" menace in the United States, which they claim is but a myth.

In November 1937 over 500,000 of such individuals are reported to have affixed their signatures to what the "reds" entitled the "Golden Book" which was a book of eulogies to the Communist Government of Russia on the event of its 20 years of rule and ruin of the Russian people. This book was dispatched to Mr. Stalin the dictator through the Russian Ambassador in the United States.

In April 1938 some of this type even went so far as to declare their support and approval of the widespread epidemic of government killings of individuals whom Stalin claims are deserters and enemies of his regime. They said:

the measures taken by the Soviet Union to preserve and extend its gains and its strength find echoes here, where we are staking the future of the American people on the preservation of progressive democracy and the unification of our efforts to prevent Fascists from strangling the rights of the people. American liberals must not permit their outlook on these questions to be confused, nor allow recognition of the place of the Soviet Union in the international fight for democracy against fascism to be destroyed. We call upon them to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers * * *.

This was signed by the following and scores more :

Arthur Arent	Prof. John Howard Lawson
Nelson Algren	Prof. Corliss Lamont
Beril Becker	Catherine Lawrence
Thomas B. Becker	Melvin Levy
Arnold Blanch	Jay Leyda
Marc Blitzstein	Phillip Loeb
Roman Bohen	Louis Lozowick
Millen Brand	William C. MacLeod
Phebe Brand	Albert Maltz
Dorothy Brewster	Prof. V. J. McGill
J. R. Brown	Selden C. Menefee
Edwin Berry Burgum	Alfred Morang
Alan Campbell	Elizabeth Oids
Morris Carnovsky	John O'Malley
Vera Caspary	A. L. Ottenheimer
Si-lan Chen	Samuel Ornitz
Haakon M. Chevalier	Raymond Otis
Ch'ao-ting Chi	Dorothy Parker
Harold Churman	Paul Peters
Robert Coates	John Hyde Preston
Merle Colby	Rebecca E. Pitts
Jack Conroy	Samuel Putnam
Curt Conway	Charles Recht
Ted Conday	Wallingford Riegger
Malcolm Cowley	Lynn Riggs.
Bruce Crawford	Holland D. Roberts
Kyle Crichton	Anna Rochester
Robert M. Cronbach	Harold J. Rome
Lester Cole	Henry Roth
Prof. H. W. L. Dana	Paul Romaine
Prof. Jerome Davis	Prof. Margaret Schlauch
Stuart Davis	Prof. Morris U. Schappes
Paul de Kruif	Edwin Seaver
Mariel Draper	George Seides
Robert W. Dunn	Howard Selsam
Dr. Garland Ethel	Irwin Shaw
Phil Evergood	Dr. Henry E. Sigerist
Guy Endore	George Sklar
Louis Ferstadt	Harry Schloehower
Frederik V. Field	Bernard Smith
Elizabeth G. Flynn	F. Tredwell Smith
Jules Garfield	Jessica Smith
Hugo Gellert	Hester Sondergaard
Robert Gessner	Raphael Soyer
Harry Gottlieb	Lionel Stander
Emmett Gowan	Prof. Bernard J. Stern
B. D. N. Grebanier	Housey Stevens, Jr.
Richard Greenleaf	Philip Stevenson
Dashiell Hammett	Maxwell S. Stewart
Abraham Harriton	Paul Strand
Henry Hart	John Stuart
Lillian Hellman	Genevieve Taggard
Prof. Granville Hicks	Nahum Tschabasov
Langston Hughes	Ethel Turner
Rolph Humphries	Keene Wallis
Leo Hurwitz	Max Weber
Burton C. James	George T. Willison
Florence B. James	Frances Winwar
Joe Jones	Martin Wolfson
V. D. Kazakevich	Richard Wright
Adelaide Klein	Gen. Victor A. Yakhentoff
Prof. JI. S. Kraft	

In November 1937 over 10,000 of such individuals, led by Prof. Corliss Lamont, crowded the Madison Square Garden in New York to celebrate the 20 years of Communist rule in Russia. While this was going on American patriots were trying to arouse a corporal's-guard-sized crowd in New York City to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Constitution, but little if any help came from the above crowd in the effort. They were more jubilant, evidently, over Russia.

On December 3, the same year, 1937, again led by Professor Lamont, another throng gathered in New York to celebrate the adoption of the new Constitution by the Soviet Union. These included in addition to some 2,000 individuals, the following: Prof. Corliss Lamont, Harry Elmer Barnes, Edwin Burgum, Louis Budenz, Jessica Smith, Max Bedacht, Malcolm Cowley, H. W. L. Dana, John Elliott Lovejoy, Sherwood Eddy, John Kingsbury, Mildred Fairchild, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Henry Goddard Leach, Langston Hughes, V. J. McGill, Charles Recht—reported to be the Soviets' highest legal authority here—Maxwell Stewart, Irer Skariatina, Oswald Garrison Villard, Gen. Victor Yakhontoff, and others. Recently some 250 of these individuals met in Town Hall Club in New York City and organized another "whoop-it-up-for-Russia" movement; this to be known as the American Council on Soviet Relations. The occasion was the celebration of the return of Professor Lamont from Russia, from where he did considerable short-wave broadcasting to the United States from Russia. Lamont himself is the head of the Friends of Soviet Russia, in the United States. Heading this new organization formed at Town Hall, are Lamont, Mary Van Kleeck, and the national committee is composed of Col. Raymond Robbins; Dr. Henry Seigert, of Johns Hopkins University; Prof. Dorothy Douglas; Maxwell Stewart; Harriet Eddy, Prof. Jerome Davis, head of the American Teachers Federation; Prof. John Gray; Prof. John Kingsbury; Prof. Eduard C. Lindeman; Prof. Robert Morss Lovetto, of the University of Chicago; Prof. Wyllistine Goodsell; Prof. Mary Fairchild, of Bryn Mawr; Prof. Thomas Addis; Miss Mary Dublin; and numerous others.

As an example of how these so-called liberals fill the bill for just about any radical scheme, we note that they are on numerous special committees to protest by publicity and action. For instance, a committee was recently hurriedly set up to defend Marcus Graham from deportation. Graham is allegedly an Anarchist, has been arrested, and ordered deported. He is editor of *Man an Anarchist* journal published in California. Among those who constituted themselves as a committee to carry on a defense of him and to protest deportation were the following:

Prof. Newton Arvin
Roger Baldwin
Ernest Sutherland Bates
Vicki Baum
Konrad Baycovici
Alice Stone Blackwell
Lewis Browne
Howard Brubaker
Steven T. Byington
Walter Bymer
John Chamberlain

Courtee Cullen
Prof. George S. Courts
Prof. John Dewey
Robert W. Dunn
Dr. Max Eastman
Vardes Frober
Kate Crane-Gartz
George W. Hartman
Hypolyte Hanel
Arthur Garfield Hays
Rev. John Haynes Holmes

Freda Kirchwey
 Prof. Robert Morss Lovett
 Prof. Alexander Meikeljohn
 Edna St. Vincent Millay
 Walter Pach
 Rev. Kirby Page
 Dorothy Parker
 Prof. John Dos Passos
 James Rosty
 Dr. Charles E. Russel
 Frank Scully

George Seldes
 George Soule
 Ruth Suckow
 Jim Tully
 Donald Ogden Stewart
 Louis Untermeyer
 Rev. Harry F. Ward
 George P. West
 James Waterman Wise
 Art Young, etc.

PROTESTORS AGAINST DEPORTATION OF VINCENT FERRERO—AMERICAN COMMITTEE
 FOR THE PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

Prof. John Dewey
 Ellen Tabbot (Mount Holyoke)
 Paul M. Reid (American League
 Against War and Fascism)
 Rose Schneiderman (Women's Trade
 Union League)
 Roy Burt (Socialist Party)
 New Jersey Civil Liberties Union
 American League Against War and
 Fascism
 Workmen's Circle

Modern Educational Association
 American Cloth Workers Union
 Congressman Emanuel Acker, Brook-
 lyn (preparing special bill to stay
 Ferrero's deportation definitely)
 Marcus Graham
 Harry Bridges
 Domenick Salbito
 Mrs. Maria Pesce
 Carl Ohm
 Han Goepel, etc.

There seems to have been an error in the signals called to these groups, for a great number of such individuals formed a Trotsky Defense Committee in the United States last year and began to put up a concerted campaign in behalf of him in the United States. Some thought that inasmuch as he was temporarily living in Mexico that it was the groundwork to encourage his entry into the United States.

Some of these resigned immediately on condemnation from the Stalin Communists in the United States; most of them resigning apologized through the Stalin Communists' official organ.

Many of the type of performers as referred to above are college professors, economists, writers, artists, and professionals in other lines. The above are only a few of the thousands that are active in these respects. We will not attempt to list more. The mention of these few shows how this type of individual in the United States has been penetrated by the radicals.

RADICALS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

While I have not overlooked this important field of activity of the radicals, I am not attempting to go into such detail about it, for the coverage of that activity in completeness would in itself require hundreds of pages of testimony, it has been so extensive. I will state with earnestness and could easily prove to this committee the fact that there has possibly been as much if not more "red" activity in this field than in any other excepting among the working class.

As in Russia, Spain, France, China, Mexico, and every country in which Communists have formed movements, the youth and the professors particularly have been widely organized into direct and contributing movements along many lines. I will touch upon some of the youth activities, in fact, most of them later in this report, but will deal only slightly with the organized efforts among the college and university students and the professors thereof.

It is simple enough to see the reason why it is of benefit to the un-American forces to organize both of these groups if they organize one of them. I have referred to the effort afoot among Communists to organize in such a way in the educational institutions so as to bring about a "closed shop on the campus," as one document refers to the organization from the top—instructors—and the organization at the bottom—students.

On the one hand, the professor would feel freer to teach communism in the institution; and on the other side, the student would be more acceptable to the teaching of it. If a student should be fired for Communist action in the institution the student bodies and the professorial bodies could be in an organized position to strike: if a professor were fired the student body and professorial body could jointly act. I have already shown how many professors are wound up into the machinery of radicalism in the United States in other avenues. I have listed some of the teacher organizations that are extremely communistic. This does not represent the entire picture.

There are a number of Communist professors, there are a number of Socialist professors, there are professors who used to be I. W. W.'s, there are others who are atheists, there are many who are on the firing line in cooperating movements. There have been many colleges blacklisted because such radicals have been dismissed from service. The American Professors Association usually conducts the blacklisting. The American Federation of Teachers, now headed by Prof. Jerome Davis, the C. I. O. and Labor Non-Partisan League leader in the New England States, and who was cut from the teachers staff at Yale a few years ago, is president of that American Federation of Teachers. It is honeycombed with radicals of extreme types. It, of course, carries on a campaign against teachers' oaths to the Constitution of the United States. In fact, over 700 New York teachers, most of them with foreign sounding names, protested against a teachers' oath in New York when the State legislature had the issue before it 2 years ago. The American Federation of Labor, with which the American Teachers Federation is yet affiliated—a referendum is on now for affiliation with the C. I. O.—has openly scored the leadership of the American Federation of Teachers in the past because of its Communist leadership. In fact some of its original officers have resigned with the public statement that they could no longer tolerate the Communist leadership in the American Teachers Federation. Possibly the deepest penetrated locals are in New York City. Davis himself is referred to in communistic circles as a friend of Russia, as one who has made frequent visits to Russia, as one who has learned to speak their language and as an "authority" on Russia. It is a safe bet that the Communists would not refer to him as an authority on the subject were he not overly friendly to the Communist side. Davis was among the many intellectuals who in April this year, 1938, approved the mass killings—purges—in Russia, but attempt to remove the radicals from the schools and left-wing movements in the United States and see where he stands?

Davis was one of those who entered protests to the effort to prevent the Communist leader Simon Gerson from holding a city office in New York in March 1938. He was one of the signers of the "Golden Book" said to have contained over 500,000 American intellectuals eulogies to Russia on its twentieth anniversary in 1937; he is the State

of Connecticut head of the Labor's Non-Partisan League; he is on the advisory committee of the Commonwealth College, which the hearings of the special committee of the State of Arkansas Legislature showed to be teaching and practicing communism, atheism, and free love 2 years ago. He is on the advisory committee of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (the "red" front of Spain). He is director of the Consumers Union of the U. S., he is on the national advisory committee of the American Youth Congress, he is of the World Peaceways organization, he is of the national council of the Peoples Lobby, driving for government ownership of industry and utilities; he is of the Cooperative Distributors, Inc., the American Civil Liberties Union, League for Mutual Aid, International Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, Peace Patriots, etc.

As one example of how our educational institutions are penetrated, recently Granville Hicks, an avowed Communist, was added to the teaching staff at Harvard, where the bust of the notorious Bolshevik, John Reed, deported from the U. S. by the Wilson administration, has been placed in the hall of fame. Harvard has several communist organizations among its students; so strongly are they entrenched that they can issue a regular 28-page publication known as the Harvard Communist (note there a copy of it). Not every institution is penetrated, but a great number of them are. I will therefore not attempt to enumerate the long list that have been penetrated, or all the educators that are among the "red" forces or are playing their fiddles, or all of the "red" activities of both the student and teaching staffs. But let me assure you that there are many strange things being perpetrated under the protection of so-called academic freedom in our country today.

Communists have stated: "The way youth goes, so does a country go in the future." While the parents sleep, the "reds" work for the fatal day.

LEAGUE OF PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

The League of Professional Groups was founded in 1932 in the United States, in time to throw its support to William Z. Foster, candidate for President of the United States, and James Ford, candidate for Vice President, on the Communist Party ticket. The membership of this organization is made up of writers, artists, teachers, physicians, engineers, scientists, and "other professional workers of America." Its headquarters are located in the Communist den, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

The leaders of the league include Prof. Newton Arvin, Prof. H. W. L. Dana, Prof. John Dos Passos, Prof. Granville Hicks, Prof. Sidney Hook, Prof. Orrick Johns, Prof. Frederick J. Schuman, Leonie Adams, Sherwood Anderson, Emjo Basshe, Maurice Becker, Lester Cohen, John Herrmann, Louis Lozowick, Isidor Schneider, Edwin Seaver, Slater Brown, iFelding Burke, Erskine Caldwell, Robert Cantwell, Winifred Chappell, Louis Colman, Lewis Corey, Henry Cowell, Malcolm Cowley, Kyle Crichton, Countee Cullen, Adolph Dehn, Howard N. Doughty, Mirian A. De Ford, Waldo Frank, Alfred Fruch, Murray Goodwin, Eugene Gordon, Horace Gregory, Louis Gruden, Sidney Howard, Langston Hughes, William N. Jones, Mathey Josephson, Alfred Kreyborg, Grace Lumpkin, Felix Mor-

row, James Rorty, Edwin Seaver, Herman Simpson, Charles Walker, Robert Whitaker, Edmund Wilson, and Mrs. Ella Winters.

The League of Professional Groups pledged its support to the Communist Party and its candidates. It called on all professionals to join it in this move to elect Communists to office.

SOME OF THE FINANCIAL SOURCES FOR COMMUNISM AND OTHER RADICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

I believe an investigation will disclose the fact that the Communist agitators and organizers have led mob marches and demands on National, State, and local governments for various forms of relief, etc., and that they have likewise organized themselves in most communities for the purpose of obtaining large portions of this relief in order that they may live off these doles while agitating and organizing for a revolution.

Lieutenant _____, of the National Guard in the State of New Mexico, one of those officers in charge of the enforcement of martial law in the Gallup coal mine region (1933), in which two dozen or more Communist organizers were arrested, after widespread disorders had broken out, reported the following:

An interesting thing that we have found (you probably have known it for some time, but we learned it only recently) is that the Communist group, through these various organizations, has been successful in organizing its people to receive the major portion of relief donations and help on a national scope.

It is known that this same thing is repeated in other sections of the Nation, including Washington, D. C.

This is significant in view of the statement of Stalin to the sections of the Communist International (of which the Communist Party of the United States is a branch) as of March 28, 1933. The first part of the report of that meeting does not mention what funds Moscow has granted foreign agitators, but it states:

When agitators in America organize the idle, they will, no doubt, be able to obtain financial assistance from some American municipalities. * * * Polish, French, German, and Czechoslovakian cities have been so induced by Communists to furnish funds to aid their agitation.

FINANCIAL SOURCES FOR COMMUNISM

In 1931, at a meeting of the Third International, at which the Communist Party of the United States had representatives—delegates—Stalin, as reported in a press dispatch from Riga—appearing in the Chicago Tribune—notified the delegates of the foreign parties that due to internal conditions, Russia was compelled to reduce her subsidies to foreign parties for the future, and that these parties would be compelled to raise a larger portion of their own funds for action within their own countries.

On March 29, 1932, according to the Chilean Government, documents confiscated in a raid on Soviet diplomatic quarters showed that the Communist International of Moscow had contributed \$45,000 to be spent in organizing preparations and spreading propaganda for revolution in Chile, which Nation is designated the "ninth political district," according to another document dated February 5, 1932.

A report of the twelfth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International, entitled, "Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended—Theses and Resolutions," lists as expenditures for 1931: "Subsidies to party newspapers, publishing houses, and cultural-educational work, \$756,900; traveling expenses, \$52,732; postage and telegraph, \$38,387.75; administrative expenses, personal, business, etc., \$372,347.30, a total of \$1,295,315.80" for the year.

The Workers' International Relief claims to have spent over \$20,000,000. The Communist Party openly accounts for expenditures in the United States during the last 2 years amounting to \$751,183.47. How much more it has spent has not been determined. On May 18, 1923, the New York Times stated that Nikolai Bukherin, then editor of Pravda, Communist official mouthpiece published in Moscow, called on the Third International and the central committee to give an accounting of the expenditure of 27,000,000 gold rubles, or about \$13,750,000 for propaganda, and to have the accounts investigated and balances made for Moscow.

The Baltimore Sun of June 21, 1932, carried the following statement:

In secret meetings at Danzig last week American Communists and agents from Moscow laid plans for extensive Communist action in the United States next September. * * * On June 17 the executive committee of the Communist International at Moscow had resolved to allocate 1,000,000 gold rubles for the dissemination of Communism in the United States. This fund was said to be especially designed for propaganda in the cities of Chicago, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. * * *

As proof of the fact that the Soviet Government has helped finance communism in the United States, I quote the following order issued by the Soviet Government in December 1917, as signed by Lenin and his Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Leon Trotsky, as published in the official reports of the New York State investigating committee:

Financing the international movement.—Inasmuch as the Soviet power firmly adheres to the principles of international solidarity of the proletariat and of fraternity of the toilers of all lands; and inasmuch as the struggle against war and imperialism can be brought to victory on an international scale; Therefore, the Soviet of Peoples Commissars deems it necessary to bring all possible means, including money, to the aid of the left international wing of the workers movement of all lands, quite regardless of whether the countries are at war or in alliance with Russia; or whether they are neutral.

To that end the Soviet of Peoples Commissars orders to appropriate for the needs of the revolutionary international movement 2,000,000 rubles, to be taken charge of by the foreign representative of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

V. ULIANOFF (LENIN),

President, Soviet Peoples Commissars.

L. TROTSKY,

Peoples Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

The 600 and more Communist and pro-Communist propagandist sheets, magazines, daily and weekly newspapers, etc. in the United States finance themselves to a certain degree. The Daily Worker, which has a fund drive year in and year out, charges \$6 for an annual subscription, but it collects from \$100,000 to \$120,000 a year by contribution. Their budget is reported to be from \$125,000 to \$175,000 more annually than is received from subscriptions and advertising.

Such cases as the *Sacco-Vanzetti*, *Mooney-Billings*, *Scottsboro* (Alabama), *Alameda Valley* (California), *Harlan* (Kentucky), *Gastonia* (N. C.), and *Herndon* (Atlanta, Ga.) cases are used for fund raising, as are labor strikes, hunger marches, antiwar meets, etc. Mass protest meetings are held in selected localities, and when the crowds of listeners are keyed to a fighting pitch, the hats are passed around "to save John Doe from capitalist persecution." In 1 day, a schedule of 245 meetings was announced in the United States on the *Scottsboro* case alone. Local disturbances are used for the same purpose—to finance local groups. Gate receipts at conventions run to \$30,000 each.

Large numbers of pamphlets and books are sold by Communist agencies on subjects written in an inflammatory manner. The Vanguard Press, the International Publishers, reputedly the largest publishing house in America, the Workers' Library Publishers, New Age, Modern Age, Book Publishers, Inc., Pioneer Publishing Co., Youth Publishers, and dozens of other printing houses in New York City and elsewhere in the country are printer of such literature. They also maintain distributing centers for this material in practically every nook and corner of the United States. A few of these are the Workers Book Shops, Peoples Book Stores & Shops, Labor Publications Agency, International Book Shops, Progressive Book Shops, Modern Book Stores, Pioneer Book Stores, Literature Distributors, Circulating Libraries & Modern Books, Ltd.

Strikes are agitated in industrial and farm centers, and collections are made among workers in the same trades in other centers.

Often the minds of very wealthy citizens are subverted to a point where they lend aid to the radical cause in the United States. Examples of these are Anita Whitney, Rose Pastor Stokes, Bishop Montgomery Brown, Corliss Lamont, Mrs. Leonard Elmhurst, Mary McMurtrie, Mrs. Margaret de Silver, and Gladys Deutch.

The International Labor Defense, one of the numerous Communist organizations, charges its members an initiation fee and a fee of 25 cents a month dues. The Communist Party has a regular fee, as do each of its unions and clubs. Most of these latter groups assess according to the weekly wage of the individual.

The report of The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy, issued by the Committee on Public Information of the United States Government, October 1918, War Information Series, shows by documentary evidence that certain international bankers financed much of the early activities of the Bolsheviks. Whether this continues today is not known.

Communist schools charge a tuition fee, and the summer camps charge from \$10 to \$15 a week for housing and food. All conventions and indoor mass meetings charge admission fees. These bring in an estimated receipt of \$300,000 a year.

George Seldes, in his book, *You Can't Print That*, which gives *The Truth Behind the News, 1918-1928*, page 336, says:

I had been offered documents, and when the agent was approved by the American consulate, I bought them. One was a letter about \$25,000 sent by the Third International for Bolshevik work in Buenos Aires. * * * In open sessions of the Third International Congress of 1932, I heard announcements about sending of money for Bolshevik enterprises in South America.

In *Reds and Lost Wages*, by Woods, beginning on p. 26, the subject, "How Workers Are Made To Pay," is discussed. It mentions strikes fomented by Communists and strike assessments. Under *Money Raising Movements Among Communist Strikers*, Woods includes the *Workers International Relief* and the *International Labor Defense*. On page 31 he mentions the fact that over \$40,000 was raised in the first Gastonia protest drive—Communist. On page 34 he states that the Passaic strikes netted the Communists over \$500,000; while on page 37 he makes the assertion that the Communist Russian furriers spent \$1,000,000 in the 17-week fur strike in New York.

John L. Lewis, present head of the C. I. O. charged in 1923 that "immediately before the start of the miners strike on April 1, 1920, a sum of \$1,110,000 was sent into the United States by way of Canada, from Moscow, for the purpose of enabling the Communist agents to participate in the strike". He also said: "Lenin's instructions, when he sent \$1,110,000 into the country for strike-promotion purposes, called for this kind of an amalgamation—industrial unionism." Lewis stated that later "the central executive committee of the United Communist Party announced that the Communist leaders at Moscow had sent a special contribution of \$135,000 to this country to finance the *unity* project." On another occasion Lewis reported:

"Heavy sums of money were sent into the country at the time of the Disarmament Conference at Washington. In December 1921, the Communists sent Dr. Dubrowsky the sum of 100,000 crowns, with which he was to go to Washington and follow the proceedings of the Conference. Another sum of 50,000 crowns was sent to agents of the Young Communist League at Philadelphia, to carry on propaganda efforts while the Conference was in session.

To further expose Communist fund sources, the following statement is of great significance. The west coast district leader of the American Federation of Labor, E. H. Dowell, charged on July 9, 1937, that he had been authorized to make the announcement that the United States Department of Justice in Washington, D. C., has "in its possession checks totaling \$750,000 from Communist sources to John L. Lewis to assist in organizing the C. I. O."

The American Civil Liberties Union issues annual reports in which are listed loans amounting to thousands of dollars to the International Labor Defense. These reports point to numbers of court cases in which they have defended Communists. The A. C. L. U. furnished nearly \$40,000 bail for Gastonia Communists, most of whom skipped their bail and escaped to Russia. It also supplied large sums of money in connection with the *Bridgeman, Michigan, cases*.

The report of the American Fund for Public Service also lists gifts and loans to the following Communist movements in the United States: Vanguard Press, \$139,453.00; New Masses (Communist publication), \$28,000.00; Passaic strike (Communist agitation), \$25,318.00; Study of Russia (for Communist literature), \$12,400.00; *Il Nuovo Mondo* (Communist publication), \$12,000.00; Workers School, New York, \$11,122.00; Robert Dunn (Communist leader), \$4,723.00; Chicago Young Workers League (Communist), \$2,000; Superior Young Workers League (communist), \$1,200; Russian Reconstruction Farms (Communist relief movement), \$21,015; Study of Imperialism (Communist propaganda), \$5,050.36; Study of

Russia (Communist propaganda), \$5,443.94; bails, Passaic strike, etc. (Communist agitation), \$10,000; relief in Passaic strike, \$20,000; Imperialism (Study, Communist propaganda), \$13,042.32; International Labor Defense (Communist court aid), \$5,000; Sacco-Vanzetti (New York committee, Communist agitation), \$1,000.00; American delegation to Russia (Communist meeting), \$350; American student delegation to Russia, \$950; Daily Worker (official Communist publication), \$30,388; Il Martello (Communist publication), \$2,500; International Publishers (publishers of Communist literature and books), \$1,000; Novy Mir (Jewish Communist publication), \$5,000.

It is estimated that the bonus march on Washington, D. C., in 1932, organized and led by Communist, cost the Communist forces over \$150,000. The Workers International Relief helped raise the funds. One letter, generally circulated from the New York City headquarters of the group, carried Professor Einstein's endorsement of the fund drive.

Reports from Albany, N. Y., November 1934, stated that the so-called hunger marchers, led by Israel Amter, Communist candidate for Governor of New York and national secretary of the Unemployed Councils (organized by Communists in 36 States), of which Herbert Benjamin is national organizer, were well supplied with trucks of food and everything else but hungry marchers. Reports from over the Nation show that the Communist organizers all ride first class (in autos and on passenger trains), and put up at the best hotels. These State and National marches are frequent, and represent large expenditures.

The following is taken from Volume IV, Part 1: Hearings Before a Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, Seventy-First Congress, H. R. 220, page 19:

He then says (referring to Bessedovsky) here on page 109, the unemployed in the United States have not yet been touched, have not yet been influenced by our propaganda, although the subsidies paid every year have reached \$100,000 * * *. He then says that the profintern, the international syndicalist movement, sends, from its side, \$25,000 to the League for Syndicalists Propaganda over here. It then speaks of the sending of two particularly adroit propagandists who were to come to the United States. Their names were Wagoner and Neumann * * *. He mentions \$10,000 for that purpose * * *. "The expense of the soviet secret police in the United States should not be more than \$50,000 a year."

The Geneva, Switzerland Journal, August 16, 1930, states:

It seems in fact that the soviet commercial organization in America contributed largely to the increasing outgrowth of communism in the United States. * * *

William Z. Foster said: "In the British miners' strike, the Russian unions proposed to send \$5,000,000 to the striking miners, and they did it openly and publicly." Foster testified before the Fish congressional committee that the Communists had raised somewhere around \$100,000 during the Gastonia, N. C., strike.

The Communists have huge holdings in the United States, such as publications, printing plants, cooperative farms, buildings, industrial, agricultural, and merchandising firms, camps (three in New York State alone, incorporated for over \$1,000,000) in Maryland, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and California. Of course, these investments provide them with considerable profits.

At mass protest meetings the Communists generally charge admission and also ask for contributions. At one meeting in New York City in 1933, 25,000 persons paid \$1 and 50 cent admissions, while \$1,800 was collected by the basket passers. On November 29, 1934, in the same city, \$3,850 was raised at a mass meeting of Communists which was held at the Star Casino. At the Communist convention in New York City the latter part of May 1938, over \$25,000 was taken in. We see no accounting on these.

On visiting Communist summer camps, it is apparent that it is not a "downtrodden" or hungry group which attends. At one meeting near Upper Marlboro, Md., at Camp Nitgadaiget last summer, automobiles were seen lining the road on both sides, covering a distance of a mile. Many of these cars had chauffeurs; most of them were large cars, limousines, etc. The people attending these outdoor camp meets take their baskets of food, deposit them at the commissary, and at noon buy back their own baskets at \$1 each. This affords another source for funds.

The Communists have their own theaters, their own film companies, their own art centers, their own artists, their own publications, their own publishing houses, etc. These all bring in money.

Their agents are known to stop at the best hotels in the cities in which they are visiting and to travel first class. An agent arrested in Portland, Oreg., had on his person \$8,856 in cash and a bank book showing even a larger fund on deposit. Another, arrested in Wilmington, Del., in 1932, en route with the bonus marchers, which resulted in outbreaks, leading to what "reds" now call "Bloody Thursday" in the Capital City, had in his possession fifty \$10-traveler's checks. Truck drivers hauling the New York contingent, 10 trucks in all, were paid \$100 each for the round trip. They stopped at the Arizona Hotel in Washington, while Communist leaders were putting up at finer quarters. Other hired trucks brought these agitators from every State in the Nation, and they represented the expenditure of a huge sum of money.

It is estimated that approximately \$10,000,000 is spent annually in the United States for subversive activities of various types, including propaganda. The question is where does all this money come from? Certainly not from the workers.

The following list is an excellent example of the character of contributors to the Communist campaign fund in 1936—only a partial list, of course, as taken from the Communist Party's official organs:

Harry Soltzman.....	\$100.00
Group of Protestant ministers.....	50.00
William Cohen.....	50.00
Workers of American Museum of Natural History.....	31.00
Friend of New Masses.....	25.00
Young Communist League, garment section.....	25.00
Israel Zior Hospital Unit.....	25.00
Austrian Fighters of Fascism.....	18.00
German-Workers Club of Brooklyn.....	17.00
Workers of Gorelick Cloak Shop.....	15.00
Cooperative Dining Room.....	15.00
Group of Work Progress Administration Engineers.....	13.00
Group of social workers.....	11.00
Sunnyside Thompson Hill Branch, Communist Party.....	11.00
Press, reporters, photographers.....	9.00
Workers of Internal Revenue Office.....	8.00

Health and Hygiene-----	\$7. 00
Morris Langer Branch, International Workers Order-----	7. 00
Brooklyn and City College alumni-----	9. 00
Young Communist League, section 20-----	6. 00
Local 202, Teamsters Union-----	6. 00
Home Relief Bureau Group, district office 73-----	6. 00
Workers in Home Relief Bureau-----	5. 20
Unit 425, Washington Heights, Communist Party-----	4. 25
Four Americans-----	4. 00
Workers of S. & S. Neckwear-----	3. 50
Workers of J. Pactor Shop-----	3. 50
Three Spaniards-----	3. 00
Workers Home Relief Bureau, district office 62-----	3. 00
Unemployed member Minerva Club-----	3. 00
Unit 2, section 1-----	3. 00
Section 14, Communist Party-----	50. 00
Mt. Sinai Hospital Unit, Communist Party-----	2. 00
Ruth Richards-----	12. 00
Brooklyn Edison Co. worker-----	2. 00
Unit 400, section 4-----	1. 00
Miss I. N. Mayerson-----	5. 00
Catheline Hayes-----	1. 00
Abe Siegel, Oceanside-----	5. 00
Hed, Oceanside-----	10. 00
Charlie, Oceanside-----	2. 00
Shor, Oceanside-----	5. 00
Brooklyn College Unit, Communist Party-----	10. 00
Workers Cooperative Colony-----	100. 00
Ukrainian Labor Club-----	50. 00
Young Communist League, section 8, Flatbush-----	50. 00
German-American Workers Club-----	31. 00
Cooperative Camp Drivers-----	25. 00
Ukrainian International Workers Order, 1520-----	25. 00
Anna Damon, International Labor Defense-----	18. 26
Workers Elaine Coat Co-----	18. 00
Workers of Home Relief Bureau 58, Queens-----	17. 00
Unemployed Council, Local 1, Yorkville-----	15. 00
Flora Freed Beauty Shop customers-----	12. 00
Unit 36-S, section 24-----	11. 00
Workers of Hyman Bar & Grill-----	8. 00
Group of civil-service workers-----	8. 00
Group of professional nurses-----	8. 00
Friend of Loyalists-----	7. 00
Brooklyn College Alumni-----	9. 00
Rockaway Branch, Communist Party-----	6. 25
Unit 227, bricklayers, Yorkville-----	20. 00
Unit 8, section 8, Young Communist League-----	5. 50
Unit 21-S, section 3-----	4. 25
Four Sea Gate comrades-----	4. 00
Works Progress Administration elevator operators and porters-----	4. 00
Federal theater workers-----	3. 50
Unit 7, section 3-----	3. 00
Edison Co. workers-----	3. 00
Unit 16, section 2-----	3. 00
B. Spitzer-----	100. 00
United Fruit longshoremen-----	5. 50
Emergency Relief Bureau workers, district office 17-----	2. 00
Unit 16, section 3-----	2. 00
A. Phillipino-----	1. 00
Mrs. Sam B. Elan-----	6. 00
Mrs. C. Bernstein-----	5. 00
Judith Kisher-----	2. 00
Miriam Rothchild-----	1. 00
Munroe, Oceanside-----	5. 00
Dave, Oceanside-----	2. 00
Senior, Oceanside-----	1. 00
Corona Branch, Communist Party-----	10. 00

Mineola, Long Island, Communist Party.....	\$10. 00
Ukrainian Branch 1511, International Workers' Order.....	10. 00
Unit 25, section 24.....	10. 00
American citizen, Italian birth.....	10. 00
Unit 8-B, section 21.....	10. 00
3 members, Book and Magazine Guild.....	10. 00
Julio Mello, Cuban Club.....	10. 00
Waldorf Astoria Hotel Unit, Communist Party.....	10. 00
Workers of Rhodes Summer H. S.....	10. 00
Branch 2, section 17.....	5. 00
Minnesota Junior Farmer-Labor Party.....	5. 00
Teachers' Union member.....	5. 00
Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra.....	5. 00
Paulo Mannendez.....	5. 00
Home Relief Bureau worker.....	5. 00
Harlem Hospital Unit, Communist Party.....	5. 00
A school teacher.....	5. 00
Longshoremen, United Fruit.....	5. 00
Member of library unit.....	5. 00
Unit 8-S, section 6, Communist Party.....	5. 00
Young Communist League, West Bronx branch.....	5. 00
I. Warshow, Nyack, N. Y.....	5. 00
I. W. O. branch 569.....	5. 00
Dental Technicians Unit, Communist Party.....	5. 00
Barnard College unit, Young Communist League.....	5. 00
Unit 5-B, section 24.....	5. 00
Portchester unit, section 12.....	5. 00
Group from Amalgamated Housers.....	5. 00
Collected by milk drivers.....	5. 00
Farm Food Restaurant.....	5. 00
Poster project workers, Works Progress Administration.....	5. 00
Eagle Scout, B. S. E.....	1. 00
J. R., former sharpshooter in Uncle Sam's Army.....	1. 00
Hellerin.....	7. 00
Max Ebner.....	1. 00
Paul Hoehle.....	1. 00
Croatian American Workers Club.....	83. 20
W. F. Westchester.....	1. 00
W. Z.....	2. 00
The S. family.....	3. 00
Sylvia Folth.....	2. 00
S. C. U.....	2. 00
Bennet.....	1. 00
F. Weintraub.....	3. 00
Progressive Women's Council.....	9. 00
Dave Eagels.....	2. 00
Joseph Picasso.....	1. 00
Lena Braverman.....	. 25
Collected on Union Square.....	5. 25
Waterfront Section, Communist Party.....	50. 00
Eugene Crancia via Workers' Bookshelf.....	5. 00
F. and H.....	75. 00
Hunts Point Branch, American League Against War and Fascism.....	10. 00
Comrades from Works Progress Administration Teachers' Union.....	10. 00
Sixteenth A. D. Branch Communist Party, Yorkville.....	10. 00
Left Socialist.....	10. 00
Leo Checkder.....	10. 00
Fortune Magazine Nucleus, Communist Party.....	10. 00
Unit 12, section 25.....	5. 00
Unit 4, section 22.....	5. 00
Worker from Amalgamated H.....	5. 00
International Workers' Order member.....	5. 00
Italian workers W. I. L.....	5. 00
Branch 1, section 5.....	5. 00
Bill Nick, Seabright, N. J.....	5. 00
New Singers Club.....	5. 00
Bedford Branch, International Labor Defense.....	5. 00

Wife of Hearst worker.....	\$5.00
Bonus from World War Veterans.....	5.00
Branch 2, section 15.....	5.00
Siqueiros Experimental Workshop.....	5.00
Reem Refrigeration Co.....	5.00
Workers of Weiner & Goroshin shop.....	5.00
Home Relief Bureau Unit.....	5.00
Unit and B, section 22.....	5.00
Metropolitan Hospital Unit, Communist Party.....	5.00
T. W. Weeks.....	5.00
College of the City of New York, Young Communist League.....	5.00
Classic Plearing Shop.....	5.00
Emergency Relief Bureau workers, district office 26.....	5.00
A Macfadden worker.....	5.00
Unemployed worker.....	1.00
Section 9.....	20.00
Anon, New York City.....	1.00
Workers of Navarre Cafeteria, members of local 302, American Federa- tion of Labor.....	27.00
Jos. Chamann.....	1.00
Ben Trilesky.....	1.00
B. 13.....	2.00
John R. Carroll.....	1.00
Koch.....	2.00
Sepele.....	2.00
William Halper.....	5.00
A. Krastens.....	2.50
S. R., New York City.....	10.00
Jean Alexander.....	10.00
A. Picaso.....	1.00
Workers Alfreda Hat Shop.....	22.00
Anonymous.....	2.00
H. R.....	5.50
Total.....	350.30

NOTE.—The full list ran this total to over \$150,000 on this one occasion.

ANOTHER SOURCE OF COMMUNIST FUNDS—THE AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

The American fund for public service was originally known as the Garland fund, because a young intellectual by the name of Garland, educated in the theories of a queer philosophy, turned over his entire inheritance, amounting to \$900,000, principally in National City Bank stock, to a board composed of Communists, Socialists, and other types of radicals. Garland ordered that the money be turned into cash and expended in the promotion of revolutionary radicalism.

The headquarters of the American fund for public service are now located at 2 West Thirteenth Street, New York City. Members of the original board included: Roger Baldwin, William Z. Foster, Lewis S. Gannett, Sidney Hillman, James Weldon Johnson, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Scott Nearing, Mary E. McDowell, Judah L. Magnes, Norman Thomas, Rev. Harry F. Ward, Morris L. Ernst, and Walter Nelles. Most of these are still active members. Foster was replaced by Robert W. Dunn, Hillman by Benjamin Gitlow, Magnes by Freda Kirchwey, and Lovett by Clinton Golden.

The stock, when liquidated on the "capitalist" market, which the members of the board so despise, totaled about \$2,000,000. The funds have been and are still being distributed in huge amounts to Communists, Socialists, birth control, atheist, government ownership, free love, anarchist, and pacifist movements. Huge amounts have been

expended in furthering the activities of organizations agitating and propagandizing for the destruction of our system of government; for the destruction of religion; for the destruction of private enterprise. Other large amounts have been expended for the defense of revolutionists and for excursions to Russia.

The following are a few of the many ways in which their funds are distributed: The League for Industrial Democracy received \$34,274; Commonwealth College, \$23,580; the Workers School, Communist, \$11,000; radical pamphlets and surveys, \$139,000; Committee on Militarism in Education, \$12,400; American Civil Liberties Union, \$41,414; International Labor Defense, Communist, \$34,600; "New Masses," red publication, \$20,000; I. W. W., \$6,000; Russian Reconstruction Farm, \$21,015; study of coal and superpower, \$16,160; Sacco-Vanzetti defense, \$5,000; Daily Worker, Communist publication, \$24,713; Brooklyn College, \$174,227; Passaic strike cases, \$45,000; experimental education for children, \$21,000.

A wild cry arises from the gallery when a movement exposing such as the above-mentioned organizations, or defending the rights of the individual to live his ordered life, to be free and to own property, undertakes to raise an insignificantly small fund to operate, but huge funds, like the American fund for public service, are defended by such fault-finders. The red mint, described herein, apparently does not create any wild commotion, for some reason.

REDS TRY DISRUPT ARMY AND NAVY

The American people as a whole seem to be gradually awakening to the grave dangers confronting them through the conspiracies of Communists. Communism thus appears to have finally become the common target of most of our citizens.

But bills presented in Congress to make the advocacy of the destruction of our Government a crime punishable by imprisonment; to make it a felony to urge or influence members of the military or naval forces to disobey the laws of our Nation and regulations of our defense departments, bills to force the deportation of alien Communist and Anarchists; making it a felony to use our mails for the distribution of seditious literature, and other such legislation, have all been defeated in Congress, not by Communists, but by non-Communists or so-called liberals.

Among the major blows to the security of the American public, and in the interests of the subverting Communist and Anarchist forces within our country, was the defeat of the Tydings-McCormack bill "to make better provision for the Government of the military and naval forces of the United States by suppression of attempts to incite the members thereof to disobedience." This bill passed the Senate with very little opposition, the Communists having saved their fight on it for the House. There the bill was battled down on every attempt made to vote on it. The bill, as it passed the Senate read:

To make better provision for the Government of the military and naval forces of the United States by the suppression of attempts to incite the members thereof to disobedience.

Be it enacted in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whoever advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the military or naval forces of the United States,

including the Reserves thereof, to disobey the laws or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing which advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of such military or naval forces of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 2 years, or both.

SEC. 2. Any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing of the character described in the section 1 of this act may be taken from any house or other place in which it may be found, or from any person in whose possession it may be, under a search warrant issued pursuant to the provisions of title XI of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 228; U. S. C., title 18, ch. 18).

In the House this bill received a majority endorsement of the Military Affairs Committee, but action ended there because of the concerted and successful effort of radicals to prevent a vote being taken. The cry from the opposition would not allow a "free" expression of Congress by allowing a vote on the bill. The action shows how insincere the defenders of free speech and civil liberties are. Anything American is wrong and should be strangled; anything Communist is right and should be allowed freedom, is their theory.

For many years the well trained Communist forces have been attempting to bore within our armed forces. This they have succeeded in doing on numerous occasions and only because of the alertness of the intelligence agents in the defense units of our Government have these subverters been detected and summarily expelled. But they can only handle the situation after the Communists succeed in getting within the forces and not while boring.

In a document entitled "Text-Book for the City Schools of the (Communist) Party," commonly referred to in Communist circles as the A. B. C. of Lenin, is the following statement: "The third task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the destruction of the bourgeois state, with its governmental organs, the police, army, officials." This book is published by the Soviet State Publishing House in Moscow. The sixth edition has been printed, of which 685,000 copies have been circulated. In another document, "Lenin's Instructions Concerning Revolution and Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Communists are urged to take advantage of every opportunity in an effort to disarm the non-Communist governments. At the same time, however, agents are instructed to enlist in the fragmentary defense forces. In this connection, the following advice is given:

Disarmament is an ideal of Socialism. * * * But he is not a Socialist who expects that socialism will become a reality without a Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dictatorship is a government resting directly on the use of violence. It is necessary to become soldiers in order to take the deadly weapons out of the hands of the bourgeois and to turn them against them. The slogan of defeating "one's own government is the slogan of the proletarian revolution."

A mystery airplane, camouflaged as an American Army plane, dropped Communist pamphlets into the Third Army Corps camp near Indiantown Gap, Pa., where more than 30,000 troops were encamped in August 1936. The seditious literature urged the soldiers to—

organize and fight for your rights; demand the right to organize committees to direct your activities; ask \$30 a month pay instead of \$21, and request the War Department not to use the Guards or Army in domestic uprisings.

About the same time, Communists in Watertown, N. Y., launched a whispering campaign, consisting of false and malicious stories, in an attempt to cause a rift between civilians and Army Regulars engaged at the time in First Area Army maneuvers. One false report was to the effect that an attack upon a Jefferson County woman had been made by Army men.

Communists have been unusually active in all parts of the country within the past few years. The battleship *Colorado* was sabotaged by Communists while being rebuilt in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Two young Communists attempted to blow up a gasoline filling tank in a western training camp, after exchanging, it is charged, blank cartridges for real bullets in the commissary, which shells were to be dealt out to citizens in training. If this had not been detected, it would have resulted in the death of many men during sham battle maneuvers at the summer training camp. Several years ago a Communist working on the U. S. Navy dirigible *Akron* was charged with sabotage. It is reported that several shipyards and National Guard units have been deeply penetrated by Communists.

During the past few years Communists have taken advantage of this situation and have increased their efforts to penetrate the enlisted ranks. The Communist leaders, in May 1931, issued from Moscow the following instructions to their leaders in the United States.

Antimilitaristic work must be strengthened everywhere. It is necessary that the workers' and peasants' organizations should be in constant contact with the soldiers and sailors, and the Reserve forces. Lenin says: "The duty to spread Communist ideas includes the particular need of special and persistent, systematic propaganda within the fighting forces. Where this agitation is prohibited by law, it must be carried on illegally. To refuse to do this work would be equal to betrayal of revolutionary duty, and would be incompatible with what belongs to the Third International." At the same time, it is necessary, steadfastly and stubbornly to carry on work among the workers in the war industries and, also, among the workers of those branches which come in contact with war production and transportation. * * *

At about this time, it is alleged that William Z. Foster, thrice candidate for President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket, and a member of the Presidium of the Communist International at Moscow, passed along these suggestions to his Communist conspirators:

Once the general strike is in active operation, the greatest obstacles to its success will be the armed forces of capitalism—soldiers, police, detectives, etc. * * * The Syndicalist (including Communists, International Workers of the World, and some Socialists) have given much study to the problems presented by this force, and have found the solution for it. * * * They are not going to mass themselves and allow themselves to be slaughtered in the orthodox way. * * * They are going to defeat the armed forces by disorganizing and demoralizing them. * * * Syndicalists in every country are already preparing this disorganization of the armed forces by carrying on a double campaign among the workers. On the one hand we are destroying their illusions about the sacredness of capitalist property and are encouraging them to seize this property wherever they have an opportunity. On the other hand, we are teaching the working-class soldiers not to shoot their brothers and sisters who are in revolt, but, if need be, shoot their own officers and to desert the army when the crucial moment arrives. * * *

Agitators should strive to utilize as often as possible the thousand and one little details of the soldier in order to undermine his obedience to the officers, the bourgeois discipline, and his duty to defending the bourgeois peace. Along with this there must be conducted on broad scales an increased propaganda of pacifists' ideas of disarmament.

These orders and suggestions from the Communist International and their American agents have been aggressively pushed in the United States by the Communist agents. At intervals, new instructions and plans for penetration have been issued to the organizers and subverters by their Communist generals in this country.

On March 1, 1935, I submitted the following information to the House Military Affairs Committee in Washington, which at that time was holding a hearing on the McCormack bill, companion bill to the Tydings bill, already enacted by the Senate:

May I call your attention to the following facts, which we believe are proof of the need for such legislation (Tydings-McCormack bill).

These passages from a Communist document issued in 1934 and circulated in the United States, show what the Communist expects to accomplish among armed troops.

"There are actual insurrections, the army wavers, Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins. Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before as struggles sharpened. Street fighting becomes frequent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organize revolutionary committees to be in command of the uprisings. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The revolution is victorious.

"Armed workers and soldiers and marines seize the principal Government officers, invade the residences of the President and his Cabinet members, arrest them, declare the old regime abolished, establish their own power, the power of the workers and farmers."

Much has been said recently by officials in Washington regarding the dangers of the Communist penetration among the Nation's armed forces. Specifically dealing with the program among American soldiers and sailors, a Communist document recently published for "inner circle" use, contains a twelve-hundred-word statement to Communist Party members entitled "Work in the Armed Forces." In this document they stress this action as of "utmost importance that we consider more seriously than ever before," and "very few party members have any positive conception as to how this work is to be done." It quotes the instructions of the Communist International of Moscow concerning the orders to carry on this work in the armed forces in the United States. These instructions order the Communist Party workers in the United States to agitate those in this Nation's armed forces to protest on mess, and so forth, against cuts in wages, clothing, and bonus. At the same time they suggest agitation against the cutting of "pass and furlough privileges," thereby causing "strong resentment" among them. It says the armed forces of the United States "are ripe for Communist influence." They note that the "political and class consciousness" must be developed and aroused among the enlisted men by poisoning their minds with such ideas as "their inferior position as soldiers."

The following instructions are to be found under the heading, "How Is Work To Be Done?": "There are several ways of carrying on work among the soldiers, the most important of which are the following: (a) Direct contact with individual soldiers, and (b) mass distribution of party literature to soldiers. There are others, such as having soldiers' nights in workers' clubs situated near the Army posts, and the direct organization of soldiers clubs. In adopting any of these methods it is of primary importance for the districts to secure a thorough knowledge of the Army posts in their districts, the number of men and the branch of service in these posts, their convenience to centers from which work can be directed and all other details that are of strategic importance. Having obtained this data the districts can assign forces in such a way that the most important posts are covered, and from them make contacts with the others.

"Since direct contact with individual soldiers is the most successful method of work, it is most necessary that comrades know how to make and secure these contacts. The districts will have to study the living conditions of the soldiers in each post, acquaint the comrades assigned to these posts with the issues they should stress. Particular attention should be paid to the matter of pay cuts (the pay is now \$17.85 for privates), the large laundry and tailor bills, the comparatively high prices in the post exchange stores, which are supposed to be nonprofit; the lack of opportunity for advancement and the

isolation that soldiers are subjected to, as well as any special wrongs that may exist on each post. Most soldiers are very willing to talk about conditions on the 'inside' and are interested in what's happening on the 'outside.' Comrades should engage them in conversation at every opportunity on busses, trains, in parks, or any place where they may be met. Where an active interest is shown on the part of the soldier, his name should be taken and literature should be given or sent to him with a view toward developing him into a permanent contact. One good contact on the 'inside' can lead to any number of others in other posts. Of course the most thorough way to do this is for each district to enlist a few reliable, developed comrades directly into the Army, providing they don't make the mistake of considering that this is enough, and leave the 'outside' work go. It is practically impossible to build a movement on the inside without strong support and cooperation from the 'outside.' 'Forward to a strong soldier's movement in the United States Regular Army.'"

The above is a specific instance of how the Communists in the United States, encouraged and directed by an organization on foreign soil (Russia), are attempting to destroy the loyalty of those enlisted in our national defense forces and turn them against the United States Government, finally winning them over to the carefully planned Communist revolution. This is possibly the most dastard angle of the Red program. It is treason.

Another "passage from a Communist report on how this work is being carried on in the United States" issued February 28, 1935, states:

NAVY YARD NUCLEUS TELLS HOW SHOP PAPER WAS DISTRIBUTED

"When our unit was formed in October 1933, conditions in the yard were pretty good, and the grievances of the workers were not so great. Especially at the time the unit issued its first shop paper, just 6 months ago, the yard had just hired over a thousand men or more and the work in the yard was so plentiful that the workers practically had things their own way, as far as conditions were concerned. The only lively grievance that we had to fight was the arsenic poison generated by welding on galvanized plates on the five new destroyers they are building there.

"During this time we were pointing out to the workers that they must organize to maintain these good conditions, and telling them that these conditions could not last at a time when the standard of living of the entire working class is being steadily dragged down to a lower level.

"Our shop paper has always been welcomed by the yard workers and was passed around the yard and read by them. For a long time our paper was issued outside the gate at noontime and quitting time, and, although the workers accepted them, the fact that they were distributed outside the gate kept them from being accepted as a real yard workers' paper. At a district bureau meeting a few months ago, our unit was discussed, and the district bureau pointed out the mistake of issuing the paper outside the yard, pointing out to us that one shop paper inside the yard had more effect than a hundred distributed outside. The unit immediately reacted to this correct advice, and the last two editions of our shop paper have been planted in strategic places within the yard.

"During this period the effects of the crisis were felt in the yard. There were mass lay-offs, the helpers were more and more forced to do the work of mechanics, and more work was being forced upon the low-paid enlisted men of the Navy.

"These issues were stressed in our shop paper, which has become tremendously liked by the workers, who eagerly look forward to its publications.

"Last week the battleship *California* was literally plastered with Yard Workers, the Daily Worker, the Moscow News, and small pamphlets of vital interest to both yard workers and sailors alike. That issue of our shop paper contained an article on sailors doing the work of civilians and was therefore put aboard the ship in great lots. It immediately caused a great stir on the ship and also through the yard. The yard officers along with the ship officers made futile attempts to stop its distribution.

"The men working on the night shift were immediately watched by armed patrols of sailors. And the men on day shift were forced to show their badges

on leaving the ship and coming aboard. In spite of all these maneuvers to hamper the workers, going to the extent of spreading rumors that the ship was being guarded because the Communists were going to blow it up, the workers realize what is the real truth and don't fall for the "bombing" stories. And although the close watch kept on the workers leaving the ship at night made it difficult for some of them to catch their boat home, they appeared to be pleased that the "reds" were able to get their literature aboard ship and really feel now that the *Yard Worker* is their paper.

"The next issue of our paper, which will be out in a few days, will answer those bombing stories.—Navy Yard Unit, Bremerton, Wash."

Among regular magazines, newspapers, and bulletins issued by the Communists in the United States and designed to propagate the soldiers, sailors, and navy-yard workers and National Guard are the following: *The Brooklyn (Navy) Yard Worker*; *Bremerton (Navy) Yard Worker*; *Shipmates Voice*; *The Soldiers Voice*; *The Veterans Rank and File*; *Workers Ex-Servicemen's International News Bulletin*; the *Yard Worker*, and thousands of "pocket snipers." Special bulletins and pamphlets are issued by the communist on special occasions. They deal with and reach the armed forces.

Two years ago the instigators of the mutiny in the Navy of Great Britain were traced to Communist forces within our own Nation. After detecting the nature of the program behind it, and the names of the Communist agents in England who were being directed by the Communists of the United States, raids were made on the centers in England by Scotland Yard agents and the mutiny was broken up. This incident is shown merely to indicate how the "international" Communist forces work.

Officials of the Army and Navy, concerned over the continued and wide-spread attempt of Communist forces to incite upheavals within the armed forces of the Nation, in addition to the noticeable opposition among Members of the House to the passage of the Tydings-McCormack bill, appeared either in person or through official spokesmen and tendered their endorsements to the bill. We quote in part from a letter sent by the then Acting Secretary of the Navy, H. L. Roosevelt, to the chairman of the congressional committee:

The Navy Department is heartily in accord with the purpose of this bill. Literature of a nature subversive to the Government has been distributed in increasing quantities in recent years to the personnel of the Navy. The literature, apparently emanating from Communist organizations, seeks to undermine the morale of the Navy by urging disloyalty and disobedience of laws and regulations for the government of the Navy.

Existing law is inadequate to curb this propaganda. * * *

The bill S. 2253, it is believed, will protect the armed forces of the United States from the contaminating influences of propaganda which has as its ultimate object the overthrow of our Government by force. * * *

The Navy Department recommends the enactment of the bill S. 2253.

Representing the Secretary of War before the congressional committee hearings on un-American activities, Brig. Gen. Alfred T. Smith charged that a "cell" had been discovered on one Army post. He pointed out that several enlisted men had been convicted as Communist agitators, and that there have been numerous reports that Communists have penetrated the National Guard. He also informed the congressional committee that a "secret manual" had been issued by the Communists "to make the guardsmen lose confidence in their officers and generally lower the morale."

Commander V. L. Kirkman, representing the Secretary of the Navy before the hearing, warned the members of Congress that the dangerous drive of the Communists "is causing concern." He said that radical activities "began to show themselves working to undermine the morale of the Navy" in about 1930. "While at first the

propaganda efforts were inconsequential," he added, "they now have become so serious that agitators are trained in special schools to enter the services, and that those not in the Navy ranks have become so well organized that "no matter where the fleet may go, we find, usually, the same agitators have arrived ahead of it." On ship-board, according to his testimony before the committee, the Communists attempt to establish enlisted men in a "cell" or "nucleus" who will spread the "red" propaganda among their mates; convert them to communism; incite them to dissatisfaction, disaffection, disloyalty; "and in some cases actual sabotage." Quotations in still more of the propaganda, he said, "actually incite to rebellion, mutiny, and assassination."

The Communist forces realize that their boring-within effort among armed forces can be only partially successful at the most, that the best they can hope for in that field is to sabotage and break down the morale of some enlisted men and to encourage others to mutiny or desert, and by these various methods to cause wholesale confusion within the entire ranks if a real test faces our Nation.

To prevent recruiting by this Government so that it may fill the ranks broken by the above methods, the Communists carry on a Nation-wide campaign of "pacifism" among the women and the youth, this because the present-day students will in time become the ones on whom the Government would naturally depend to fill the broken ranks, and among women, because they are the mothers of these youth. By converting both the youth and the mother to radical pacifism, and by pledging a sufficient number of youth to refuse to defend this Government, while pledging them to defend the Soviet, one can readily see the double-edged sword the "reds" are manufacturing for the destruction of the United States Government and those whom they enjoy calling "capitalists."

Commander Clements, of the Naval Intelligence, testified some months ago before a congressional committee that Communists wait for shore parties and stuff literature into their hands as they meet the sailors on the street. Again, he said, a favorite method is for small groups, each generally composed of two men and a pretty girl, to go aboard ship on visitors' day, and while the men stuff handbills into lifeboats and behind ventilators—wherever they will be discovered and read by a curious tar—the girls flirt with sailors and "date" them. Once ashore with a man, the girl will use her charms to convert him to communism and to establish him as a propagandist and organizer.

The same methods are used at shore stations, navy yards, at sailors' hotels, and in private homes where sailors reside, he said.

Propaganda is planted as seeds to grow trouble, often through the medium of special magazines and newspapers. One of the Communist periodicals directed to those enlisted in the Navy is the Shipmates' Voice, which carried the headline "Sailors Pay for Big Navy—Politics Behind Movement of Fleet." The Soldiers' Voice, which is similar and which, according to its caption is "issued by and for enlisted men," carries a headline in one issue, "Soldiers Lose Under New Deal—Roosevelt Plan a Failure."

In August 1934, the thirteenth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International, meeting in Moscow, issued the fol-

lowing directions to its foreign sections, including the American section of the Communist Party:

In fighting against war the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war and concentrate their forces in each country at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism.

In addition to increased agitation the Communist Parties must by all means in their power insure the practical organization of mass action, preventing the shipment of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organizing demonstrations against military maneuvers, etc., and must intensify political educational work in the Army and in the Navy.

As a further example of the nature of the agitation and propaganda circulated among enlisted men, we wish to quote from one of the special documents issued by the Communist forces on the west coast and distributed to members of the Marine Corps. It says, in part:

What we want: 1. Abolition of all pay cuts and the pay freeze; restoration of reenlistment bonus and longevity pay. Increase of base pay to \$30 a month for Marine Corps, privates, and apprentice seamen.

2. Restoration of 1932 clothing allowance to Marine Corps of \$36 a year. No deduction from pay checks for incurred debts. All laundry, cleaning, and pressing, and all uniform equipment to be supplied.

3. No "voluntary" contributions for mess. Plentiful, substantial, and wholesome food to be supplied without any "voluntary" contributions.

4. Increase of Government maintenance of the dependents of deceased service men.

The following is one of the examples of propaganda circulated among members of the National Guard prior to the general uprising agitated by the Communists on the west coast in 1935:

If mobilized to be sent against striking workers, talk to your mates and in a body refuse duty against the strikers. Don't be used as strikebreakers but stand up for your own rights and the rights of the working people.

The "reds" appear to wield some strange but powerful influence in high circles, for they are able to squash investigations and efforts to prosecute members of their organizations who have been accused of sabotage. The case of the United States dirigible *Akron* is a good example. Following an investigation in 1933, it was alleged that Paul Kassay, an alien, had purposely refrained from placing needed rivets in the framework of the *Akron* during its construction. Kassay had been working on the steel frame before his discharge. Shortly after this he was arrested in Ohio and charged with violation of the Ohio sedition law, at which time his bail and legal expense, amounting to over \$40,000, were raised by Communist forces. After his release he was not deported or rearrested, and he is still at large in the United States, although it has been reported Kassay admitted when apprehended by Department of Justice agents that he meant to see that the *Akron* would never take the air. It did take the air, but the omission of rivets so weakened the structure that the giant dirigible crashed, killing most of the crew.

Shortly before the *Akron* disaster a Navy bombing plane crashed at San Diego, Calif., resulting in the death of a pilot. Subsequent investigation revealed that someone had weakened the wings so that eventually they would collapse. Kassay was employed in the plant in San Diego at the time of the construction of the plane.

Kassay, it is alleged, admitted that he had led Communist uprisings in Austria-Hungary after the World War. A series of plane disasters began shortly before and after he had been apprehended in

this country. Yetta Land, attorney, since then Communist candidate for office in Ohio, defended Kassay. The latter was tried only for the alleged violation of the Ohio criminal-syndicalism law, and this law was found to be unconstitutional.

In 1930 the U. S. S. *Colorado* was damaged by fire while the ship was in Panama waters. It was immediately ordered to the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York for repairs, where another fire occurred shortly after its repair. In both instances short circuiting was given as the cause for the fires. Phonograph needles were found imbedded in the electric cables.

On November 8, 1935, new charges, it is alleged, were made through information disclosed to Los Angeles naval officials to the effect that amazing and startling evidence, leading to the direct belief of sabotage, inspired and executed by radical and subversive elements, to halt the Federal air-construction program, had caused four mysterious airplane tragedies in recent months, was in the hands of Government officials. The planes destroyed in this new sabotage wave included, it is alleged, the Northrop pursuit plane, no trace of which has been found since its take-off on August 1, although two large patches of oil on the ocean off Point San Vincente led the officials to believe the plane fell in that vicinity, carrying all of its crew with it. A thorough search of the ocean bed at that point, however, failed to uncover such wreckage.

Later, on September 13, another speedy pursuit plane took off at Santa Ana. It crashed within a hundred miles of the starting point. After an investigation it was discovered that steel wool had been stuffed in the gas fuel valve.

On September 18 the *Vulture*, an attack plane, crashed in Los Angeles, bringing death to its pilot and project engineer. The motor suddenly failed, causing the plane to crash to earth. Charges of sabotage were made.

The giant bomber, known as the "Flying Fortress," also crashed and burned in Dayton, Ohio, October 30, killing Major Hill and injuring the pilot and three other passengers. The fuel supply suddenly gave out on a test flight. Suspicions were aroused. These are only a few of the many fatal air disasters occurring within the past years, with Will Rogers, Senator Cutting, and many others as their victims. Aside from the loss of scores of lives, several million dollars' worth of damage has been done to airplanes, dirigibles, battleships, passenger boats, docks, National Guard armories, and the like. Communists, bent on destroying our national defense forces, in an attempt to undermine the Government itself, are suspected of perpetrating many of these acts of sabotage.

As to the work among seamen it is well known that many ships have Communist cells planted in them. A senatorial committee brought forth much of the evidence to the public through the press early in 1938, and it is understood that the committee is still in session on the subject.

For years the Communists have been working on the seamen angle and have possibly made more headway there than in the land forces.

In 1934 the Communists had approximately 250 lake seamen in their circles around Chicago alone. But they had around 12,000 in the entire Nation, organized into the Communist National Marine

Workers Union prior to the C. I. O., on the birth of which they disbanded and joined the C. I. O.'s National Maritime and Longshoremen's Unions.

They had 50 members in the Staten Island shipyard section in 1934, and 30 of these were pretty active among the shipyard workers in that locality, being formed into shop nucleus in the important shipyards there.

At one time it is reported that at least 27 American ships contained Communist cells. The mutiny on British ships in 1932 was traced to Communists who had succeeded in penetrating the forces there to such an extent that they could cause misunderstanding and confusion among the majority of the seamen. The direction of their mutiny was traced to our own shores. Roy Hudson, of the Communist Control Committee, and for years a resident of Baltimore, is the director of the Communist activities among seamen, longshoremen, and shipyard workers. He is now located in New York.

He had made plans to launch an east-coast strike in harmony with the west-coast strike led by Harry Bridges 3 years ago, but knowledge of this by the Government foiled his plans. A copy of these plans had been seized in Seattle and sent to the Government.

Undoubtedly the Communists intended to sweep the Nation with a general strike at that moment, with the west coast in flames, the Communists had plans laid, it is believed, for its repetition on the east coast, and in textiles, coal, among truckers, autos, and steel.

"RED ANNAPOLIS"

Now, while trying to break down our national defense through the promotion of ultra-pacifism and while trying to undermine the morale of our Army and Navy and National Guard, these "reds" try to rush us into war in behalf of friends of Russia, such as the Spanish "red" front, the Chinese soviets, and against Russia's enemies, but that isn't all. It is known that the "reds" maintained a uniformed "red front" in the United States of America, whether this still exists we do not know, but we assume that it is or at least the result of the drilling lasts. They also drill youth in camps, as is shown by the pictures I have here, which are taken from their own literature, but that isn't all, it is reported on good authority that they maintain a "red Annapolis" in Camp Nitedegaite (20 miles north of West Point).

The information is that "red Annapolis" is located in a four-story hotel building located within the communist camp. Over the main entrance of the building is to be found the hammer and sickle of communism. Inside there is prominently displayed a large painting of Lenin addressing the revolutionists in 1917 in Russia. Elsewhere will be found large pictures of Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party, and Israel Amter, chairman of the party in New York State. The red flag of Moscow also adorns the walls. On the walls of the school one finds the slogans "Workers of the World Unite," "A Communist Unit on Every Ship," and "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism." It is reported that the leading professor at the school is J. Mindel, formerly instructor at the Workers' Communist School in New York City; Paul Cline, alias Al Peretti, director; Albert Mareau, David Laurie, a young Moscow educated professor, and Bill Lawrence, on the teaching staff at "red

Annapolis." Mary Dalton is director of another school in the camp. She is known as the "Joan of Arc" in Communist ranks.

"RED WEST POINT OF THE AIR"

We also know by their own acknowledgment that they maintain a "School of the Air," similar to the Government's flying school in Texas. This is known as the I. W. O. aviation. It operates on a flying field just out of New York City. The main organization of this school is known as the I. W. O. Aviation Club, with headquarters at 11 West Eighteenth Street, New York. This school was organized last year and in the Communist organs is information that they put scores of planes in the sky over New York City during the May 1938 national convention of the Communist Party. Sol Vail is head of the Aviation Club and School and an instructor in aviation. Arthur Vasnit, described as "a pilot of many years standing" and who has been flying for the "red front" troops in Spain, is one of the lecturers, as is Louis Daitz, a lecturer and instructor. There are apparently many others connected with the movement in an official capacity, but we have not been able to make further investigation of same. Steiner's offices are at 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

RED SECRET WORK

These schools afford the "reds" with avenues of spying. The students at the aviation school and marine school are assured that they will be taken into plants manufacturing ships and planes in order that they may inspect the products in the making. With regard to Communist spying, we have only to refer to the Government's own report as quoted in part in the Washington Herald, March 24, 1936. In going over the records of some of the Communists' official publications, we find items of a secretive nature insofar as our Government is concerned. Note the following:

(From the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States section of the Communist International of Moscow)

Issue:	<i>Subject</i>
Feb. 12, 1932 (p. 1)-----	Orders placed by U. S. War Department for army cloth, gas masks, and 3-inch shells.
Feb. 13, 1932-----	Chemical War (National Guard).
Feb. 23, 1932-----	War Department rushes orders draft blanks. (Given number ordered.)
Feb. 24, 1932-----	Secret orders placed for ammunition (Winchester Arms and Remington Arms).
Feb. 24, 1932-----	Pacific Fleet (letter).
Feb. 27, 1932-----	Nitrogen.
Mar. 1, 1932-----	Navy Pacific orders to Ford and munition plant.
Mar. 2, 1932-----	War munitions being loaded in Delaware. Sun Ship Co. receives order. Article on airplane construction.
Mar. 4, 1932-----	Portsmouth Navy Yard shipping munitions.
Mar. 7, 1932-----	Remington Arms Co. receives war order.
June 3, 1932 (p. 1)-----	War Department has caused to be moved under secret orders large supplies of tear-gas bombs, tear-gas shells, and hand grenades to Washington Barracks, the Munitions Building, and Fort Myer. A machine-gun equipped armored car was brought to Washington from Aberdeen.

Issue—Continued.	<i>Subject</i>
June 3, 1932 (p. 4)-----	United States plans for war. Nearly 4 one-half columns devoted to plans, including information as to division of Nation into 14 procurement districts and 71 local sections.
June 10, 1932 (p. 1)-----	Leaves for all officers and soldiers canceled. Soldiers and marines ordered to stay in their barracks.
June 11 1932 (p. 3)-----	Arms plant prepares for mass production as part of war plans (re New Haven, Conn., Winchester Arms plant).
June 13, 1932 (p. 1)-----	War Department issued order for high military men, soldiers, and marines in barracks near city be kept in readiness for emergency.
June 14, 1932 (p. 3)-----	Soldiers and marines mobilized in barracks. Tear-gas squads, rifle, and machine-gun companies held in readiness.
June 16, 1932-----	Truckloads of mills gas bombs, a case of gas candles, and 500 gas masks shipped to Bolling Field air post Saturday from Fort Hoyle.
July 17, 1932 (p. 1)-----	400 additional marines and armored cars arrive in Washington. Additional troops to force bonus marchers to give up fight.

Spies have also been caught red-handed in various parts of the country, and there have been several flagrant cases of sabotage on the part of Communists in connection with airplanes and warships.

WORLD CRISIS

“Yes, this is conspiracy * * * one in which millions participate, which is supported by tens of millions.”—Kamenev (president, Moscow Soviets and of the Central Committee of Russian Communist Party).

This powerful world Communist machine of destruction conspired and engineered by the organized conspirators of Red Russia, is carrying out the game of world destruction as specifically prescribed in the rules set down first by Lenin in 1919 and later broadened by the Communist International and Soviet government board of strategists—Lenin, Bucharin, Stalin, Rykov, Trotsky, Molotov, and their Communist agents throughout the world. This “machine” is filling the air in non-communist nations with the fog of “isms” of every known character which are choking the minds of all humanity with false explanations of the causes of the present demoralized state of affairs and in return offering as many unworkable schemes for the cure of the world’s ailments as it is possible to conceive, all of which is for the expressed purpose of throwing up smoke screens to hide the true causes of the present crisis and to further divide the masses and continue the creating of a blockade to recovery so that conditions cannot become stabilized and so that the economic crisis will continue to increase unemployment and mass suffering with the hope that the chaotic conditions will hasten the Communist revolution. This is how the “machine” is attempting to extend and sharpen discontent toward existing governments.

Hardy had the smoke cleared from the ruins of the destruction of Russia and hardly had the corpses of the many thousands that met death in that revolution become cold, before these intriguers began their conspiracy to capture the entire world for communism.

"It would not matter a jot if three-quarters of the human race perished; the important thing is that the remaining quarter should be Communists," said Lenin.

With one-sixth of the world under their absolute control, plans were immediately laid to use this huge area as a machine to throw the rest of the world scales out of balance and foment revolution by depressing world prices, driving wages down, and creating unemployment to bring about the ultimate establishment of a system of slavery, confiscation, and unfair practices in all countries, while another one-eighth of the world was immediately thrown out of joint by revolutions planned in Moscow.

The constitution of Russia was at the same time made so flexible that other units of the world could be added at any time to the Soviet Union as such units were created by these planned revolutions, carried through under Communist direction as described above and elsewhere in this article. The constitution of Russia says:

That admission to the union is open to all socialist soviet republics, both those existing as well as those created in the future; * * * that it will serve as a reliable stronghold against world capitalism; and that it will represent a new decisive step toward the union of the toiling masses of all countries into a universal socialist soviet republic.

With the ground work carefully laid, the plans written and adopted, a "world revolution" was announced at Moscow and war was declared against all other governments; the world conspirators set about their tasks. The plans included the preparation of a "world economic crisis" and the "prevention of capitalist stabilization" by the creation of a world crisis, through the depressing of prices by disturbing markets thereby forcing wage cuts and unemployment, which would lead to the sharpening of strikes and riots into civil warfare and the final overthrow of non-Communist governments, after which soviets would be set up under the Communist "dictatorship of the proletariat," and annexed to the Union of Soviet Republics.

In the early days Lenin insisted, "We must know how to trade," and not at all strange, the trade methods planned under the NEP (New Economic Policy) back in the early stages of the intriguing, differed widely from capitalist methods. In other words, a collision was planned, and the bolsheviks boasted among themselves over the plan they had been able to work out with which they claimed the capitalists could not compete without effecting drastic economies, lowering wages, and throwing workers out of employment.

The inside stories of these conspiracies are to be found only in the reports of the congresses of the Communist International, the conferences of the Russian Communist Party, and the all-world congresses of the Communist Parties, and it has been most difficult to obtain such published reports. However, they have been obtained, and in them one finds not the sugarcoated propaganda that "reds" disseminate for a catch-all to the laborer or the farmer but the real program of conspiracy and action.

Strangely enough, in connection with this world conspiracy to enslave humanity under the dictatorship, these revolutionists realized that they needed the help of their enemy (capitalists) if they were to succeed, and schemes were perfected by which their enemy could

be enticed by promised profits, to cooperate to a certain allowable point. The economist and the intellectual were to be used, the teacher and the professor and as many ministers as they could possibly rope in. A plan was adopted to ruin the non-Communist state through "contradictions," as Stalin proposed; it also included ensnaring members of legislative bodies of the various nations, pushing state powers to such a point that it would begin to break under its own load, through the controlling of industry, the disbursement of direct relief funds, the directing of distribution, consumption, and so forth. Stalin understood and explained this plan as one that could be used to "whittle away the state" under capitalism, but he maintained that the same program would be workable under a dictatorship of the proletariat after all industries and lands had been confiscated and with controlled labor. In other words, the program could work under slavery methods, but not under free labor and private ownership methods, and it was therefore to be pushed by the puppets in capitalist nations as a wrecking process, internationalism was selected as a means to kill patriotism and love of country, and the antiwar and liberation of colonies appeal was pushed forward in capitalist countries, but it was understood that it was not to affect Russia's army or the member states of the Soviet Union.

In connection with the planned destruction, the "These and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International," adopted by the second congress, July 17-August 7, 1920, as published in the office of the Communist International, Moscow, 1920, had already stated:

The present movement in the development of the international Communist movement is characterized by the fact that in a great majority of capitalist countries the preparation of the proletariat or the realization of its dictatorship is not yet completed. * * * It does not follow that the proletarian revolution is not possible, for the economic and political situations is extraordinarily rich in inflammable material which may cause a sudden flame; the other condition for a revolution, besides the preparedness of the proletariat, namely, the general state of crisis in all the ruling and all the bourgeois parties, is also at hand * * * against participation in a political campaign one should not use the argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within. The election campaign in non-Communist countries must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum vote but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the mottoes of the proletarian revolution. * * *

The march was begun in 1925 after the machinery had been set up for the forceful "collapsing" of the non-Communist portion of the world and the bringing about of its destruction. It included the careful establishment of the Communist machinery in each nation, the putting into operation of a system of forced labor in Russia, and the confiscation of industries, lands, and produce in Russia with a fixed plan of distribution that organized governments could not compete with, the rationing of food among the Russian people, and the gaining of capitalistic aid for the industrialization and agrarian program in Russia to increase production and thereby strengthen Russia's destructive world market plan.

In 1928 a special meeting of the Communist council was held in Moscow to make an inventory of what progress had been made among the various nations. The report dealing with America,

according to the published reports of the sixth world congress of the Communist International, July and August 1928, said:

The decline of capitalism does not follow a straight road. It proceeds along zig-zag lines. This created for the Communist movement new great difficulties. It confronted the Communist International with new problems. It compelled the Communist International to seek in everyday life, on the basis of the development of capitalist stabilization, the means of mobilizing the masses for a new battle, more sweeping and more destructive blow at capitalism.

* * * As a result of the analysis we made of the situation at that time (fifth congress) we declared that world economy was in a state of collapse, that European economy was in a state of permanent crisis, and the political superstructure of that analysis was the "era of democratic pacifism." * * * Such was the general situation at that time, and such was the estimate made of it by the fifth world congress. Not a word was said about stabilization. The word "stabilization" was first uttered in our midst only in 1925. * * * The postulate on the three periods was discussed by the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and there it was amended to make it more precise. Of course, the fact that the situation since the fifth congress has been divided into three periods by the delegation is not in itself a logical proof that this division is correct. We must substantiate it by sound arguments. * * * After the first period of the World War, the international labor movement passed a series of historical phases of development which expressed various phases of the general crisis of the capitalist system. The first period was the period of direct revolutionary actions of the proletariat; the highest point of development was reached in 1921. This period culminated in the victory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics * * * the second period, a period of gradual and partial stabilization of the capitalist system, of the general capitalist offensive and of the defensive battles fought by the proletariat. * * * This period was a period of rapid restoration in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Finally came the third period which, in the main, was the period in which capitalist economy exceeded the prewar level and in which also the economy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics almost exceeded the war level (the beginning of the so-called "reconstruction period," the further growth of the socialist forms of economy on the basis of a new technique).

This third period, in which the contradictions between the growth of the forces of production and the contradiction of markets becomes accentuated with particular force (p. 987). * * * In speaking of the further phases of the development and particularly of the transition period of our draft, we had to deal with the problem of the new economic policy and war communism. The term "New Economic Policy" is not used in the draft. We did not consider it advisable to employ this term * * * but we must deal with the problem * * *. This question was the subject of hot discussion at the plenum of the central committee of the Russian Party * * * the quintessence of the new economic policy, is the existence of market relations in one degree or another. * * * This is the most vital criterion of the NEP (New Economic Policy).

Following the above, one finds a long discussion by the Congress of the NEP and market relations, the result of the Soviet's entrance into market relations as a means of the more rapid diminishing of the capitalist market and this followed by discussions on war communism. Reference was made to Lenin's analysis of the NEP in Russia as "a method of combining socialist industry with the small producers. * * *" and as to how long it would take "to overcome market relationships."

* * * There are no limits to our market. * * * We can import only as much as we export. * * * Our imports will increase to the same extent that our exports increase. * * * The aim of rationalization in the capitalist countries is to get more profits; in the Soviet Union the purpose of rationalization is cheaper production * * *

continued the report. According to the report, Lenin said, "Of course, the struggle is continued under different circumstances, in another form and by other means * * *; the bourgeoisie may also be per-

period of the NEP, in the period of socialist construction, after the liquidation of revolts, and after the capitulation of capitalist classes is conducted," as Lenin said, "under other circumstances in another form and by other means * * *; the bourgeoisie may also be permitted to participate in this cooperation." Although—

temporary agreements with the latter (bourgeoisie) may be made only insofar as they will not hamper our revolutionary organizations. Being in command of the principal economic key positions in the country and systematically squeezing out the remnants of private capital, which has greatly dwindled in the last few years of the NEP * * * is identical with the development of socialism, passing from the process of restoration to the process of expanded reproduction of the entire productive and technical base of the country. * * * Thus the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an extremely important factor in the general crisis of capitalization. * * * The simultaneous existence of two economic systems—the socialist system in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the capitalist system in other countries—compels us to resort to economic maneuvering with and utilizing economic contacts with capitalist countries (with the aid of the monopoly of foreign trade—which is one of the fundamental conditions for the successful building up of socialism, and also with the aid of credits, loans, and concessions).

To intensify the crisis throughout the world, after the appetites of certain international capitalists had been whetted because of the fact that business profits had been forcibly decreased, the five-year plan in Russia was put into operation and the scent of huge profits was held beneath the noses of these hungry businesses, they fell into the Communist trap, helping with huge, long-term credits and loans to strengthen the revolutionary center which aimed at world destruction. Of this plan, the Communist leader Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs of Russia, when asked by an American correspondent how he accounted for the incongruity of "capitalism's cooperation with communism" in Russia, replied:

American capitalists have no principle, ideal, or loyalty to a system they will not sell the profit.

And the regulations as set forth by the executive committee of the Communist International. Reports up to May 1, 1928, submitted and approved by the sixth world congress of the Communist International Congress, says:

At the time of the fifth world congress here (Moscow) was a turn in the economic situation in America. The period of "good times" had lasted until the summer of 1927. Since this time the United States has witnessed a continual decline in production in basic industries (iron, steel, coal, oil, etc.) a fall in profits, especially of industrial corporations, and a record in the number of commercial failures.

We see an increasing integration of state and capital * * * In the period whatever resistance was made by the masses was under the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party and the left wing. Great headway has been made by the party in consolidating its forces and unifying its ranks on the basis of the resolution of the last convention * * * the main campaigns of general political character were as follows: Campaign against war danger, for the defense and recognition of Russia—anti-imperialist campaigns, China, Nicaragua, and unemployed marches. A vigorous campaign was launched against American war on Nicaragua, under defeatist slogans. Attempts were made to reach the forces in the navy yards * * * the party supports the efforts of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, a united front organization with its headquarters in Mexico City and a branch in the United States as well as in Latin American countries.

Again in 1930 and 1932 at the meetings of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International and the "red"

international labor unions held in Moscow, other careful checks were made and from report of "enlarged presidium of the executive committee, Communist International, February 1930, by B. Vassiliev, member of the presidium, we obtain the following:

The political resolution of the enlarged presidium states that the growing new economic crisis is hastening the process of upsetting capitalist stabilization (it has already led to the beginning of the collapse of capitalist stabilization) and the growth of class contradictions, thus accelerating the rise of the new revolutionary wave * * * at the same time, the gigantic successes of socialist construction in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are sharpening in the most extreme way the contradictions between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the entire capitalist world.

While the report of the "red" international of labor unions, Moscow, April 15, 1932, says:

The development of trade turnover is of primary importance in insuring Bolshevik tempo. The development of trade turnover and, first of all, of retail trade constitute a most important encouragement for bringing to light the tremendous and far from utilized internal resources in our country, facilitating the heightened growth of Socialist accumulation and thereby strengthen the material basis of the whole Socialist construction * * * the working class will insure new successes for socialism only in the struggle against the survivals of capitalism, giving a ruthless setback to the resistance of the decaying capitalist elements. * * * We exert our chief influence on the international revolution at the present time through our economic policy. * * * Only the international working class can tear the weapons out of the hands of the imperialists, confound their plans. * * * Ferment among millions of the unemployed in the United States is steadily growing. The organized demonstrations take on an ever-wider mass character.

The Communist International, February 15, 1932, says:

The sharpening and deepening of the world economic crisis leads to growing difficulties in the situation of the social democracy. The economic basis of reformism is crumbling as a result of the falling profit. * * * The growing poverty of the masses, upon whose shoulders capital transfers the burdens of the crisis, calls forth increasing dissatisfaction * * * under pressure of the growing discontent of the workers and their mass desertion from social democracy.

While world markets were being disrupted through the "dumping" of products by Soviet Russia and through stock-exchange manipulations throughout the world, the huge propaganda machinery and organized agitators were diligently at work in the nations adversely affected. World conditions had been disturbed by a new kind of marketing with which the people of countries where private, or individual ownership obtains and freedom of labor and higher living standards prevailed, could not compete. The lower the prices fell, the lower the Russians forced them by continually selling beneath existing prices, no matter how low, and by dealing in futures on the stock exchanges and selling at the opportune time to break down the markets at "any cost," the machine continued to take its toll.

A campaign of bank rumors to create distrust in banks and cause runs and freeze the savings and investments of those who had not already been forced to the wall by the other operations was instigated. Agitation against debt payments was fomented in Europe to cause friction and distrust among nations, and at the same time a campaign of "brotherly love" and disarmament was launched with Russia holding forth the dove in one hand and the dagger carefully concealed in the other. All sorts of maneuverings were adopted and used to further begof the minds of the unsuspecting public and keep

them occupied with fanciful theories in order to prevent a concerted and solid-front effort for the stabilization of capitalism. The "intellectual" squads were turned loose with as many foolish proposals as could be ground from the gristmill, only very few workable, but all widely publicized so that the public would forcibly forego constructive concentration on the real issues of the depression and the way to solve them.

Discontent was fostered in the colonies of the various nations so as to keep the national armed strength and the national legislative bodies divided between mainlands and territorial problems. Revolutions and civil warfare were created in different parts of the world, resulting in the destruction of free consumption and free commerce between nations. Revolutions in South America, Spain, India, China, and elsewhere were fomented, and free commerce representing another one-seventh of the commerce of the world was put at a standstill. Capital formerly used for construction and commerce was forced into powder, bullets, and pay for soldiers, instead.

At the November 1932 congress of the executive committee of the Communist International held in Moscow, the problem of "prevention of capitalist stabilization" was specifically dealt with and a special program to prevent the stabilization of capitalism and to force the immediate fall of the non-Communist governments was adopted. The United States came in again for special mention, and this is what the Thesis of the Twelfth Plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International, Moscow, November 1932, says:

The sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism is proceeding with enormous strides which are carrying this crisis to a new state. A tremendous change has taken place in the relations of forces between the Socialist and the capitalist worlds, due primarily to the increase in the relative importance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is carrying out its great program of Socialist industrialization at a tremendous rate.

Russia, with the assistance of international capitalist loans, credits, and purchases, had become second in producers of pig iron, of machine building, of oil, and third in electrical energy.

The successes achieved in Socialist construction are securing to an increasing degree the economic independence of the Soviet Union in relation to the capitalist world, and its international might, its revolutionizing influence on the toilers and the exploited of all countries, and its significance as the basis of the world Socialist revolution have increased. Meanwhile, in the capitalist world there has been a continuation of the sharpening of the economic crisis—the growing revolutionary upsurge, further sharpening of antagonisms between imperialist powers, etc. This, however, does not imply that capitalism will break down automatically; it implies the inevitable further growth of the revolutionary upsurge and a further sharpening of the fundamental antagonism which drive the bourgeoisie to seek a violent solution. * * * All these facts taken together completely confirm the estimate of the tendency of development given in the decisions of the thirty-first plenum of the executive committee Communist International, and also reveal in the course of the development of the general crisis of capitalism * * * the end of relative capitalist stabilization has come. But the directly revolutionary situation has not yet arisen in the important and decisive capitalist countries. What is taking place at the present moment is the transition to a new round of big clashes between classes and states, a new round of wars and revolutions. * * * In China there is a revolutionary situation and a soviet revolution has been victorious over a large territory. * * * Certain other countries are either approaching very closely to a revolutionary crisis or as a result of the crisis abroad may find themselves in the situation of a revolutionary crisis in the very near future. * * * The growth of the revolutionary upsurge has become particu-

larly evident since the eleventh plenum—during this period the Communist parties have increased their strength.

The end of capitalist stabilization, the rapidly growing prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis and the international situation in general, sharply raises the problem of solving the main task of the Communist parties at the present time, i. e. of preparing the working class and exploited masses, in the course of economic and political struggles, for the impending fight for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely because little time remains before the revolutionary crisis matures is it necessary, without losing a moment to intensity and accelerate our Bolshevik mass work. The proper conduct of this struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie is closely linked up with the winning over of the majority of the working class, the undermining and smashing of the mass influence of social democracy. The main link which the Communist parties must seize upon is the struggle for the every-day economic and political interest of the masses. This is particularly important in the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization. When the proper conditions for the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat exist, the preparation and calling of a mass political strike is one of the most essential and immediate links. It is necessary to conduct systematic propaganda about the proletariat dictatorship and to popularize the Soviet Union. * * * The specific tasks of the Communist parties are as follows: * * * The American party must mobilize the masses and concentrate chiefly for social insurance, against wage cuts, for immediate assistance for the unemployed, for assistance for the farmers, for equal rights for the Negroes and the right of self-determination for the black belt, for defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. * * * In regard to organization, carefully conceal the Communist nuclei in the factories, immediately proceed to form strictly secret nuclei in the military units and the militarized organizations of the bourgeoisie in munitions factories, on the railroads and in the ports and to take measures to insure that the party can promptly pass to an illegal basis in case of necessity. * * * The crisis has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundation—the forces of social revolution are growing and rising the world over. * * * The sections of the Communist International must intensify to the utmost their Bolshevik work by hastening the revolutionization of the broad masses, developing and leading the class struggles. * * * The growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the sphere of the economic struggle of the proletariat is expressed in the development of the mass strike movement (Spain, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, France, Belgium, Bulgaria, England, India, United States of America, Germany, South America, etc.). * * * The development of the economic struggle of the proletariat under conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization urgently requires that the Communist vanguard pursues a clear and distinct struggle against opportunism. * * *

At this time Stalin, dictator of the Government which we are asked to recognize (Russia), and the power of the Third International and Russian Communist Party, whose history up to his ascendance to this position was that of an agitator and revolutionist, never having held a business or official government position before, made special mention of the work of the Communists in the United States. He asserted:

An important change has come over the development of the class war in the United States. And this change, the present development of Bolshevik action in the United States, has been prepared at Moscow with the greatest care.

I consider that the Communist Party of the United States of America is one of the few Communist parties to which history has confided decisive tasks from the viewpoint of the world revolutionary movement. The revolutionary crisis has not yet arrived in the United States, but there are already numerous indications which lead us to believe that it is near.

The American Communist Party must be ready to meet the crisis fully armed to take over the direction of the future class war. You must prepare yourselves for this, comrades, with all your strength and by every means.

Soon the soil will catch fire and begin to burn under the feet of world capitalism. The soil is already catching fire under the feet of world capitalism. The soil is already catching fire under the feet of American capitalists, too, for they are not an exception.

This is so evident that only the blind, or the deliberate enemies of the proletariat, can fail to see it. Three millions of unemployed, the first flower of the approaching American crisis, have already sprouted into four or five millions.

The Third International has enabled the Communist Party of America to reach a stage where it can actively prepare the masses for a future revolution.

American capitalism is thus moving relentlessly, not toward a technical or an industrial revolution, but toward a proletarian revolution.

The world revolutionists with the help of the world's best economic destructionists' minds, the financial and moral aid of international capitalists and so-called modernist ministers, professors, and journalists, have continued unhindered in working out their game of checkers.

MR. STEELE. On one of the boards over there is exhibited some of it. On the back it is shown that they have been printed in the Soviet Union and circulated in this country. I can swear to that.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have testimony to back up your statement that they were distributed in this country?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. That tends to show the close tie-up between the Soviet Union and the members of the Communist Party in the United States.

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir. Each one of those publications has printed on the back, "Printed in the Soviet Union," and each one was purchased in this country. For instance, the Moscow News has been circulated among professors in our educational institutions. I know of one or two cases, and I can submit the wrapper from one of them that was sent to a professor.

MR. THOMAS. As to that particular paper circulated among professors, is it circulated by hand or sent through the mails?

MR. STEELE. Through the mails.

MR. THOMAS. With stamps?

MR. STEELE. No, sir; there is no regular stamp, but there is an imprint on it that appears to be a mailing permit. It is in Russian and I could not read it.

MR. THOMAS. Do you have a copy of it?

MR. STEELE. I have one, and can bring it up.

MR. THOMAS. I think we should have that. In other words, it is some sort of frank.

MR. STEELE. It is either a frank or a postal permit under which they paid the postage in advance. I do not know which it is. I have never had it translated.

MR. THOMAS. You will supply one of them for the committee.

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir; I will supply an original.

Now, they lay a lot of stress upon their propagandæ efforts. They claim that the revolution in Russia came about through the mimeograph machine operated by Stalin and the party organs they set up, like they have in this country; but, in addition to the organs they have other means of propaganda. For instance, here is a copy of the report of the literature commission to the tenth convention of the Communist Party of the United States, which was held a few weeks ago. It says that the party should publish during the next 2 years, 1938 and 1939, 15,000,000 books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other literature, in addition to the distribution of literature issued by other

organizations, so they will have a total distribution of working-class literature of about 25,000,000 publications during that period.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be in the United States.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was their quota for that particular year, or 25,000,000 pieces of literature to be distributed among the workers.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do they get the money to finance such a propaganda effort as that?

Mr. STEELE. I cannot tell where they get all of it. I can tell where they get some of it, and will tell when I come to the financial end of the discussion. Of course, they do sell quite a bit of it.

The CHAIRMAN. But there must be, in addition to that, some other source of revenue.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. As I showed awhile ago, the deficit of the Daily Worker was \$120,000 in 1 year.

The CHAIRMAN. It was \$120,000 for 1 year?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that been made up recently?

Mr. STEELE. I think it was; yes, sir. On the Congressman's request, I will submit a list of the donations on that. They show that this literature is most heavily circulated, for instance, in New York. In 1936 they claimed that the total number of pamphlets and literature circulated was 2,259,809 copies in 1 year. They give each State. Then they give the circulation of some of their party organs, as, for instance, the Communist, the Communist International, and the Party Organizer. Then they give the total distribution of publications on certain subjects, and they give the total distribution of what they call their pamphlets which are published in foreign languages. In addition to publications, they have a system of promoting communism by phonograph records. I do not know what the distribution of those records is. This record [indicating] is entitled "Rise Up."

Mr. MASON. Do they pride themselves on modern methods in the use of phonograph records?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. The title of this record is "Rise Up." The Times Recording Co. is the producer and distributor of these records. Here is one entitled "Hold the Fort," and here is one entitled "Solidarity Forever." Here is the Soup Song, and this is entitled "We Shall Not Be Moved."

The CHAIRMAN. That is an old-fashioned religious song.

Mr. STEELE. It used to be. This is a modern version of it. Another one is called "On the Picket Line." They even sing communism. Here is one, for instance, called "Mr. Hearst," which is set to music. There is another called "Father Coughlin," and one called "Al Smith."

Mr. MASON. I imagine that next year "Martin Dies" will be set to music.

Mr. STEELE. I do not doubt it.

The International is a marching song. Here is one entitled "Abraham Lincoln Lives Again." That is for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade fighting in Spain. In one of their publications, a magazine

issued weekly, and which they announced recently was worth raising funds for, this statement is made:

Few Communists, let alone outsiders, have any idea that the International Publishers is one of the largest, bar none, of the publishing houses in America. International Publishers get out a positively staggering number of full-sized regularly cloth-bound books every year—books on Marxism, books on trade-unions, left-wing novels, poetry, etc.

Then they make this additional statement:

But publishing means less than nothing without distribution, which brings us around to Workers' Bookshops, one of the largest bookstore chains in America.

Now, for your information, I am listing the addresses of some of the propaganda centers.

A document issued by them claims that the Daily Worker circulates in 2,000 American cities. Also, an affidavit filed with the Frankel letter, which I referred to awhile ago, shows that the Daily Worker, through the organizations it influences, covers 800,000 industrial workers in the metropolitan area. The affidavit states, in connection with the advertising accounts that they were soliciting, that they issue large posters to be posted in over 700 meeting halls and clubrooms in the metropolitan area. Frankel also states, or attaches a statement by the Metropolitan News Co., of New York City, claiming that it has placed this Communist organ for sale on 4,100 newsstands daily in greater New York. In this same letter, where they state that the circulation of the Sunday Worker is 100,000 copies, it is stated that 35,000 of the Sunday Worker circulation had recently been taken over by the Mid-West Record, a new Communist daily published in Chicago. It was organized January 1, of this year. There is another daily paper known as the Morning Freiheit, published in New York City, and it claims a circulation of approximately 60,000 in New York City.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is it published?

Mr. STEELE. It is published in New York City. In San Francisco, the Peoples World is the organ.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it divert you to take up another point that I want to clear up, and that is with reference to the program or methods the Communist Party has adopted in recent years to obtain its objective, or the economic methods?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I read some time ago in what seemed to be an official publication of the Communist Party a statement in which they seemed to outline certain methods by which to arrive at their objectives.

Mr. STEELE. I have that in another section of my testimony.

That change in strategy on the part of the Communist movements throughout the world has been very noticeable. They say, for instance, that Russia has divorced itself from the idea of world revolution and is devoting its task to the building up of the Soviet Union.

However in this country they are advocating what they call a "Farmer-Labor Party," which is nothing more than a mask for a "united front" effort—the same united front effort that they used in France and Spain, which I spoke of a while ago.

We have already proven that there is nothing to that idea of Russia divorcing itself from that angle.

I am trying to get down to what you want, Congressman.
In the report of the tenth party convention Mr. Browder states:

One of the greatest merits of the tenth party convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, consists in its having given the party a new constitution—

Which he attempts to paint as an Americanization of the Communist movement in this country. But he assures Moscow that the new constitution of the Communist Party of the United States—

is profoundly connected with the political life of America and is realizing in practice the instructions of Comrade Dimitrov, who called us at the seventh world congress of the Communist International to learn as quickly as possible how to sail on the turbulent waters of class struggle * * *

These instructions were known as the Trojan horse movement, and here is what they said:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army after suffering many sacrifices was unable to achieve victory until, with the aid of the famous Trojan horse, it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemies' camp (The Working Class Against Fascism, p. 52).

Dimitrov followed that with a call for the building of united front.

This was all in the Daily Worker. The officials ordered the tenth national convention of the Communist Party in New York City (May 1938) to cable a message to Russia, and the Third Communist International, which said in part:

The tenth national convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Communist International and its helmsman, George Dimitrov, true commander-in-arms of Stalin, leader of the struggle against fascism and war, hero of all anti-Fascists, hero and leader of the working class * * *

We have learned from you how to rekindle that fire. We have learned from you how to fuse the internationalism of our socialist heritage with the best traditions of the revolutionary patriots of past history.

The international working class under your leadership is building unity * * * and at the head of the forces of peace stands the Soviet Union, the socialist country * * * Our convention pledges to you and to the Communist International our steadfast determination to be worthy of the model you have set for us * * * the goal of the leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—the winning of a socialist world * * * (Daily Worker, June 1, 1938, p. 6).

The Daily Worker of July 4, 1938, says:

When we sing the Star-Spangled Banner and the International together and when we decorate our platform today with the American flag * * * and the "red" flag of the socialist revolution * * * this is the way we express the fusion of our Communist program for socialism and the American tradition.

Now, the truth is, the reason they do have an American flag in a Communist meeting is that in New York, where they hold most of their conventions, there is a law which compels that the American flag be hung at any mass meeting.

Mr. THOMAS. That is, in an open meeting.

Mr. STEELE. In an open meeting; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. In a public meeting.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You did not mean to infer that they ever fly the American flag in any of their closed meetings?

Mr. STEELE. I have never heard of that; no, sir.

At the present time the serious problem confronting the American people is not the question of the votes that the Communist Party candidates can show, but the move on the part of the Communists to organize this popular front, as they call it, or sometimes they call it "people's front," and sometimes "united front."

This effort, they state, is a transitional plan which, so officials say, adopts "different procedures in different countries."

The program of the Communist International, which I have submitted, states on page 32:

Between capitalist society and Communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential state form is revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles, with defeats as well as victories.

In other words, it attempts to force the state to imperialistic procedure by their activities so as to cause a centralization of power within the non-Communist state. Then they call that fascism after they have forced that into effect. In other words, to prepare the ground for the final revolution, the "reds" adopt the "people's front" as the means of drawing up the opposing sides for the final conflict.

In the program of the Communist Internationals the "reds" admit, however, that such transitional methods often "extend over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and the maturing of socialist revolutions, i. e., of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie, a period of national wars and colonial rebellions," all a part of the "world proletarian revolution," a "period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exists side by side."

That is the meaning, they state, of the "people's front." In other words, it is to disturb the economic balance of the non-Communist state.

On page 36 of the program we learn that "final blow" directed at the anti-Communist is "never peaceful." It states:

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peaceful capturing the ready-made state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. * * * The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.).

Now, all the way through the "Communist manifesto" you find the plan of the popular front, so I am not going to go into that further.

But the World Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in July 1935, was told:

Our (Communists) task is now to rally the disillusioned masses into an anti-Fascist organization and an anticapitalist political movement with the development of a workers' and farmers' labor party as a goal.

Recent developments along these lines, in which the American Federation of Labor has been the first and most target, speak for themselves, and the formations now prevalent in the United States point to the attempted obedience of Communists and liberals to these orders.

Browder, who took an active part in the Moscow Congress, together with Gil Green, head of the Young Communist movement in the United States; William Z. Foster; and other Communist leaders reported in 1935 that the success of communism in the United States was due to the fact that "the party has issued slogans which the masses accept as their own—unemployment insurance, which forced a temporary national relief program; against war and fascism; for civil rights for the Negro people; against class collaboration; for a united front." He further stated that "the party played an important role in the great strike wave, in which political objectives emerged from the economic struggle;" and, "in strikes the Communist Party often wielded a decisive and leading influence." "The party learned not only how to start strikes but also how to end them with victory or partial victory." Browder spoke about the young Communist movements in the United States as being "gradually transformed into anti-Fascist fighting organizations." He referred to the "successful activity of the Young Communist League among the membership of religious and Y. M. C. A. groups." He spoke of the success of forming united fronts around the *Scottsboro (Ala.) Negro case*, the Herndon (Atlanta, Ga.) Negro convicted under a sedition act, the Harlem riot, etc. He reported on the "energetic activities of the American League Against War and Fascism and the Friends of the Soviet Union."

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if we could do this, Mr. Steele, without disturbing you: Abbreviating as much as we can, get down to some of these charges and statements that we have here.

Now, your statement with reference to 6,500,000 people is based upon the membership of these "front" organizations; that is right, is it not?

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

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get that membership?

Mr. STEELE. From their publications.

The CHAIRMAN. From their publication and record of members?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you base their tie-up with the Communist Party on the statements of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Upon interlocking directorates and the presence in some of the organizations of known Communists?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And on the fact that some of their platforms, what they apparently stand for, represent the usual method used by Communists throughout the world?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where they have counterparts to all these organizations?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And it shows a common purpose to form these organizations throughout the world?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And on that you base your statement about the 6,500,000 people?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on your proposition that they are trying to obtain the allegiance and following of the alien-born in the United States, what do you have to sustain that statement?

Mr. STEELE. I have that in another report here.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to be in the position of hurrying you, but we have many witnesses, and I thought possibly we could get the principal parts first and later on we could fill in the others.

Mr. HEALEY. May I ask if you have evidence with regard to recruiting for the Loyalist army in Spain?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; I do not have that.

The CHAIRMAN. There will be witnesses here who have enlisted there and who will tell the whole story.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But this may throw you off your track. However, I thought if we could get some of the principal things here it would be helpful.

Mr. STEELE. My problem is that I have this all in continuity, and it is hard to pick them out.

The reason I say that is that what I am stating in answer now are generalities. Taking a number of their large organizations, such as the American League for Peace and Democracy, the American Alliance, National Labor Defense, Friends of the Soviet Union, the International Workers, and about 40 or more of their largest movements, I am going to give you a separate set-up on those to prove to you that they are Communist groups.

Mr. MASON. I am very anxious that you elaborate on that American organization for peace and democracy.

Mr. STEELE. For instance, to give you an example, there was the National Negro Congress held in Philadelphia. I am not saying that every member of the Negro Congress is a Communist. There are over a million Negroes in that organization that are affiliated with that movement. But I want to show you by this material how the control of that is handled. In other words, they take a leader who has declared himself favorable to the Communist movement, and they set him up. Although he may not be a party member, he has declared himself favorable, and they set him up as the high officer of it. The organizational director, and so forth, are also of that type. But as to the executive committee, their constitution says that the control of the activities of that movement is in the executive committee, and the executive committee is composed of mostly Communists.

Mr. HEALEY. They control the machinery?

Mr. STEELE. They control the machinery. In that way they make members of these affiliated groups follow the party line, even though they may not know they are following the party line.

Mr. HEALEY. They may do it perfectly innocently, sometimes?

Mr. STEELE. Sometimes perfectly innocently.

Mr. HEALEY. And not subscribe to the principles of communism?

Mr. STEELE. No.

Mr. HEALEY. But be led by an inside group?

Mr. STEELE. That is right. Now, the purpose of such investigations as this is in exposing those things; such exposures get to the people through the press, and those people that are following the party line unconsciously will evidently withdraw from it.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you have made a very exhaustive study in the preparation of this material. Suppose you proceed, then, and when we get here tomorrow we may have one or more urgent witnesses, and I know you will accommodate us by stepping aside to enable us to hear those witnesses.

Mr. STEELE. I shall be very glad to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. So that we can work out our program and get along as fast as we can and get through. Suppose you proceed, then. I would suggest that where you can cut down, not to go too minutely into details, but to furnish your evidence sustaining your general statements and general propositions, and any of the details you can give to us later.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; I will leave it all here with you.

A detailed report was made on the "Communist successes on the cultural front," citing the American Writers Congress, the New Masses, and so forth. The united front "is the first step to revolution," says the Communist report dealing with the 1935 Moscow Congress. This report shows that the American Federation of Labor was to become one of Russia's main targets. It states, "In the United States for a long time Communists have considered the American Federation of Labor as only a strikebreaking organization." Recent events show the results of the sinister attack on the American Federation of Labor and the growing success of a radical countermovement. The following statement was made in the report:

In England and America the Communist Parties strengthened the proletariat and increased their influences by united front tactics. * * * The united front movement takes many forms in various capitalist countries. * * * The united front is no simple uniting of two parties, but indicates the turning of the masses from the reformist to revolutionary policies, and is the first step toward a revolutionary party of the proletariat. * * * The program, strategy and tactics of the Comintern (Communist International of Moscow) have stood every test.

In discussing the success of Russia in its direction of the Chinese revolution, the report states: "The glorious Chinese Communist Party stood during the period under discussion in the most advanced fighting positions. It has 300,000 members, a Red Army, a big soviet area." However, "the greatest successes among all the parties in the imperialist countries were achieved by the Communist Party of France. * * * It has become an important political factor in France throughout its successful carrying out of the united front." It now partially controls the French Government.

We know that it did have the balance of power there for a while.

Discussing again the situation in the United States, the report announces:

The Communist Party of the United States has begun the rapid extension of its influence. * * * The Soviet Union is exercising increasing influence on the development of the emancipation struggle of the world proletariat. * * * The task of the proletarians of the whole world will be to fight together with the Red Army against the bourgeois for the victory of the revolution; for the transformation of an imperialist war into a civil war. No social order falls by itself, no matter how rotten it is. It must be overthrown. * * * It is our task to organize the toiling masses against capitalism into a resolute revolutionary army of the proletariat and to lead the latter to the storming of capitalism. * * * We Communists show the masses that the only way out is the way of soviet power.

In referring to the situation in Spain, the "reds" Labor Fact Book stated:

In October 1934 the Communist and Young Communist International appealed to labor, the Socialist (Second) International and its constituent parties for a united front in support of the revolutionary struggles in Spain.

We all well know what is happening there as a result.

I bring that out because I am going to deal with that later.

Dimitroff, general secretary of the Communist International of Moscow, at the August 1935 World Congress of Communist Parties, said:

Our Congress has set before the international proletariat, as its most important immediate task, that of consolidating its forces politically and organizationally, of putting an end to the isolation to which it has been reduced by the Social-Democratic policy of class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of rallying the toilers around the working class in a wide people's front against the offensive of capital and reaction, against fascism and the threat of war in each individual country and in the international arena. * * *

The following statement was made by Maurice Thorez, a Communist leader of the united front in France and now a leader in the Parliament of the (United) Popular Front Government of France:

For the communists the People's Front is not a tactic of expediency. Still less is it an election move. It is an element of their fundamental policy, an application of the principles of Marx and Lenin on the necessary alliance to the very end of the working class and the middle classes, not only to defeat fascism, but also to put an end to the "exploitation of capital."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, let us try this, to get generally the proof which will be followed up later. I want to get this point: You say there are 20,000,000 alien-born within the United States, and that they are particularly active among that group. Is that a fact?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; that is a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence do you have, generally to sustain that statement; the pamphlets that they have distributed among them, their statements, and so forth?

Mr. STEELE. Well, no; that plus their organizational activities. At their recent Congress they stated that they were going to federate all of these "national groups." They referred to the alien groups as "national groups." Now, immediately after the May convention this year there was a federation set up in New York—I have the name of it here, but I cannot remember it—and this federation was to federate all of these alien groups which they have organized, and is to federate them around particularly those organizations which are rightfully against Nazi-ism and against Fascism, and so forth. But they are using those points as the agitational points, you understand. For instance, the Chinamen in this country they have organized into a group against Japan.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they take advantage of their race feeling, or any situation that develops, and appeal to the feelings of one class of people as against another?

Mr. STEEL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is part of their methods, to take advantage of those situations to develop their cause.

Mr. STEEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What progress have they made among the alien-born in the United States?

Mr. STEELE. They seem to have made considerable progress. When I say considerable progress, I do not mean that as to the percentage of foreign-born in our country, because there are approximately 20,000,000 foreign-born in our country. I would say that possibly they have 500,000 in those ranks.

The CHAIRMAN. 500,000 followers among the foreign-born?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to the expenditure of money, you estimate that approximately a million dollars has been spent annually among the foreign-born for propaganda purposes?

Mr. STEELE. Not all of it among foreign-born.

The CHAIRMAN. Among all kinds of people?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately a million dollars?

Mr. STEELE. No; approximately \$10,000,000. That is for all of their activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get as much of this as I can in the record, covering your statement, without the necessity of reading the details into the record.

You base that estimate of \$10,000,000 upon what facts?

Mr. STEELE. I base that upon the financial reports of some organizations which I will submit for the record.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Steele, I think that is most interesting, to know how this organization raises its funds.

You made the general allegation that they spend \$10,000,000 a year. It would be interesting to the committee, I am sure, if you could tell us from what sources those funds come.

Mr. STEELE. I showed you one source of \$700,000.

Here is the financial statement of the International Workers Order. This is the 1934 report.

This shows a total income for that year of \$967,207.06. That shows that the total assets of the organization at that time—

Mr. THOMAS. You would not include those assets in income, would you?

Mr. STEELE. Only that it shows what their income may have been previously.

Mr. THOMAS. But what you are trying to do now, as I understand it, is to prove how the \$10,000,000 is made up, and you have now referred to two items, one of \$700,000 which you gave early this afternoon, and then this other one.

Mr. STEELE. I want to submit that photostat copy of that statement, not for the record but for your information.

For instance, the International Labor Defense statement shows a total income for the year 1930—I might say I have gotten hold of the low one, and I am sorry—but it shows \$47,970.81.

I want to qualify that statement here. For instance, I said they were spending that much. That report shows a deficit for that year, and I read the figure for the income only. The expenditure was larger than the income.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the total expenditure, counting the deficit?

Mr. STEELE. The total income is \$47,970 and the total liabilities—they do not say they are deficits, but I presume they are deficits—amount to \$204,134.13 for that year.

The CHAIRMAN. That makes a total expenditure of how much?

Mr. HEALEY. That is \$250,000, is it not?

Mr. MASON. It would not make a total expenditure of \$250,000 unless the liabilities, which are debts, had been incurred during that year for which the receipts are shown. They might have been incurred over a period of years.

Mr. STEELE. They might have been.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us give Mr. Steele the benefit of that item and let him show how he arrives at the \$10,000,000.

Mr. STEELE. They also had a bail fund which I had overlooked, amounting to \$186,775. That is to provide bail for arrested Communists.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that listed as an asset?

Mr. STEELE. That is listed as an asset.

Here is a fund—this statement shows the expenditure was made in this year in this case, and it shows that the receipts amounted to \$38,181.05 for this same organization.

Mr. HEALEY. Which organization?

Mr. STEELE. The International Labor Defense. But in a special committee they set up where the funds were kept separately from the other funds, it shows their income was \$38,181 in this year and their expenditures amounted to \$64,351.75.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you contend at all that some of this money that was spent by the Communist Party in America comes from Russia, or comes from abroad?

Mr. STEELE. I can only prove that by statements of people who should be in a position to know.

Mr. HEALEY. Have you any evidence to show that some part of it comes from abroad?

Mr. STEELE. I have no checks or anything of that kind, any material evidence. I only have the statements of individuals whom I have reason to think are in a position to know.

For instance, you recall that during the west-coast strike 2 years ago the head of the A. F. of L. in that section stated that the Marine Union out there had received from the Communists seventy-five-thousand-some-odd—I have the exact statement somewhere—and that the Justice Department had the checks in their possession. That is a pretty broad statement to make in a publication, but he said he was authorized to make that statement, that they had the proof of it.

Back in 1924 Mr. Lewis, himself, who was then fighting the Communist organizations gave the exact dates and amounts of money, running up into two or three hundred thousand dollars in that particular year, that he charged came from Russia.

There are other reports of that type that I can only cite. I have no canceled checks or other proof to prove it.

Mr. HEALEY. Have you anything of recent origin?

Mr. STEELE. The most recent was the A. F. of L. statement.

Mr. HEALEY. In reference to the \$750,000? When was that?

Mr. STEELE. That was either last year or the year before.

Mr. HEALEY. You say the Department of Justice has the evidence?

Mr. STEELE. That is what the A. F. of L. leader out there states; I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us continue our consideration of the amount of money that is being spent in the United States by the Communists.

Mr. STEELE. The reports of the various organizations—and I am submitting some of them here—show different funds. As printers, we know what printing costs. We have some idea about that.

Mr. THOMAS. You say you have some idea what it costs. What is your ideas as to what it costs?

Mr. STEELE. I have not that section separately, but we have taken four or five of their publications and estimated the cost of them; that is, their regular publications.

For instance, our estimate of the cost of the Daily Worker is around \$275,000 a year; that is, to operate, and they openly state that there is a deficit of \$120,000 each year.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you have to get at this by indirect means. No one can secure any canceled checks, and this has to be done by indirect methods.

You take the publications and you say your estimate of the cost of all this propaganda assuredly must run into a considerable amount of money.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have a definite way of estimating it?

Mr. STEELE. We take one publication with its average circulation and take the average circulation on each of the others, and we know approximately what the cost is.

Of course, 23,000,000 pamphlets which they state in their report which I handed you—they cost a lot of money; it costs a lot of money to set those in type and print them. We can only take an average pamphlet and estimate the cost of that and then take that average and multiply it by 23,000,000 copies, and we have an estimate.

We have the aggregate of those figures, including the figures of the organization which we have been able to get. We have not been able to get all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money of the organizations do you think definitely, according to their reports, they have spent? What is the total figure?

Mr. STEELE. I do not have it segregated.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately how much would it run into?

Mr. STEELE. Approximately I would say—I do not know how we can arrive at that right now.

The CHAIRMAN. You have mentioned the figure of \$10,000,000 as an estimate, and you say you base it upon the reports of the organizations of their expenditures.

Mr. STEELE. Yes; that is right; plus their camp activities and their theater movements, which I am going into, and their propaganda and their mass marches.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you have all of that in detail.

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I would like to show you how loose they are with their money. Here is a letter signed by the chief of police of the city of Portland, Oreg., in which he says:

DEAR SIR: In response to your letter of November 24, please be advised that Luke Shako, a native of Jugoslavia, and a very active Communist worker, was arrested by officers of this department January 2, 1931 and held for deportation.

At the time of his arrest he had \$8.252 in currency in his pockets and bank deposit balances of about that much more. When questioned, he stated that the money was his own, and that he had earned it in the logging camps, but

later said he could not use \$3,000 of it for bail without the consent of the party.

He was later deported.

Under separate cover, I am mailing you a complimentary copy of a booklet written by an officer of this department.

Yours truly,

Capt. H. M. NILES,
Acting Chief of Police.

That is just one instance. That is an instance of a party member carrying money around loosely, in large amounts.

Then I have here another letter from the chief of police of Wilmington, Del., in which he states:

Replying to your communication relative to Communist leader being arrested in this city, with bonus marchers to Washington, D. C., in 1932.

I have to advise that Benjamin Gold who gave his address as 315 Second Avenue, New York City, N. Y., was arrested in this city December 2, 1932, charged with assault and battery on a police officer. He was fined \$50 and costs and sentenced to serve 40 days. This case was appealed to the Supreme Court who upheld the decision of the lower court. January 19, 1934, the above sentenced was imposed. Released February 22, 1934.

When arrested this man had in his possession 50 \$10 travelers checks, made payable to Carl Winter.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE BLACK,
Superintendent of Public Safety.

We have information on a great number of instances like that.

I want to submit still another financial report. Here is a report of the International Labor Defense for another year, showing that in this particular year their total income was \$80,127.63. We have many similar reports, but I did not go to the expense of photostating them, because it would have amounted to considerable.

The CHAIRMAN. You did take into consideration, in computing the \$10,000,000, all these reports from these organizations themselves as to expenditures?

Mr. STEELE. We took the reports of the organizations that we could get reports on, and we took the average and multiplied it by half of that average, in order to allow for a very small expenditure by some organizations.

In other words, I could very well build up a figure higher than that, I think, and prove it, but we wanted to be conservative in this statement.

We know that they take in a lot of money at their meetings. For instance, at the meeting in Madison Square Garden last year, and the one at the Hippodrome last year—they had two meetings—we know what their advertised prices for these meetings were, as they charge for all these meetings that they hold. They claimed later that they took in \$26,000 at one meeting and \$21,000 at another. That is just for two meetings.

We have arrived at the \$10,000,000 expenditure in a great many ways. There is no set way of proving the exact amount.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to your statement that 60 families rule world communism, what is that based on?

Mr. STEELE. I have shown you by their own documents, the Party Manual, that the high authority in this country is the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. HEALEY. Composed of 60 members?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I have shown you from that same document that the highest authority in the world is the executive committee of the Communist International, which is composed of 60 members.

The CHAIRMAN. And according to their membership blanks, they have to abide by the higher authority.

Mr. STEELE. Not only that, but they state emphatically in their Manual that they are compelled to.

Mr. THOMAS. In that same paragraph that you have referred to, in Mr. Steele's statement, Mr. Chairman, he says:

It will be shown that while communism viciously denounces Wall Street, that they are not averse to using Wall Street in their scheme.

What do you mean by that? Can you name names?

Mr. STEELE. Do you want me to mention names?

Mr. THOMAS. If you have definite proof and can back it back.

Mr. STEELE. I will show one as an example.

Mr. HEALEY. You have definite proof of it.

Mr. STEELE. That is Corliss Lamont.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, that case is pretty well known.

Mr. STEELE. He is the son of Lamont, who is a partner of Morgan. Corliss Lamont is the head of the Friends of the Soviet Union in this country, besides being connected with a number of other Communist organizations.

Mr. THOMAS. I think that is an old story.

Mr. STEELE. What is that?

Mr. THOMAS. That story about Corliss Lamont. What other names have you got there, with proof?

Mr. STEELE. I do not know that I can name any others right off-hand. I have names in this prepared statement.

Mr. THOMAS. The only one you could name right now is Corliss Lamont?

Mr. STEELE. That is the only one I can name offhand.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you submit to the committee the other names, with the proof?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; it will be in there, in the testimony.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I bring that out is that that is a very interesting statement you make; but the one name you have mentioned happens to be one name that everybody has heard about before.

Mr. STEELE. I did not say people had not heard about it; I merely said that it was the case.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to your statement, "The Communists have the largest monopolized press in the world," you mean that the Soviet Union controls the press?

Mr. STEELE. I mean in this country they have more publications than any other one organization or joint organization—I do not know exactly how to state it—than any other one group.

The CHAIRMAN. They control more publications than any other group?

Mr. STEELE. They control more than Hearst or any of the others, which I will show later.

The reason I made those statements as I did is because of the fact that they are trying to mislead the people of this country to believe

that Wall Street is the source of their miseries, and that the monopolized press is controlled by Wall Street, and so forth. I am merely using their own medicine against them.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence do you have to sustain your statement that "Representatives of certain foreign governments are attendants at many meetings of these forces in our country?"

MR. STEELE. To start with, I can show you a picture of one of them at a meeting. Here is a picture, taken by the Pittsburgh Press, I think, which shows the Ambassador of the Spanish Loyalist Government attending a convention of the American League Against War and Fascism.

In addition to that, I have further in my statement here—you mentioned, I think, an instance, or a case awhile ago, where Boake Carter, one writer, and the writer in the News, I was trying to think of his name—

The CHAIRMAN. Raymond Clapper?

MR. STEELE. Raymond Clapper—they both stated, one in the Hearst paper, and one in the News—that a meeting held at the Russian Embassy, on a certain day, included certain members of the Government, and named them; one writer named part of them and the other renamed that part and added some others, and stated that the purpose of the meeting was to try to force the lifting of the embargo insofar as the Spanish Loyalist Government was concerned.

Boake Carter includes the following names in the Washington Times of April 26, 1938: Jerome Frank, of Securities and Exchange Commission; Leon Henderson, of Works Progress Administration; Larry Todd, of Tass (Soviet Telegraph Agency); Dorothy Detzer, of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Freda Kirchway, of Nation Magazine; Troyanowsky, Ambassador from Russia; Congressmen Maverick, Bernard, O'Connell, and Scott.

Raymond Clapper, in the Washington News, of April 20, 1938, includes the following: Congressmen O'Connell, Bernard, Scott, and Maverick; Mrs. Ogden Reid, of New York Herald-Tribune; Ambassador Troyanowsky and Government officials.

In a mass meeting in New York City in November 1937, the Friends of the Soviet Union presented Troyanowsky, the Ambassador from Russia, who was there in attendance, according to the papers and the proceedings, what they called a golden book. The golden book was a book of signed eulogies to the Soviet Government on its 20th anniversary last year, and he was there to receive that. I will show that the German Ambassador has attended German mass meets.

There have been instances, I think you will find, where some representatives of the Chinese Government have been in attendance at a number of these meetings where they are supposedly raising funds for the Chinese front.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the basis of your statement?

MR. STEELE. Yes; and I showed you photographs.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we realize that much of your testimony necessarily is based upon statements of others, and upon reports, and matters of that kind, but we will have a number of witnesses who will testify directly as to the facts they know themselves covering a wide range of activity, but I was trying to analyze your statement and to get the benefit of such information as you have.

You say in your statement that "It will be shown that un-Americanism has imbedded itself deeply into many of our educational institutions."

What evidence do you have of the progress made by Communists in the educational field?

Mr. STEELE. I have that in other sections here of this statement under the educational front, in which I show the names of Communist organizations, for instance, like the Communist Party at Harvard, and I think on that display board you will find a publication, the Harvard Communist, to prove my statement; and the reports of their own people, reports of individuals who have attended these meetings, with the congresses they have held. We know that these people are Communists when we see their own statements.

For instance, there is Granville Hicks, who was recently appointed, and who made a statement 2 years ago that he was an avowed Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. How many teachers in colleges do you have a record of who have admitted that they are Communists?

Mr. STEELE. Not so very many that admit it.

The CHAIRMAN. How many do you have in colleges, according to the records of the investigations in your files, concerning whom there is definite proof that they are Communists, in our colleges and universities.

Mr. STEELE. In the set-up of these organizations I have the names listed, where they are members of the committees and officers of the organizations. I do not know how many there are; I have not counted them.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a large number?

Mr. STEELE. Quite a number; not a large number as to the percentage of the whole in the profession, but it is a large number.

For instance, the League of Professional Groups, which was organized in 1936, was composed almost entirely of professors.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about how many they had in there?

Mr. STEELE. I do not know how many they had in there, but I know they had about 70 on their committees.

In their own release, which was a pamphlet, they called for the support of the Communist Party in the political election and they called for the setting up of a Soviet America here. That will be presented to you in evidence before I am through.

Mr. HEALEY. Where was that convention held?

Mr. STEELE. It was not a convention; it was a movement—

Mr. HEALEY. I thought you said they had a meeting and issued this proclamation in which they called for support?

Mr. STEELE. Evidently they had a meeting of the committee, they did issue a statement, because all their names were signed to it as a committee. That was in New York City.

Mr. HEALEY. In New York City?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You see the value of this: What we want to get is as much information as you and others have.

Mr. STEELE. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. And our own investigators will check this, along with the vast amount of information we are now getting. So that

when the matter is presented, it will be in such definite shape, by direct testimony, that it will have evidentiary value. That is what we are looking for, something that would have probative value, that could be used in a court, if necessary.

Mr. STEELE. Now, while I am giving you later on the entire source of the birth of the American League, which you seem to be interested in, I am showing you who the Communists were who set it up and created it; but in addition to that, here is their own report—

Mr. MASON. A report from what organization?

Mr. STEELE. The American League for Peace and Democracy. Now, they name in here their committees. They do not hesitate to name Earl Browder and the rest of the Communists in here.

Mr. MASON. In their committees, in their reports, they name these outstanding Communists as part of their organization?

Mr. STEELE. In their report on their committees, they have, for instance, Earl Browder. This is a report of their last congress held in Pittsburgh, November 26 to 28, 1937. This is not my printing. This is their printing. Their committee on resolutions, for instance, is headed by Elinor Brannon and has Earl Browder on it, who is the ranking member of it.

Mr. MASON. Would you say, sir, that a Government official who acts as a member of the League for Peace and Democracy would be entirely innocent of the fact that that organization is one of the organizations in the united front?

Mr. STEELE. Well, I could not answer that.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, of course, that is a matter of opinion.

Mr. STEELE. That would be a supposition on my part.

Mr. HEALEY. I do not think that has a great deal of value in this committee.

Mr. STEELE. I could not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. You say here that a whispering campaign was launched against the banks during the period of the instability and uncertainty, and that this caused the bank runs in our country several years ago; that these people were instructed by Russia to prevent the restabilization of capitalism by keeping up a constant turmoil and strife. What evidence do you have on that point, for instance?

Mr. STEELE. Here is a report by a party whom I will name to the committee, and give the address, who was in the bank-run organization in Flint, Mich.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean by the bank-run organization?

Mr. STEELE. They had that set up to create whispering campaigns all over the country.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean a committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. Against the banks?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. It was during the period when the banks were in a critical state generally.

The CHAIRMAN. And this is this man's report of their organized effort?

Mr. STEELE. That is right, of what he did, as well as what the rest of them did.

Mr. HEALEY. He is a Communist?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. A member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. He was.

Mr. THOMAS. He was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he can testify directly as to these facts?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I will give the committee his name.

The CHAIRMAN. And that will support his testimony and sustain this statement in reference to a deliberate effort on their part to cause runs on the banks.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you, in connection with these organizations that you say are fronts of the Communist Party, information to give the committee, such as the officers, and so forth?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; I have these officers listed.

The CHAIRMAN. And the names of those who are known Communists?

Mr. STEELE. No; I have not pointed that out, but I think in many instances I could tell you who they are.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, as a matter of fact, that in these organizations many of the officers and directors are known Communists?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. For instance, I have given you a list of all the Communist Party leaders; that is, the national leaders and all the State leaders. I have already given you that. That information has been taken from their documents. Many of the same names will appear in the leadership of these other organizations which I am to submit.

We obtain that information in various ways. For instance, we obtain it from their own reports; in many instances from their own letterheads. But always from their own material, you understand. In other words, we will not call a person a Communist unless we can prove it by themselves, by the Communists themselves. We are not "red baiters."

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you could do this: Can you submit to this committee all of this evidence, to afford us an opportunity to go into it and then build up, as I have indicated, by direct testimony of witnesses, various phases of this work? I think that is the satisfactory and the best way to do it.

Mr. STEELE. I agree with you, that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Because otherwise it amounts to no more or less than hearsay testimony.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Testimony of a kind which would not be accepted in court. I would suggest, Mr. Steele, if it is agreeable with you, that you submit all of this evidence that you have to the committee and let us work on it in connection with our investigation, and then, at a later time, when we have the opportunity, we will call for additional explanations that we may need and that you may have.

Mr. STEELE. I would like very much to get what we have in the record, because we feel it is of value to the people throughout the country, especially the members of our organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. It furnishes a background.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It gives the committee a picture of the situation. That is its prime value to the committee, to give the committee a picture of the movement and the historical significance of it, as well as a general outline.

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I appreciate that you want it for a different purpose than why we want it. For instance, we want it so that we can inform the 6,000,000 members of these organizations, so they will not knowingly join any of these movements.

Mr. HEALEY. On that point, you contend that while many of these organizations have laudatory and legitimate purposes and objectives to attain, nevertheless these known Communists are attempting to use these organizations to further their own purpose?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. Namely, to bring about a revolution and establish a Soviet republic here in the United States?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. And they are only apparently working to achieve the known purposes of the organization?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. But in reality are trying to achieve communistic purposes?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that your contention?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. And, sir, would you not also contend that they are not only attempting to do it but they are actually doing it, so far as using these organizations is concerned?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; I think that is true.

Mr. HEALEY. But many members of the organization are unaware of it?

Mr. STEELE. Oh, yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Unaware of the fact that these people are merely using the organizations to attain their objectives.

Mr. STEELE. I think you are right about that; yes, sir. But the purpose we have in mind in coming before you is not only to help your committee realize that, but to prepare, in a way, a document the wide circulation of which will later prevent others from making that mistake.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, what we are primarily interested in is to get definite proof.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We hear from representatives of organizations and they make such statements. Before we predicate any finding upon any statement, we want to know definitely that it is a proven fact. Otherwise, it would not be fair. It would not be fair for us to indulge in presumptions, merely imagine something. Someone charges an organization is a Communist organization. It is easy to make a general charge.

Mr. STEELE. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. But if we are going to be fair about this and conduct this investigation in a judicial way, we want definite proof.

Otherwise you could cause a lot of injury. The same is true with reference to individuals. It is true that, over a long period of time beginning so far as my own recollection goes 10 years ago, when a man had certain views with reference to labor, other people would brand him as a Communist, using that as a general term. He would be a Communist because he had certain advanced views with regard to some social or economic problem. We have got to bear in mind always to make a clear distinction between those who use the term recklessly and those who have definite facts as to whether or not the man is a Communist.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. We all disagree with reference to many social and economic problems. But that does not make a man a Communist.

Mr. STEELE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Our committee, I am sure, will agree with me that our purpose is to go very carefully into these matters and establish the truth by competent testimony.

Mr. STEELE. That is what we have tried to do, to stick to the facts. You cannot deny that the officers and the committeemen of these organizations are aware of what the organization is doing. Some of the membership, perhaps, but hardly the officers. If you belong to an organization and are an officer of that organization, you know pretty well what that organization stands for and what it is aiming to do.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. Yet we do know of organizations—I know of one in particular—in which there are some good people who were led into it by false representations. I know of one in particular. I know the people personally. They got out when they found what the real objective was. I did not get into the organization. I was against it from the beginning. But there were those who were led into the organization believing that it was a good thing.

So when a sweeping declaration is made, we must be very careful to know that there are facts back of what is charged.

Mr. STEELE. But you cannot get away from facts like these, unless they have misstated them themselves.

Mr. MASON. May I also make this suggestion? In connection with this witness's statement, the two purposes that actuate you in appearing before this committee are, one, to give us facts and proof of these certain things and to enlighten the public so as to protect the innocent members of these organizations and prospective members in the future.

Mr. STEELE. You are right.

Mr. MASON. And you will accomplish the two things only if you produce facts and proof?

Mr. STEELE. That is right. In other words, I disagree with some of that the more you speak the more you advertise these people. If the people do not know what is happening in this country, they are more apt to follow them than if they know what they are. That is my opinion about it. That is what we are trying to do here, to enlighten both the committee and the people.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, we have a number of witnesses under subpoena who are being brought here. We do not know just how many will be here tomorrow or whether they will not reach here until Thursday morning. We believe there will be some witnesses here tomorrow. You see, we have to pay their mileage and a per diem

and we are anxious to finish with their testimony as quickly as possible. You could come here nevertheless, if you wish.

Mr. STEELE. I want it understood that I should like to go very deeply into the Nazi and Fascist questions before I am through. I want to expose those, with photographs and testimony, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. At this time we will recess until tomorrow, with that understanding.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until 10 a. m., Wednesday, August 17, 1938.)

(NOTE BY CLERK.—Mr. Walter S. Steele resumed in the afternoon of August 17, 1938.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Homer Chaillaux, of the American Legion, is here this morning, and he will make a brief statement and file with the committee certain documents that he has in his possession for the future use of the committee.

Immediately after Mr. Chaillaux concludes his testimony the committee will go into executive session to hear a witness, and after executive session, if the committee so orders, this witness will be put on the stand.

Tomorrow morning we will begin to hear our first batch of witnesses subpoenaed by the committee, and we will put them on the stand, one right after another, until we conclude with all those witnesses.

Mr. Chaillaux was scheduled to testify some time ago but postponed his testimony, so we will hear from him at this time.

STATEMENT OF H. L. CHAILLAUX, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMISSION, THE AMERICAN LEGION

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Gentlemen of the committee, I am going to give you very briefly the stand of the American Legion—that is, the national organization—with reference to communism, fascism, and nazi-ism in the United States, and then sketch some few of the high lights which I believe will be of interest, and then file considerable material which will be proof of the statements I will try to make.

Every national convention of the American Legion since the inception of our organization has passed one or more resolutions expressing the bitter opposition of our organization against the activities of alien groups, whether they be promoting or attempting to promote in the United States communism, fascism, or nazi-ism. The Legion's stand has constantly been and will continue to be an uncompromising one with such forces.

Realizing that sinister forces are expending greater effort than ever before to wreck this Nation, the American Legion has continued to state emphatically that all destructive alienisms must be driven from this Nation. In carrying out the mandates of the national conventions, the National Americanism Commission, of which I am director, has placed under way a number of educational projects, all of which are designed for the purpose of combating the menace of destructive alienisms through the medium of educational activities. There is no thought in our mind but that the greatest need at this particular time is the enlightenment of all of our people to the menace of communism, fascism, and nazism. We are doing everything we possibly can to properly acquaint the citizens of the United States with the many ways in which the forces promoting alienisms are attempting to bore within American institutions.

It is important that you gentlemen bear in mind at all times the fact that the American Legion is not attempting nor is it seeking to be a law-enforcement agency. Our mission is an educational one. We have repeatedly informed the Legionnaires in the field that they do not have the privilege of police authority and that they must not at any time attempt to take the law into their own hands. To do so would be equivalent to descending to the level of some of the promoters of alienisms.

The right of all nations to maintain their present form of government cannot be denied, nor are we interested in that viewpoint. Our interest as Legionnaires and American citizens begins and ends with the attempts of any foreign government or organization representing or controlled by a foreign government to force their principles upon this country. We will continue to be out in front in the fight to preserve American institutions in the typical American way, and will oppose all of those who want to inject either the theory or practice of any form of European dictatorship upon the United States.

I know that you gentlemen of this committee will bear in mind the fact that political motives are neither intended nor implied through the information which I am presenting to you.

Then I will give you for the record a statement concerning the formation of the Communist Party, with the constitution of the Communist International, which guides all the individual sections of the Communist Party, and you will remember that the Communist Party of the United States is a section of the Communist International, and therefore controlled by them.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as any documents that we already have are concerned, we do not want to duplicate them.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No; but these quotations that I will give you substantiate what I shall say, regardless of what someone else has put into the record.

Now, in reference to the program, no attempt whatsoever has been made to fictionize the program of the Communist International, of which the Communist Party in the United States is a part, but, instead, the quotations which follow are taken directly from the party publication, entitled "Program of the Communist International," which book is attached to this statement as Exhibit No. 1. There can be no question from the program as outlined but that the Communist Party is promoting programs designed to eventually bring about,

they hope, the violent overthrow of our form of government. These quotations which I will give you furnish proof of their intention, as a revolutionary agency, to promote their cause through mediums of revolutions in the United States.

Most interesting to you will be the conditions of admission into the Communist International. I have here a statement giving the 21 conditions of admission, and showing how the party in the United States is one section of the Communist Party and so can be admitted, and giving definite proof that all members of the party must adhere to the programs of the Communist International if they are to remain as members of the party.

That is a condition going to show that the Communist Party in the United States cannot transfer from one section to another without the consent of the executive committee and notification of the Communist International.

Here I have also given you proofs of the opposition to free speech to anybody except themselves.

There is much turmoil created by the fact of the demand with which they write of freedom of speech, and I have provided proof that they want that for themselves but not for those who are enemies of the Communist Party, and that proof is produced from their own writings.

Now, referring to exhibit No. 9, I believe you gentlemen have one of these. This is a pamphlet entitled "New Members' Outline," which is issued by the adjt-prop commission of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. I think one line of that will be of particular interest. It says:

You have joined the party of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, theorists and organizers of the world party, the Communist International, of which the Communist Party of the United States of America is one section.

The set-up of the unit of the Communist Party in the United States as a part of the world unit will be interesting. The plan of district organization of the Communist Party in the United States of America will be found on page 45.

The 34 districts in the United States have been outlined, with the States that they cover and the district organizers, with the individual section organizers of each district.

For example, in Buffalo there are five, in Chicago there are eight, and so forth. You will find the names of the party organizers in each district given here.

On page 50 we give you a statement of the Communist Party on the ballot. This statement gives the figures for the general elections of 1928, 1930, 1934, and 1936 in the States in which the Communist Party has been placed on the ballot, and the number of votes cast in each particular States in each of the 4 years.

In 1934 the number of national votes cast was 248,617 and in 1936 there were 134,396 votes cast nationally.

The reason I have given you this is because in one of the conclusions which we make, we are firm in our belief that the Communist Party has no right to be called a legal political party in the United States, since it does not adhere to the principles of the American system and has no right to choose candidates legally in the United States through the medium of the ballot.

If, however, it has that right, it is the duty of the law-enforcement agencies of the United States, as we see it, and of the individual States, to make them give a strict accounting of the expenditures. We should know where the income comes from and how it is spent; what part of it goes for propaganda purposes and whether that propaganda comes within the realm of a legal political party.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the Soviet Union permit the formation of any party in Russia composed of American people living there, or people in sympathy with the American form of government?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Not under any consideration. They will not permit any party to exist there except one representing the Stalin dictatorship.

The CHAIRMAN. They loudly proclaim they are in favor of free speech in the United States. But what does their record show in Russia?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The record shows that if you utter a word criticizing the Government, it is the firing squad before morning, and that is not in accord with American principles.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not also true that after all the hullabaloo about the type of government in Russia, that actual living conditions in Russia for everybody are much worse than in this country?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Unquestionably.

Mr. THOMAS. And that they are probably about as bad as in almost any country in the world.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Unquestionably, and the records of pay in that particular country show that the pay is tremendously low compared with the working conditions of those employed in the United States.

On page 55 we give a list of Communist bookstores in the United States. They have their propaganda publications for their organizations, working through the circulation of revolutionary propaganda, generally, and usually function with various interlocking groups.

The CHAIRMAN. I was interested in your statement with reference to allowing the Communist Party to be legal in the United States, which party receives its orders from this foreign power and carries out the dictates of that power.

Has not Canada passed a law denying to the Communist Party legal existence in Canada?

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

The CHAIRMAN. On the theory that they, themselves, deny freedom of speech and that they are seeking to bring about a regime which in itself will destroy the very freedom that they now talk so much about, in seeking to promote their aims in this country.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is correct. As a matter of fact, the Daily Worker, one of their official organs, is not allowed to go through the mails into Canada, but we transport it in the mails here, and we also transport the Midwest Daily Record through the mails of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. At the expense of the taxpayers.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right, because they do not pay their way; second-class matter does not pay its way.

I have given you here a record of the Communist Workers' School. I have given the addresses and the locations and the subjects, showing what they teach. You will find that entirely self-explanatory.

I am not so sure but what we should have a more perfect record of the expenditures of the Garland fund, which has had one source of income.

The CHAIRMAN. We have considerable information with reference to the Garland fund. It is very interesting, and it has been used for the support of radical leaders and movements in the United States.

I have given in exhibit 16, on page 63, their own report of their expenditures.

The CHAIRMAN. A large part of that is used by the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes; for the benefit of labor defendants and others, to defend them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they have contributed any money to any public body in the United States?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No; I have no definite knowledge to substantiate such a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been informed to that effect?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes; I have heard that.

Now, in reference to the Workers' Alliance, I found this very interesting organization in the United States, and I want to devote a few minutes to that.

The Workers' Alliance purports itself to be an organization trying to do something for the unemployed.

I give you, as exhibit No. 17, on page 71, one of the original announcements of the first meeting of the Workers' Alliance, then known as the National Unemployed Council.

It is interesting to note that the National Unemployed Council at that time had the following prominent, well-known Communist leaders: I. Amer, Max Bedacht, Herbert Benjamin, Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Ben Gold, Harold Hickerson, Granville Hicks, Roy Hudson, and others nationally known.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is the Unemployed Council, which has since become part of the Workers' Alliance by the two organizations combining.

Since there has been considerable controversy as to whether or not the Workers' Alliance is a Communist agency, actually affiliated or associated with the Communist Party, it might be interesting for you to know that David Lasser, who is the head of the Workers' Alliance, visited me at the National Headquarters and assured me that he was not a Communist, but he recently visited Moscow, along with Mother Bloor, and many others, and came back loud with praise of the present program in Soviet Russia.

Mr. THOMAS. How long ago did he go?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Four or five months ago, within this year.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you got his statement when he came back?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes; we have it, from the Daily Worker.

Mr. THOMAS. You are going to submit that?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes; that is a part of this statement.

Herbert Benjamin is the national secretary of the Workers' Alliance, and he has long been known as an outstanding Communist throughout the Nation.

The two organizations combined when they met in Washington a little more than 2 years ago, and this unemployed council, which was entirely controlled by the Communist Party, is now a part of the Workers' Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand that the Workers' Alliance claims a membership of 800,000?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And their greatest inroad has been made in the W. P. A.?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Apparently they are playing the W. P. A. to the limit to try to get all those people in, and are telling those W. P. A. workers that they are going to get them a bigger amount of pay and are going to be able to do things that these people want done for them.

Mr. MASON. Would you say that the Workers' Alliance is a communistic organization, or an organization being used by the Communist Party to further the Communist program?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. It is controlled by the Communist Party to further their program.

Mr. MASON. But many of the members of it are not Communists, and are not in sympathy with the Communist Party.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The huge majority of the membership have no idea that it is controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. MASON. Then the sooner we get the facts to them that they are being used by the leaders of the Communist Party for the purposes of the Communists, the better we will be off.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is the exact reason I am reading this into the record.

Here is a membership book. I have given you as exhibit No. 20 the membership book of the Workers' Alliance, on page 74, and I want to read you just this one line on page 11, which says:

We are recognized as collective bargaining agency by the Works Progress Administration and by local relief agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a fact?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I do not know. I have only their records to show that.

Mr. THOMAS. The Workers' Alliance say that?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They print that in their membership book on page 11.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, public funds are indirectly being used to forward the movement of communism in the United States; that is the ultimate effect, that the taxpayers' money is being appropriated for the W. P. A., and Communists are entering this organization and dominating it, and using it to further their purposes.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I can best answer that by giving you this from a very reputable citizen in the United States. I will read this because I think it is worth reading into your record.

As further evidence of the control of the Workers' Alliance by the Communist Party and its leaders, I submit the excerpts from the New York Times issue of April 18, 1937, with quoted statements from Mr. Victor F. Ridder, who is a loyal and outstanding citizen of New York City, and who was at that time chairman of the State board of social welfare.

The headline reads as follows:

Red grip on relief charged by Ridder—Courts assailed—Communists through Workers' Alliance, control \$9,000,000 a month here, he says.

Victor F. Ridder, chairman of the State board of social welfare and former Works Progress Administrator in this city, charged yesterday that Communists dominate the work of the Emergency Relief Bureau.

Through the Workers' Alliance and radical elements in the Emergency Relief Bureau investigating staff, Mr. Ridder charged the Communist Party indirectly controls the distribution of all city home-relief funds.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have a great deal of testimony directly on that point soon.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That will be of interest in your record, and unquestionably you will have more on it.

There are well-known Communists directing the activities of the Workers' Alliance in various parts of the country, and we show you who they are in exhibits we have here, No. 18 and others.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything with reference to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes.

In reference to the International Workers Order, we have written into the record the fact that the International Order is very closely associated with the whole Communist Party activities. They have attended many of their meetings, and they have made liberal donations to the work of the Communist Party and to the work of the American League Against War and Fascism, now known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The International Workers' Order is headed by Max Bedacht, who has been for more than 30 years a leader in the program of the Communist Party.

Mr. MASON. Do you know, or do you realize, that many prominent public officials belong to the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I do, and I am going to go into that.

Then, too, there is the International Labor Defense. You know that record.

Their record is exceptionally interesting. Here is their program: Defense of foreign-born workers and against deportation; gives publicity to persecution of workers; fights for the right of workers to organize for self-defense; supports prisoners and their families; and so forth.

That sounds fine if it were their only program.

Then they tell them here. "What to do when under arrest," and they say, "Give no information to officers." "Do not sign anything." "Telephone the I. L. D." It is a good racket.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask you a question with reference to some of the statements you have already made.

You have access to the files of the American Legion, or the Department of the District of Columbia of the American Legion, have you not?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it true that those files contain the communistic activities of various governmental employees working in the agencies here?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I have not personally seen those things in their files. I have had a report of that which was made by a past de-

partment commander, that they had a record of some of those activities, of some Government employees being associated with some of those organizations, but I have not personally seen any of them.

Mr. THOMAS. In order for us to develop anything along those lines, would it be proper for us to ask for those files, through you?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. It would be proper for you to call upon George Meloy or Con Roberts, of the District of Columbia, to submit to you such evidence as they have.

You have a record of the A. C. L. U.

Mr. THOMAS. Give us something about that.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. It pretends to be an agency to defend people who might not otherwise have proper defense before the American courts.

Mr. MASON. Who is the head of that?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The head of it is Dr. Harry F. Ward, an instructor at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, who is also at the head of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which is controlled by the Communist Party. Its secretary is Robert Nash Baldwin.

I do not know that Baldwin is a Communist, but I am going to read into the record one of his own statements, written into the Harvard College Class Book of the Class of 1905, published in 1935. Robert Nash Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said in that book:

My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I see social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that by Ward?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No; that was by Roger Nash Baldwin.

The CHAIRMAN. That is by Dr. Ward?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No; that is by Roger Nash Baldwin.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the head of the organization?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. He is the secretary or the director.

The CHAIRMAN. He is also the man who has been very prominently identified in the Garland fund, is he not?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It is said that he was the one who brought about the creation of that fund. Is he a director in that fund now?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. He was a director, according to their last report which was made public. He was a director in the Garland fund.

The CHAIRMAN. It is very interesting to follow where some of that money has been going in the United States.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I give you the officers and directors and the heads of the various committees of the American Civil Liberties Union; give you here their annual report as one of the exhibits. I also give you an interesting letter that attacked me because they claimed I had not given enough time to the denunciation of nazi-ism in the United States or of fascism. I immediately, on the publication of another book, a copy of which you gentlemen have all received, entitled "Isms," wrote to the American Civil Liberties Union and asked them to send me substantiating evidence to prove—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Right at that point, Mr. Chaillaux. There is one thing that has amazed me and that is that there have

been a number of groups in the United States who are very anxious to expose nazi-ism and fascism.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are willing to cooperate to the limit when you deal with them; but they are strangely silent on the question of communism.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They are not very much concerned about it; they do not want to give very much cooperation in our dealing with communism. What does that lead you to believe, when you see so many evidences of that sort?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. It leads you to believe that there is this one definite thing, which I will bring out in the report of the American League for Peace and Democracy; that they are not interested in peace and democracy; they are not interested in the abolition of war; they are not interested in but one thing, and that is hiding their support of communism by attacking some other group or some other activity.

The CHAIRMAN. They seek to discredit everyone who opposes communism or the Communist Party.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They do that by attacking them as a Fascist.

The CHAIRMAN. And they try to pin some odious title on him in order to discredit him.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. To them, or to the Communist Party, everybody who opposes communism is either a Fascist or a Nazi, one of the two. That is the label which they immediately pin on him.

The CHAIRMAN. There is another very strange thing I wanted to ask about. When one of these organizations claims that they are not communistic, when an attack is made on communism and an exposure is about to be made of communism, they immediately go to work to discredit those who have a part in that exposure.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they openly say they are not for communism; yet, you can see the workings of the Communists when there is an exposure of communism through the fact that they are there, ready to do everything in their power to discredit the inquiry, or whatever it may be.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is correct. That is their method of getting publicity.

The next thing, Mr. Chairman, is the Communist press. You have the story on the Communist press. But I give you here the Daily Worker, the People's World, the Southern Worker, the Mid-West Daily Record, the Voice of Action, the Young Worker, the Voice of Youth, the Champion of Youth, the New Masses, the New Pioneer, Labor Defender, and others.

It is one of their finest inroads of publicity, through certain newspapers in the United States. Many of those newspapers are not the prominent ones, they are not the regular fellows that we see every day and read every day, but their publicity goes to them through an agency known as the Federated Press, and I have given you the daily clip sheet here as exhibit No. 27, of the Central Bureau of the Federated Press; and another from the Washington bureau, and one from the New York bureau. They have the three of them here, three exhibits of the various publications of the Communist Party, down to

the Southern Worker and some of their youth publications. Those are all in here.

Now, I will take up the American League for Peace and Democracy, originally known as the American League Against War and Fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very interesting, because we will probably have a witness here who formed that league and who will tell the whole inside story of it.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been some mention of the fact that many prominent officials belong to that league. Undoubtedly they must not be acquainted with the dominating influence of it, if that be the fact, or they would not join it. That is what amazes me. How could any man connected with the Government of the United States, getting his money from the taxpayers, under this form of government, be a party to a movement which is promoting the very antithesis of Americanism in the United States? Therefore I believe that they are not informed of the facts in regard to it.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is all the more cause, then, for our educational campaign to expose such rackets as the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MASON. Along that line, have you absolute proof that the League for Peace and Democracy is one of the organizations that belongs to the united front or the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Well, the proof comes in Earl Browder's own statements, which I will give you here from his own publications.

Mr. MASON. From his own statements?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. From his own statements.

Mr. MASON. Do you know that Harry Lambertson, Assistant Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, is the chairman of the league here in the District of Columbia?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No, sir; I did not know that.

Mr. MASON. Well, it is a fact. And did you know that Dallas W. Smythe, an economist in the Central Statistical Board here, is the vice president of the local group?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No.

Mr. MASON. Well, it is a fact. And that Fred Silcox, the Chief of the United States Forest Service, is treasurer of the local league here, and many other members of the official Government family are members of it?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Well, then, let us go into the record, the history of it. It originated in about 1932 and was known then as the World Congress Against War. It convened in Amsterdam, Holland, August 27-29, 1932, and was founded by Henri Barbusse, who was a well-known French Communist. Then it came to the United States and Barbusse came over here to travel and help organize the league.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will excuse me, I did not quite get that. You say it was founded where?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The American League Against War and Fascism, now known as the American League for Peace and Democracy, then known as a World Congress Against War, was founded by a French Communist, Henri Barbusse.

The CHAIRMAN. He founded the original order?

MR. CHAILLAUX. That is correct. He then came to the United States on two lecture tours to promote it, in cooperation with the leaders of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the organizers here?

MR. CHAILLAUX. Some of the best-known organizers here were Mother Bloor, Ella Reeves Bloor, Michael Gold, and Harold Hicker-son. They were three prominent American Communists who attended the first session in Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us some other names? We are going to have some witnesses here along this very line.

MR. CHAILLAUX. We will give you some other names here.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, of those who formed this league.

MR. CHAILLAUX. It was formed by Dr. Harry F. Ward, by Israel Amter, Max Bedacht, and Earl Browder, Jim Ford, Clarence Hathaway, Charles Krumbain, and Alfred Wagenknecht.

The CHAIRMAN. Many of those are known and outstanding Communists?

MR. CHAILLAUX. Those are some of the best-known Communists in the United States.

MR. THOMAS. In other words, it is mostly the same old crowd that form of these front organizations?

MR. CHAILLAUX. That is correct. Those men are still on the executive committee of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Now, since you wanted to know whether there was some definite tie-up, a more definite tie-up with the Communist Party, I believe you would be interested in this letter. This is written by Paul M. Reid, executive secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism. In fact, I had a friend do this, so that my name was not on the letter, to ask him some very pointed questions, and here is one of his interesting replies. This is from Paul M. Reid, who is executive secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism. He says:

We have no apologies to make for the fact that Communists are active in the American League, and for the fact that the Communist Party is affiliated to the American League.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is an authentic letter that you are reading from?

MR. CHAILLAUX. I give you a photostatic copy here of the letter for your files.

MR. MASON. In view of the fact that there seems to be some interest in the names of these Government officials who belong to this local chapter of this league, perhaps we should give some of the other names besides the treasurer and the vice president and the chairman. If I may, I should like to read two or three other names for the record.

Robert Marshall, Chief of the Public Lands Service of the United States Forest Service.

Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

John Carmody, Administrator for the Rural Electrification Administration.

Mary Anderson, Director of the Woman's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

Alice Barrows, in the Office of Education.

These are all acknowledged members of the local chapter of the League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. One further statement—

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us some more information about that league? I want some definite proof that in its present activity it is dominated by Communist influences and the Communist Party.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Let me give you a further line, then, from this letter from their secretary, Paul M. Reid. He said further:

One cannot be opposed to both fascism and communism.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if you are against communism, you are for fascism?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right. And their name was the American League Against War and Fascism. There is but one conclusion to be drawn from such a statement.

Let us go further and take up another interesting exhibit. I give you here, as exhibit No. 38, the convention program of the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism. That is found on page 116 of my exhibits.

Now, for your information, I know whereof I speak as to what well-known Communists were in attendance at that particular convention, because I was there myself, not representing the American Legion—certainly not; but with a delegate's card under a borrowed name to find out for myself what was going on.

The convention program one evening had as its speaker Dr. Harry F. Ward; also Earl Browder and Roger Baldwin.

That is sufficient evidence to show you the Communist Party tie-up.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here a letter sent to me enclosing a copy of a letter from the Department of State dealing with this organization. In part it reads:

I have to inform you that this organization was registered with the Secretary of State on July 29, 1937, under the name of the American League Against War and Fascism, in conformity with the rules and regulations governing the soliciting and receiving of contributions for use in Spain * * *.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been receiving a great many contributions for the Loyalist cause in Spain and sending those contributions over there, have they not?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They are raising funds all over the Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have been reporting those funds to the Secretary of State under the new law that Congress passed?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I hope they have.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter further says:

In December 1937 this organization changed its name from the American League Against War and Fascism to the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The officers of this organization are as follows:

Now will you check to see if this agrees with your list?

Harry F. Ward?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Acting treasurer. James Waterman Wise, executive secretary?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Paul M. Reid?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Members of the executive board: Roger Baldwin, Max Yergan, Leroy E. Bowman, Eleanor Brannan.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Margaret Forsyth, Clarence Hathaway, Earl Browder.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right. Clarence Hathaway is the editor of the Daily Worker.

The CHAIRMAN. No one will deny that Earl Browder is a Communist.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. And Clarence Hathaway is, too. He edits the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. William B. Spofford, Harry F. Ward, and James Waterman Wise.

Those names are given as the directors.

Mr. MASON. And that was filed with the Secretary of State as an official document?

The CHAIRMAN. It purports to be. That would have to be checked. It was sent to me as a copy of a letter addressed by the Department of State to my informant.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I have given you, as exhibit 35, the summary of the proceedings of the convention, the entire summary of the proceedings.

Now, are there any further questions you would like to ask me about that organization?

The CHAIRMAN. I have here a statement containing a quotation from Hathaway, one of the directors of this League for Peace and Democracy. I will read the quotation.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union is in no sense a pacifist policy. It is a revolutionary policy, inseparable from the policies of the Communist International and of the revolutionary policies of the Communist Parties in every country. This peace policy fits in with our objective here—that of a proletarian revolution in the United States and the overthrow of the American capitalist class.

It is, thanks to its peace policy, that the Soviet Union has been able to carry through its first five-year plan and to advance 3 years on its second. Through these two plans the Soviet Union has been able to build up not only a powerful Red Army, the most powerful military force in the world today, but to arm that Red Army with the most modern implements of warfare, tanks, airplanes, and everything else.

Just as the peace policy has aided in strengthening the position of the Soviet Union * * * so the peace policy has served to give us in the capitalist world the same kind of breathing space, the same possibility of winning more adherents, of building up our party, of deepening our influence in the mass organizations of the workers, of raising the political level of our forces of the working-class movement generally for civil war that the working class would inevitably have to wage.

In other words, this is an approval of the Soviet policy and the Soviet Government, and indicates that he plays a prominent part in this League for Peace and Democracy that is now raising funds all over the United States and sending them to a foreign country in behalf of a certain group who are engaged in war in that country, using American funds for that purpose. Yet a few years ago they were urging that we maintain a neutral policy.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that a fact?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is correct.

The official publication of the League is *Fight*, the magazine *Fight*. It is edited by Joseph Bash. I have given you a copy here of an earlier edition, 1936. I have the later ones, but you will be interested in this particular one.

Might I refer back to the March issue of 1937 and give you this one article? I do not know how authentic the article is, but it is published in their own publication and is headed "Revising the Bill of Rights." That is the title of the article in the official publication of the League Against War and Fascism. I have given you this much of a quotation from it:

This investigation may assume historical importance because it is serving to awaken the interest of the American people in a phase of the Constitution that the Supreme Court rarely touches upon, those ten amendments guaranteeing to all citizens certain civil rights. It is telling to millions what only thousands knew, that behind the denial and abrogation of civil rights is the mailed fist of corporate might. It is also serving as a tribute to the growing strength and solidarity of American labor, for it shows that labor has been able to make important gains despite the army of labor spies and strike breakers mustered by industry.

The investigation was born in the Cosmos Club in Washington one February evening in 1936. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. I did not quite catch the continuity of that. What was that that was formed at the Cosmos Club?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. This refers to a Senate committee, I believe known as the La Follette committee, investigating civil rights.

The investigation was born in the Cosmos Club in Washington one February evening in 1936. Present at the meeting were some 15 people, including John L. Lewis, Gardner Jackson, of the American Civil Liberties Union; Dorothy Detzer, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Senator Robert La Follette, now chairman of the Subcommittee on Education and Labor conducting the inquiry; and other liberals and socially minded people.

Some of those present were concerned with the plight of the sharecropper in the South. They had watched the growing reign of terror instituted by planters in an effort to maintain a dying plantation system and they saw their efforts at organizing sharecroppers into the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union thwarted by systematic terrorism.

I only review that to show you the type of claim made on their part.

The CHAIRMAN. Who published that?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That was published in *Fight*, their official publication.

The CHAIRMAN. The official publication of the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right, issue of March 1937.

Are there any questions you wish to ask on the league before I pass it?

Mr. MASON. Before we pass that, may I say that I gave the name of Marshall, Robert Marshall, as one of the members of the local league. I have a quotation from Robert Marshall which is:

Personally I am in favor of public ownership of oil lands both in Mexico and in this country.

That statement was made in connection with the meeting on the Mexican labor question.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chaillaux, do you have any information upon how the American League for Peace and Democracy is financially maintained? I mean, from what source does it obtain its money?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Before you came in, Congressman Starnes, I told of having attended their national convention in Cleveland in 1936. They took up a collection the first evening and took in \$1,900. Every one of their branches raised funds through every type of devious means imaginable. They would take up a collection at every possible chance, at every meeting. They passed up no opportunity to raise funds in every possible way. They are now raising funds to aid the Loyalist cause in Spain.

Mr. STARNES. Do we have any information which would lead you to believe that they are being financed from sources outside of the United States?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No; there is no evidence to substantiate that.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say in that connection that we have access to the Secretary of State's reports. These organizations are now compelled to file a report of the amounts that they are sending to Spain. You will notice a clipping of a meeting out in California, which was called the other night, where they raised a certain sum of money to send to Loyalist Spain. All those reports have to be filed with the Secretary of State. We have that information available, definite information on the amount of money collected in the United States and sent to the Loyalist cause in Spain.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any information as to the number of the names, if any, of Government officials who are members of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No; I do not have of Government officials here, locally. I believe some are available. However, I was interested and have written into the record here fully the fact that Government officials—or that some people who are employed by the Federal Government raised \$1,000 in cooperation with the American League Against War and Fascism, to be given to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which is the Loyalist Party in Spain. I have put that into the record of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Mr. MOSIER. Some reference was made here yesterday to some of these flying brigades that are over in Spain. Are you going into that question?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I am going briefly into the Abraham Lincoln and the George Washington Battalions of the International Brigade, which are promoted, part of them, from the campuses of American colleges and through the Young Communist League of the United States and by the Communist Party and sent to Spain.

Mr. HEALEY. Have you any figures at all indicating about how many recruits for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the other Loyalist organizations were furnished by this country?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I have the Communist Party's own figures from Earl Browder, over 9 months ago. And they have been continually recruiting since then. At that time he claimed 2,200.

Mr. HEALEY. From the United States?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, may I say that we have some witnesses who will be here, probably in the morning, who will testify

exactly how they were induced to join the cause and what happened to them; who put up the money to transport them, and the full details of this.

What I am interested in is this. So far as a government is concerned, we are not interested in entering into any internal disputes in a foreign country. We passed a neutrality law, and some of those who are now contributing these funds and raising this money were the loudest in their demands for neutrality; is not that the fact?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In spite of that neutrality law and that announced policy, we find citizens of the United States—

Mr. MASON. Government officials.

The CHAIRMAN. Raising money to help one side of a foreign controversy.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Engaged in war; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It would seem to me that that is absolutely contrary to the Neutrality Act and contrary to the whole tradition and the principles of this country, to enter into a domestic quarrel in a country far removed from us.

Now, what brings that about? Is it because they think the Loyalist cause represents what is generally regarded as having some connection with communism?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. It is apparently very definite—they claim themselves, according to the statements of some of the representatives of the International Brigade, who have definitely said it is a united front—that is, the Loyalist government, between socialism and communism in Spain.

Mr. MASON. Then why not call a spade a spade and call the Loyalist Government in Spain the united front government, which it is?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Well, they do that themselves; they call it that themselves, a united front government, and the people's front government.

The CHAIRMAN. I am interested in another matter here. I have here a stenographic report of a meeting held in the auditorium of the National Press Building, Washington, D. C., June 27, 1938. The proceedings were taken down by a shorthand reporter and I have the transcript here. At this meeting foreign officials spoke under the sponsorship of this meeting. Does not that lead you to believe that there are large forces in this country trying to involve us in the internal disputes of other countries?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The same forces which we referred to in connection with the American League Against War and Fascism, brought to their national convention at Pittsburgh prominent people representing the cause of China and representing the cause of the Loyalist Government in Spain. They gave them loud acclaim and loud praise and the minutes of their convention will give you the speeches of those people from other countries engaged in war, who were brought to a convention of an organization supposedly for peace, but controlled by the Communist Party in the United States to try to break down the existing neutrality laws in our country.

Mr. HEALEY. Have you any information as to what inducements were offered these recruits from this country for the Loyalist army?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The chief inducement that they give—and I am telling you what some of the students who have gone over there and

have come back have told me—the chief inducement is that they were told, “If you go over there and fight fascism, or if you do not go over and fight fascism, it will soon come to the United States and take you over.”

It was under the guise of helping the Communists defeat fascism in Spain that students from the American Student League were recruited, some of them into the Young Communist League, to go to Spain.

Mr. HEALEY. What do they offer them in the way of monetary return?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I do not know.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that limited to any particular section of the country, this recruiting?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No; all over the Nation. I have a letter in my files from young Don Henry, a student of the University of Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. I am familiar with all of the circumstances of that case. He is from my district. He is now in a concentration camp in Spain, along with a number of Americans who were induced to go over there, and the story that their parents tell is almost unbelievable.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They did not even know that their son belonged to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not know that they belonged to the Communist Party; no.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Or the Young Communist League.

The CHAIRMAN. They were astounded when they got the information. And they are good citizens, I happen to know, in my own district. This particular person is a high-class American citizen. He did not even know that his boy was going to Spain. The first information he had was that his boy was in a concentration camp. He did not know whether he had been shot or not.

The information is that they are making many promises to these boys that they cannot carry out; instead of giving them the equipment and the accommodations that they promise them in advance, they subject these boys to all sorts of hardships and privation.

That will be brought out by direct testimony from some of the boys who have been across and finally got back.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. You will find that they took them first into the American Student Union, on the campuses of some American universities, and then take them from the A. S. U. into the Young Communist League, and then recruit them into the International Brigade.

Mr. MOSIER. Are you going into the American Student Union, in your testimony?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Was this American League for Peace and Democracy one of the groups that was so vociferous in the support of the Ludlow amendment?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes.

Now, to go to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy is a good sounding title, but what rotten core when you cut in, as you will see, when you go into its activities. This organization not only collects American dollars to help the cause in which they are interested, in the Spanish war, but they are apparently tied in by the Communist

press with the fund-raising campaigns to support the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and the George Washington Battalion of the International Brigade.

Here is an interesting statement taken from Earl Browder's book entitled "The Communists in the People's Front," having to do with the Communist tie-up with the committee under discussion:

Since the December Plenum the labor and progressive movement in the United States has proved its solidarity with Spanish democracy by sending 2,000 of its best representatives to Spain in the famous Lincoln Battalion to take their place in the front lines. And not the least source of our pride is the fact that over 60 percent of the Lincoln Battalion members are members of the Communist Party. The work of the North American Committee for the Support to Spanish Democracy must be increased and made more efficient; the Medical Bureau must be helped to enlist ever wider support.

How many of these Communists in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion would fight to defend the present order in the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read a clipping of what occurred at Los Angeles the other night, when, I think, two or three thousand dollars was raised by certain movie actors?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the statement that the Associated Press reports were absolutely unfounded?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the same meeting they raised funds under the auspices of this organization.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I saw the clipping.

Mr. MOSIER. Do I understand that Earl Browder says that 60 percent of this battalion are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I will read his statement again:

And not the least source of our pride is the fact that over 60 percent of the Lincoln Battalion members are members of the Communist Party.

The following article which appeared on page 3 of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, issue of April 16, 1938, discloses the fact that the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, in this fund-raising campaign of Dr. Herman F. Reissig, who is an official of the American League for Peace and Democracy, raised more than a thousand dollars from Government employees in Washington; this money to be used in the cause of the Loyalists in Spain.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that last statement?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The following article, which appeared on page 3 of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, issue of April 16, 1938, discloses the fact that the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, in this fund-raising campaign of Dr. Herman F. Reissig, who is an official of the American League for Peace and Democracy, raised more than a thousand dollars from Government employees in Washington; this money to be used in the cause of the Loyalists in Spain.

Now, here is the article entitled "Federal Workers in Capital Send \$1,000 to Spain":

Following an appeal by Ernest Hemingway, Vincent Sheehan, and Louis Fischer for funds for ambulance to meet emergency conditions in Spain, \$1,000 was received by the Washington chapter of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fourth Avenue, Dr. Herman F. Reissig, executive secretary, announced yesterday.

The telegram from Joel Berrell, of the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy, reads: "In response to recent cable from Hemingway, Sheehan, and Fischer for ambulances, we are wiring herewith \$1,002. We understand ambulances will be at the front within 3 days of receipt of the money in Paris. If time permits, the ambulance should be marked: 'Gift of the Federal employees of Washington, D. C., U. S. A.' Advise by wire today that this money has been cabled abroad."

Mr. HEALEY. Who signed the telegram for the North American Committee to Air Spanish Democracy?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The telegram is from Joel Berrell. They are affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of the officers of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy? It is really an auxiliary of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is just another high-sounding name.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir. It is confusing it under another name. As to the list of officers, if you have a photostat copy of the letter of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, in New York City, you will find the officers listed on the letterhead. You will find they claim that the money raised in the United States was being used to aid people on both sides of the war in Spain, and not just for one side, but here is a sentence reading, "We have sent money only to Loyalist territory."

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they are not so much concerned about the charity side of it as they are in taking sides in an internal controversy.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been a little whispering campaign about you, Mr. Chaillaux. In the case of every witness we have put on, from some source there has come a whispering campaign, and I think it well to nail those things at the start.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I think so, too.

The CHAIRMAN. This whispering campaign is as to your interest in Winrod, or with his views, in Kansas. I wish you would clear that up.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I will be delighted to clear that up, and will read some letters for the record. Under the date of April 14, 1937, I wrote Mr. Winrod a letter on the subject. Insofar as I was concerned, I was interested in only one thing. He had written some very good articles exposing some well-known Communists who were participating in labor troubles in the United States, and who were making a racket out of those labor troubles. Here is my letter to him:

I enjoy reading the copy of the The Defender which you are good enough to send me regularly.

I did not say I believed any part of it. I enjoy reading many Communist publications from which I gather information.

Mr. STARNES. That would include the statements in the Communist paper, the Daily Worker, that the members of this committee are Tories.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Everybody is a Tory who does not agree with them.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. My letter to Mr. Winrod continues—

I suppose you saw all of the good publicity you received on the front pages of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, recently. According to these articles, you rate high on the preferred list of American Fascists. Of course, the Communist definition for fascism applies to anyone who strictly opposes communism.

That is the letter.

Mr. THOMAS. That was the only contact you ever had with him?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir; and at that long distance. I would not know the man if I met him on the street. He used that letter in this little brochure here, which is headed "Communists Lie Like Creations."

The CHAIRMAN. They teach them that it is good policy to lie.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They teach them that the only way to sell their program is to be good liars.

Mr. MOSIER. Who is doing all of this whispering about our witnesses? Are they the investigators for the La Follette committee who were around here yesterday, or the day before?

The CHAIRMAN. This committee does not intend to get involved in that. They have their work and we have ours, and we do not want to get our work side tracked by a controversy with some other committee.

Mr. MOSIER. By the same token, it seems that they want to get into a controversy with our committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have any information with reference to the investigators for the La Follette committee?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No, sir. I will now read my reply to Mr. Winrod. As soon as I found that he had used my letter for public or political purposes, I immediately wrote him this letter:

I was astonished a few days ago when it was called to my attention that you were using my letter of April 14, 1937, to give the impression to various groups, before which you were speaking or seeking an opportunity to speak, that national headquarters of the American Legion, or myself as an individual, had commended you for some of your addresses. This letter was in nowise intended to serve such a public purpose, nor was it one of approval of things which you have said in the past or might say in the future.

The American Legion will not at any time permit its name or that of its leaders to be associated with any activity which is designed to create racial hatred or religious prejudice. We have in our ranks men of every race, creed, and political conviction. These men, whether Catholic, Gentile, or Jew, are doing a fine job, as they have for the past 19 years, to prevent inroads of any groups or individuals who might attempt to promote the development of a Nazi, Fascist, or Communist dictatorship in our country. We lump all such groups into one basket as enemies of our form of Government. I trust you are just as bitterly opposed to any one of them as we are.

Will you be good enough to refrain from using my letter as a recommendation of the things you may say. Any anti-Semitic or controversial religious pronouncements included in your speeches rightfully have the disapproval of the American Legion.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to the State headquarters of the American Legion of Kansas for such distribution as they may need to make of its contents, and to such other interested groups as have called my attention to the public use, with the wrong interpretation, of my letter to you.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a good illustration of the sort of stories you hear from them, or the factual basis they have for them.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. You will find an interesting exhibit No. 50, page 147. It is partly written in Spanish. On the front page, you will

find a picture of the American hospital in Spain, with the picture of two Congressmen visiting over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Those Members voted for the neutrality law.

Mr. MOSIER. They also tried to visit Jersey City.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I will now give you a history of the Young Communist League.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the one the young people are in?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir. The Young Communist League starts its program under the control of the Communist Party. For example, it starts with the Young Pioneers, a movement in denunciation of the Boy Scout program. They have Young Pioneer camps throughout the United States. I call your attention to exhibit No. 72 and exhibit No. 73 entitled "The Trail Marker." This shows where some of the Pioneer Youth camps are held, in North Carolina, Virginia, New York, and various other parts of the country. The Young Pioneers is a student organization. They originally founded the National Students' League, which has since combined with the Students' League for Industrial Democracy, and the two are known now as the American Students' Union. They would have you believe that there is no connection between the American Students' League and the Communist Party, but I will give you a section from the minutes on page 199, as follows:

The most definite tie-up between the National Student League and communism is to be found in the booklet titled "Program for American Youth," published in August of 1934, at the national headquarters of the Young Communist League. The book has a further introduction to its readers with the second title "Manifesto and Resolutions of the Seventh National Convention, Young Communist League of the United States of America (June 22-27, 1934)." On page 21 of the Young Communist League Report is this interesting paragraph giving the definite Communist working tie-up of the National Student League:

"The Young Communist League must work to build the National Student League into a broad mass organization. Every section and district committee must apply the principals of concentration and control tasks to the organization of the National Student League at the schools in its local city, especially in the high and evening schools where the students are in greater numbers, proletarian in origin. While intensifying the struggle against the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Young Communist leaders must also work from within the Reserve Officers' Training Corps to win the students for our program. Young Communist League student units should be formed in colleges and high schools."

In many of the American Universities today young Communist League activities are carried on. They are controlled by the National Students League and the American Students Union. The activities are formed on the campuses of the high schools and colleges.

Mr. STARNES. Do these Communist groups have any part in the writing of the programs in many of the high schools and colleges of this country in which they teach them not to fight for the defense of this country?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir. They use the April strike or the peace strikes in April at the colleges. The young Communist League, through the National Students League, carry out those programs on the campuses. Two well-known Communists, members of the Young Communist League, Felix Strach and Ciro Gerber, were officers last year of the Young Communist League and members of the Students League.

The CHAIRMAN. On that point we will have some direct testimony.

Have you been informed with reference to the number of teachers in colleges, universities, and public schools that are Communists?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. We, of course, know there is a great deal of it. We see much of that. It is a fact that Granville Hicks was dismissed from the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, in New York, because of his Communist activities. For years, he was in charge of a Communist publication, was an associate editor of the Daily Worker, and was writing for Communist publications. He was an active member of the party. A few months ago he was employed by Harvard University. If things of that kind are carried on throughout the country it is because of our indifference to them as individual citizens.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have a list of the chapters or organizations they have in the various colleges, schools, and universities?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I have a partial list, and a complete one can be had for \$50. I wrote to Mary Fox, who is the national secretary of the American Students Union, asking for a complete list, and she told me it could only be had by the payment of the sum of \$50. They like to have money for their racket. I did not care to help finance the racket. On page 210, you will find as exhibit No. 77 an issue of the Student Advocate. You will find a number of universities mentioned, and references to raising funds for loyal Spain.

Mr. MOSIER. What are the most prominent chapters among the colleges and universities?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Columbia University has a chapter, New York University has a chapter, Harvard has a chapter, and Northwestern University. They have chapters in universities all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. What about George Washington University right here?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir; they have one.

The CHAIRMAN. Among other things, they teach pacifism and the students announce that in no event would they fight for their country.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir. However, they have altered the Oxford oath. They amended it at the last convention, which was held at Vassar College. At that convention they made up their minds, due to the trouble in Europe, involving dictatorships and the Communist movement, that it would be good business not to take the Oxford oath any more because they believed that by taking the Oxford oath they would be denying themselves the opportunity to fight for Soviet Russia.

Here is one definite Communist Party tie-up in connection with the American Student Union. This is from an editorial appearing in the Daily Worker, issue of April 24, 1936:

If united action of Socialists and Communists in the American Student Union has produced such splendid results, why can't such united action against war be organized in every field and in the building of a farmer-labor party?

I call attention to exhibit No. 74, on page 206, "Presenting the American Students' Union with their program."

Another of the publications is shown at page 208, entitled "Toward a Closed Shop on the Campus," by Joseph P. Lash. That is exhibit No. 95, on page 208. There are exhibits showing a number of Communist publications carrying the support of American students. You will also find a statement by Earl Browder with reference to the Com-

munist Party's opposition to religion in any form whatsoever. Exhibit No. 78, page 217, is a booklet entitled "Soviet Russia and Religion," by Corliss Lamont, who is the head of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Lastly, I have a chapter on the German-American Bund, showing a part of their educational program. I do not need to go extensively into that because you already have made an investigation and have had testimony on that score. I have given you, however, a brief history showing the tie-up between the organizations, beginning with the Friends of New Germany. Exhibit No. 79, page 221, is a copy of the official publication of the German-American Bund, with headquarters in New York. Exhibit No. 81 shows the constitution and bylaws of the German-American Bund. In that connection, I call your attention to one provision. The bund would have us believe that its membership is open only to American citizens in the United States. I will read article 4 on page 3 of the constitution and bylaws under the head of "Membership." Section 1 of article 4 reads as follows:

Membership in this bund is primarily open to all American and prospective citizens of Aryan blood, of German extraction, and of good reputation. Membership may also be extended to other national elements filling the requirements of our membership application.

That means that anybody in the United States or in the world could be a member of the German-American Bund except people of the Jewish race in our country, thus tearing down their own statement to the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization is just as much opposed to nazi-ism and fascism as to communism?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir; because they all establish dictatorships, and we want no form of dictatorship.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the same thing under different names.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

I submit a number of exhibits and statements showing the aims and purposes of the bund. I call attention to exhibit No. 84 on page 226, which is a translation of a speech delivered by Dr. Goebbels, of an international character, which was scattered throughout the United States, trying to build support through organizations within the United States. I also refer to the camps, such as Landover, N. J., Yaphank, on Long Island, and so forth, with copies of three or four letters written by the bund to me. One or two paragraphs from them will be of interest, I think. I asked them to give me the location of the bund camps in the United States. They transferred the letter around, but finally, of course, they told me no. I read the following from their letter:

In view of the fact that data concerning the number of members and units of our organizations and their location is irrelevant in determining the Americanism of the German-American Bund, we regretfully decline to supply such information at this time to any organization of whose friendship we are not yet assured.

Mr. MOSIER. Referring back to the American Student Union, do you have any figures showing the total membership of that union throughout the country?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. No, sir; I tried to get that, but it would cost money. This committee should be able to get it.

Mr. MOSIER. They are rather capitalistic at times.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. When it comes to getting cash; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Referring to the German-American Bund, do you have a special report on Camp Nordland?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to have that for the record.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I believe I have a brief report on that. If not, I will get it for you. No, sir; I did not place that in the record. I had Mr. Gregg Frost, from your city, go down to the camp and get me all the information he could, and send it to me by air mail. It will be exhibit No. 90 and will be attached to the report.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a few questions I would like to ask: From the evidence that has been presented to your organization and others cooperating with you, do you find that communism is increasing in the United States?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. To what do you attribute that?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Primarily to the program of deceit which they present to the American people, attempting to make them believe that they will give them something through communism that they cannot get through the democratic constitutional form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they operate successfully through their front organization?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are able to obtain financial support from among people who are innocent, or who know nothing about the background of communism?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore, no better service could be served than to expose this front organization so that the American people will know just what is behind it.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir. Such organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy could be definitely tied up with it through the operations of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you give us the names of some of the front communistic organizations?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I have given the names of a number of them in my report.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name some of the more prominent ones in the report?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The American League for Peace and Democracy, the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, the United States Congress Against War and Fascism, the American Youth Congress, and a number of others named in the report. The American Youth Congress is now meeting in an annual convention in New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the one being held at Poughkeepsie.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. They had a meeting at which Mrs. Roosevelt spoke. I notice that the Daily Worker has carried a lot of space in reference to this Youth Congress. In a recent issue they advertised the fact that the congress was to be held.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The majority of American people, however, who follow it have no idea that it is associated with the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. The President could speak to a gathering and not be in sympathy with the objectives of that gathering?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We have all made speeches when perhaps we did not altogether approve of the audiences; but that does not prove that they were Communists.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Not at all.

Mr. THOMAS. What I want to find out is why you think that this World Youth Congress is in any way linked up with the Communist Party.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. I give you in my report, under that subject, the statements of Earl Browder, of the Communist Party, showing how the party is supporting it and tying it up with the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. Also the fact that it is "ballyhooed" in the Daily Worker?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Of course, the method of the Communist Party in their activities today is an indirect one?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Right.

Mr. HEALEY. They may attach themselves to any organization, no matter how patriotic that organization may be?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They do.

Mr. HEALEY. As a matter of fact, they have made attempts to attach themselves to the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. And have attempted to control its policies and other labor organizations and many other organizations that apparently have very meritorious objectives; is that correct?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They will attach themselves to any outfit.

Mr. HEALEY. And their machinations from there on are to control the policies of that organization and to use it, perhaps unknowingly to its members, for their own purposes?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. To promote their own cause.

The CHAIRMAN. But don't you think it is the duty of a committee like this to expose the full facts, so that people who are being deceived will have an opportunity to withdraw from such an organization?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is what we hope you will be able to do.

The CHAIRMAN. If the organization is sincerely opposed to communism, and the members are sincerely opposed to communism, can they demonstrate it more effectively than by cleaning up their own house, by their own voluntary action, and withdrawing from the influence and domination of a subversive activity which would destroy our form of government? Is not that a fact?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Correct.

Mr. HEALEY. That is what they ought to do.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chaillaux, it seems that the major effort of the Communists in this country is centered on the young people of the country in our schools and colleges as number one, and in labor movements as number two.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Naturally they want to get as near control as they possibly can of the things which are to be taught to the American boy and the American girl. That is the reason for their Communist camps and youth camps and the Young Pioneers. In that way they hope to gain control of the young people who would not join the

young Communist League if they knew it was a part of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chaillaux, is it not a fact that those who belong to the Communist Party or who are sympathetically inclined toward it or who aid it directly or indirectly, are themselves promoting fascism in the country, for the reason that the history of all intelligent and enlightened people shows that the people will not stand for communism? In Germany, due to lawlessness and violence, which became rampant, Hitler and his group seized upon that as a pretext to rivet the chains of slavery upon the people?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. Very definitely. They are promoting some definite stand among the people, whatever it may be, knowing that the people do not want communism, and that whatever that action would be, America would have to take it.

The CHAIRMAN. The same is true in Italy, is it not; that the whole country was paralyzed for a long period, and finally, because a man abhors lawlessness, they reached a point where they would approve anything except lawlessness, and that gave Mussolini, with his Black Shirts, the opportunity to march on Rome and seize control of the government; and with that history before them, they themselves are aiding the cause of fascism more effectively than any other group; is not that the fact?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. There is not much difference between communism and another form of dictatorship, so far as we are concerned. We want none of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You want the American form of government.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. They are in opposition to the civil liberties that we want and intend to have.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you explain why it is that they spend so much money in defense of civil liberties and proclaim so loudly that they are the champions of civil liberty, when anyone can see that when they have an opportunity to put in practice their tenets, the first thing they do is to destroy all freedom?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. If they do not defend civil liberties for themselves, they are not going to be able to have the opportunity to sell their programs.

Mr. STARNES. It is really not civil liberties that they defend; it is lawlessness that they defend.

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. They do not make much of an effort except in defense of some person who has violated moral or legal laws?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. The majority of their defense has been in the protection of those who have been in conflict with existing American laws.

Mr. STARNES. That is the point I wanted to bring out.

Mr. HEALEY. You are aware of the new tactics of the Communist Party in America—that is, the so-called 'Trojan horse tactics—to disguise their purpose and enable them to infiltrate into existing organizations?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. That is the method that your investigations have led you to believe they are pursuing at the present time; is that right?

Mr. CHAILLAUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? If not, the committee will go into executive session. Mr. Chaillaux, we thank you very much. We will resume our hearing at 1 o'clock.

(Thereupon a recess was taken until 1 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee resumed its session at 1 p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, you may proceed with your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE—Resumed from August 16, 1938

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, suppose that we take up some of these "front" organizations and discuss them a little while. Get your data on your various "front" organizations, and, if you can, their officers and directors, and some of their aims, as announced by them. For instance, see what you have on this American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. STEELE. I promised the committee that I would bring the Moscow News, plus the wrapper, which I believe Congressman Thomas asked about. In addition to that—I did not notice this—but here is material inserted in it, listing additional propaganda.

(The material referred to was filed with the committee and appears at the end of Mr. Steele's testimony.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is this distributed by the members of the Communist Party, or do you know?

Mr. STEELE. That is purchasable at the Communist Party book sales agencies; but that, of course, was mailed from Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. It has the Moscow stamp on it.

Mr. STEELE. Now, Mr. Chairman, I had some other angles here that I would like to leave for the record, and you can use your discretion in using them. That is still on the Communist Party angle; but, as I understand, you want to take up the other first.

The CHAIRMAN. We are interested in some of these "front" organizations right now, and we will take that up later. Suppose you take up these "front" organizations. Do you have lists of officers and directors?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you there on the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. STEELE. I have a document here that I will present, just as proof of my statement. It is their document. It is a report of their congress.

In that document it is stated that the American League for Peace and Democracy was originally called the United States Congress Against War and Fascism. That was the original name. Until a short time ago it was known as the American League Against War and Fascism. It is a section of the World Committee Against War and Fascism, now the World League for Peace and Democracy. The membership of the league, as claimed by them, direct and affiliated, totals 4,025,920.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the world at large?

Mr. STEELE. No; that is in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. They claim that many members of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; members and affiliated members. What they mean by affiliated members is that they take in not only individual members, but they permit other organizations to affiliate with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of some of the affiliated organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; I have that here in this report. I will come to that shortly.

The leaders of this organization will argue that it is not a Communist-originated, organized, and action movement, yet in its document, "A Program Against War and Fascism," published by its national committee in New York City, July 1936, page 21, we find the following statement:

The American League Against War and Fascism was founded at the first United States Congress Against War, held in New York City in September 1933. The steering committee which organized this congress was composed of Communists and non-Communists. * * * Communists have continued in positions of prominence in the league. * * * It is natural enough that they should be proud of their part in founding the league, and should claim a large share of credit for its success * * *.

Now, in their last congress—and this is their own report—the matter of changing the name was before them, as well as possibly the matter of criticism from some individuals in the organization over the Communist influence in it, and the report says:

Since the Communist Party is the only political organization at present affiliated with the American League, Dr. Ward called upon its spokesman, Earl Browder, to discuss the attitude of his party toward the proposed reorganizational change.

The reorganizational change proposed, as shown here, was to prohibit any political party from having delegates at the convention.

Mr. Browder says:

We are perfectly satisfied to have our representation through those who are elected as representatives of nonparty organizations through their own recognized work in those organizations.

He says further:

I myself am not only a fraternal delegate from the Communist Party but also am an official delegate from the International Workers Order, a fraternal organization of 135,000 people, and in that capacity I want to take my part in this Congress and the work of the league hereafter.

Now Mr. Ward states:

I have worked for many years in public life in relation with all sorts of people, and particularly in the religious world. I have never worked with people who have played squarer or fairer than the Communist Party dealing in the work of the American League.

Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, a vice chairman of the league, says:

I would like to endorse everything Ward has said about the helpful attitude of the Communist Party toward our organization. I say with him that my association with them has been always happy and always cooperative.

Now, those are points that are indisputable.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe we have had those officers and directors; that the evidence shows the officers and directors of the American League.

Mr. STEELE. You say you have it?

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have that.

Mr. STEELE. The call for the "United States Congress" was issued by Marxians of the Communist and extreme left-wing Socialist type. Donald Henderson, who had been connected with the communistic "Friends of the Soviet Union," the (Communist) National Student League, and who is now national president of the C. I. O. United Canning, Agriculture, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, was Secretary of the Congress. His wife was the Communist Party candidate for Congress from a New York district in 1934. Members of the arrangements committee included Herbert Benjamin, widely known Communist, now national secretary and treasurer of the Workers' Alliance; James W. Ford, Negro candidate for Vice President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket and organizer of the Communist Party in Harlem, N. Y.; William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party in the United States and a member of the executive committee of the Third (Communist) International; Harold Hickerson, leader of the "red" veterans' movement; Roy Hudson, member, central committee of the Communist Party; Robert Minor, also a member of the central committee of the Communist Party; and Alfred Wagenknecht, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who are they?

Mr. STEELE. These fellows are the ones that signed the call for the Congress that finally set up this American League.

The late Henri Barbusse, French Communist, was the founder of this international movement. He came to the United States with the permission of Secretary of Labor Perkins to assist in launching the American section. Upon the death of Barbusse, the exiled French "red," Romain Rolland, became the international head.

The First United States Congress Against War and Fascism was held in St. Nicholas Arena and the Mecca Temple in New York City, September 29 to 30, 1933. Three such congresses have been held since then. The symbol of the league, instead of being the Communist hammer and sickle with the world as a background, is the world pierced by a sword. The American branch is one of 33 nationals, organized in 33 countries, which compose the international organization.

In answer to the question: "Is the American League against communism as well as fascism?" the league states (A Program against war and Fascism, p. 22):

So far as the economic and political organization of society is concerned, fascism and communism are opposites. Fascism is for war; the Fascist state is the war-breeding and war-making state. Communism is for the abolition of war. We can't in any sense be against both. Communists—in Germany and other countries—have shown themselves to be hard, courageous, and sincere fighters against war and fascism. The same is true here in the United States * * *.

When the United States Congress Against War was transformed into the American League Against War and Fascism, Harry F. Ward became its leader. Ward is a British-born Marxian minister, who has for years headed the American Civil Liberties Union, 90 percent of the activities of which are in defense of Communists in the United States, according to the findings of the Fish Committee In-

vestigating Subversive Activities. Ward has also headed the Methodist Federation for Social Service for years, an organization which has been disowned as an official agency of the Methodist Church, and which has openly espoused the change of our system of government to one of "for production for use and not for profit."

MR. MASON. Right there, do you know that the Methodist organization, the parent organization, has disavowed this Methodist society?

MR. STEELE. I think you are right about that; yes, sir—at their last convention.

MR. MASON. At their last convention that was disavowed?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

MR. MASON. And a protest was made against their use of the word "Methodism" in connection with their organization?

MR. STEELE. Yes; that is right.

Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party, has been vice president of the American League for years. A long list of his "red" henchmen were selected to fill other offices and committee assignments.

The following is the program of the American League:

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace or war, and in time of war the transport of all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; and to enlist the professional classes in educational propaganda against war and for participation with workers and farmers in antiwar actions.

2. To expose at every point the extensive preparations for war being carried on by the Government of the United States, (a) under the guise of "national defense" and (b) by diversion to war preparations funds for relief projects and public works; to demand that relief funds be spent only in constructive work or for adequate relief, and that the huge additional budgets now being spent in preparation for war be transferred to the extension of health and education.

3. To resist the increasing militarization of youth in schools, Civilian Conservation Corps, and Citizens' Military Training Camps and the use of their dependence upon relief to get them into the armed forces.

4. To demand total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, and to support all measures that move clearly toward that goal.

5. To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans, and credits, and permit no discretion to the President; more particularly, to promote and support refusal of workers to handle all materials of war; to organize and support public condemnation of those who seek profit from the sale of war materials and war loans; to organize mass support for every effort, national or international, which in our judgment as occasion arises, is directed toward postponing, restricting, or shortening war.

6. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in Latin America, the Far East, and throughout the world; to give the support of our protests and demands to all peoples who are resisting exploitation, aggression, and suppression by imperialist powers; to those in all lands who struggle against the war measures and Fascist policies of their own governments, and to all who suffer under the Fascist state.

7. To demonstrate constantly the relationship between war and fascism; to expose and counteract Fascist propaganda, both foreign and native; to prevent the formation of Fascist forces in this country.

8. To oppose all developments leading to fascism, particularly the increasingly widespread use of armed forces and vigilante terrorism against workers, unemployed, farmers, Negroes, and other racial minorities, who are exercising their constitutional rights to protest against unbearable conditions and to organize for their own advancement.

9. To resist the attempts of our American Fascists to destroy—by legislation, executive order, judicial decree, or lawless action—our guaranteed civil rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize, strike, picket, and demonstrate; to oppose all legislative discrimination against women

as workers; and further to resist all forms of discrimination against foreign-born based on their political or labor activities.

10. To oppose all legislation or orders denying citizens in the armed forces their constitutional right to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program, designed to secure peace, freedom, and justice; and to defend their right to join organizations on the same basis as other citizens.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

(National Headquarters: 286 Fourth Avenue, New York City)

The American League for Peace and Democracy was originally called the "United States Congress Against War and Fascism." Until a short time ago it was known as the American League Against War and Fascism. It is a section of the World Committee Against War and Fascism, now the World Committee for Peace and Democracy.

The membership of the league in the United States, direct and affiliated, totals 4,025,920. The leaders of this organization will argue that it is not a Communist originated, organized, and action movement, yet in its document, *A Program Against War and Fascism*, published by its national committee in New York City, July 1936, page 21, we find the following statement:

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The call for the United States Congress was issued by Marxians of the Communist and extreme left-wing Socialist type. Donald Henderson, who had been connected with the communistic Friends of the Soviet Union, the (Communist) National Student League, and who is now national president of the C. I. O. "United Canning, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America," was secretary of the congress. His wife was the Communist Party candidate for Congress from a New York district in 1934. Members of the arrangements committee included Herbert Benjamin, widely known Communist, now national secretary of the Workers' Alliance; James W. Ford, Negro candidate for vice president of the United States on the Communist Party ticket and organizer of the Communist Party in Harlem, N. Y.; William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party in the United States and a member of the executive committee of the Third (Communist) International, Harold Hicker-son, leader of the red veterans movement; Roy Hudson, member, central committee of the Communist Party; Robert Minor, also a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, and Alfred Wagenknecht, member of the central executive committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party.

The late Henri Barbusse, French Communist, was the founder of this international movement. He came to the United States with the permission of Secretary of Labor Perkins to assist in launching the American section. Upon the death of Barbusse, the exiled French red, Romain Rolland, became the international head.

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This reminds us that the Communists seized Russia by force and violence; seized Bavaria by force and violence; seized Hungary by force and violence; they "stole" Spain, and are not carrying a white flag of peace in Spain today, or in China where they pillaged for more than 8 years. The American league has approved of all of these activities. Do these actions on the part of Communists indicate the actions of a peace-loving group? Does the American league believe that the Communist threat to destroy America and set up a Soviet government is a peaceful one, especially when the Communist leaders, Foster, Browder, and Olgin have openly testified before congressional committees that the Communist proposed seizure of our Government cannot be accomplished peacefully?

When the U. S. congress against war was transformed into the American League Against War and Fascism, Harry F. Ward became its leader. Ward is a British-born Marxian minister, who has for years headed the American Civil Liberties Union, 90 percent of the activities of which are in defense of Communists in the United States, according to the findings of the Fish Committee Investigating Subversive Activities. Ward has also headed the Methodist Federation for Social Service for years, an organization which has been disowned as an official agency of the Methodist Church, and which has openly espoused the change of our system of government to one of "for production for use and not for profit." Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party, was made vice chairman of the American league. A long list of his red henchmen were selected to fill other offices and committee assignments.

Anyone who has read the pronouncements of the Communist Party can realize that the above program is similar to that of the Communist Party. Members of the league, or affiliates thereof through other organizations carry out that 10-point program through "educational propaganda, action by mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing, and political pressure on legislative and administrative officials." (A Program Against War and Fascism, pp. 18-9.)

Membership dues in the American League are from 10 to 50 cents a year. One having noted the wide activities of the organization will realize how impossible it would be for the league to continue operating on such dues.

The American League, by its own admission, has carried on a campaign to defeat the Tydings-McCormack bill which would make Com-

minist activities within our armed forces illegal, the Kramer sedition bill, War and Navy Department appropriation bills. It has carried on a campaign boycotting Hearst papers and against the Red Salute and Riff Raff, anti-Communist fibas; in support of the Spanish Red Front and the Chinese since Russia became interested; against Italy, Germany, and Japan. It openly opposes Nazi activities in the United States, while at the same time it favors Communist activities.

In the report of the educational commission of the American League, submitted by LeRoy Bowman, the formation of a national education committee was proposed. This committee would center its activity around the following seven points (Proceedings, Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism, January 3-5, 1936):

1. The abolition of militarism in the schools, supporting the Nye-Kvale bill as a step in this direction.

2. A campaign for the removal of antilabor, anti-Negro, pro-war, and pro-Fascist propaganda from textbooks as a counter-offensive to the propaganda laid down by school officials in cooperation with such agencies as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Liberty League, the Hearst press, the American Good Will Union, and other reactionary groups.

3. Strong opposition to retrenchment in educational provisions affecting teachers, students, and Negroes, and a campaign for the equalization of educational standards, the expansion of school facilities, and the use of war funds to build schools.

4. The protection of the rights of teachers, students, and parents by opposition to loyalty oaths, legislation making criticism of school officials a misdemeanor, censorship by school authorities of parents' meetings, discrimination against teachers for union or political activities, and suppression of peace activities of students.

5. The cooperation of teachers', parents', and youth organizations in a common struggle against war and fascism in education, urging teachers to join the American Federation of Teachers, parents to become active in parents' associations, and students to act through existing organizations or form new ones to oppose militarism and fascism.

6. A drive for stricter compulsory education laws with a raising of the age limit, and for the adoption of the child-labor amendment to the Federal Constitution.

7. Earnest work to raise the standards of adult education and provide the curricula that such students need; to secure textbooks and syllabi for teachers of social subjects from an objective and fair point of view and including material on the actual economic causes of war; and to oppose the regimentation of students and their organization into semi-Fascist groups within the school.

On page 53 of the proceedings the report of the Commission on Racial and National Minorities, by Mr. James W. Wise, appears. We quote herewith from the report:

The commission proposes the following as a part of the fight which must be made by minorities and in behalf of minorities against fascism:

1. The intensification and broadening of the scope of the work of the American league among minority groups and the foreign born. We urge the formation of a national committee of the league to carry out this work, seeking to unite majority and minority groups within the branches of the league, and forming separate branches of language groups where this is not possible geographically or locally.

2. We urge that an immediate campaign be undertaken to counteract the campaign being conducted in the Hearst press and elsewhere against minorities and the foreign born, the campaign to take the form of a boycott of the Hearst press and motion pictures and the issuance of special literature dealing with the minorities and their struggle against fascism.

3. Militant opposition to the Dies deportation bill should also be a major action. We further ask that the league demand that all trials or proceedings

against aliens involving the possibility of deportation should be jury trials, openly and publicly conducted.

4. We urge the Congress to express fullest solidarity with the minority groups that are today suffering in foreign lands under fascism, and with those minority groups who are struggling against Fascist tendencies throughout the world
* * *

At the last congress of the league, held in Pittsburgh, November 1937, the organization again changed its name, this time to conform with the temporary changing Communist policy for "peace and democracy." It is now known as the American League for Peace and Democracy. Harry Ward and Prof. Robert Morss Lovett took occasion at this last congress to openly praise the Communist Party and Communists.

Many widely known Communists were appointed to the various committees. Earl Browder is serving on the important resolutions committee. The resolutions adopted, therefore, were satisfactory from the Communist Party standpoint. Members of the committee included Max Yergan, Anna Schneiderman, Elizabeth Curley Flym, Blanche Lowenthal, Sam Wolchok, Al Hyman, Ruben Zuckerman, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, former Minister of Justice in Germany, James Lerner, and Anna Damon.

Roger Baldwin was selected to head the nominations committee. Baldwin is known best for his statements made before the Fish committee, one of which was to the effect that the American Civil Liberties Union upholds the right of aliens or nationals to advocate murder, assassination, and the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. Others on the committee are James Ford, Abraham Feingold, Jack Rosenberg, Ben Gold, Robert Dunn, Margaret Cowl, August Mueller, William Gordon, and Gordon Sloane.

Members of the program committee include Clarence Hathaway, A. A. Heller, Angelo Herndon, Joseph Pass, Meta Berger, Helen Holman, A. Isserman, Mrs. J. K. Cohen, and Dorothy McConnell, daughter of Francis J. McConnell.

Strange as it may seem, although the league disclaims Communist leadership and influence, most of the above-mentioned individuals are Communists.

The report of the league states that their weekly press service has reached 1,250 newspapers, and that they have published and circulated 1,050,891 pamphlets on 12 subjects in 15 months. They claim their annual budget is \$76,311.

At the third United States congress, William E. Dodd, Jr., candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress from Virginia against Congressman Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, was appointed campaign director of the league. Dodd is the son of the former Ambassador to Germany. The latter has for some time been on one of the committees of the American Civil Liberties Union, and is at the present time engaged in addressing gatherings composed of members of the American League and various other so-called liberal groups. Although the league charges affiliated movements a certain fee and permits delegates of only two to organizations having 10 to 50 thousand members, and four to organizations having 100,000 or more members, the "authority of the league resides in the national congress," which is very well stacked with innumerable small radical movements.

The American League has 102 organizations in 24 States. It claimed 1,622,231 labor union members and affiliates, and 163,036 farmer members and affiliates—a total of 4,025,920 members and affiliates. Although, according to the league's leaders, it is chiefly an anti-Fascist movement, only 219,510 of the above are listed as anti-Fascists. They claim that 1,097 organizations are affiliated, but that 79,427 members and affiliates were not represented by 121 delegates who failed to show up. These are not included, however, in the above figures. While the league makes a great deal of noise with regard to "religious movement" affiliations, it records only 26 delegates representing 246,116 religionists.

Professor LeRoy Bowman, director of the United Parents' Association, was made chairman of one of the league's most important committees. He has been active in all the congresses of the movement. He is one of the directors of the Young Socialist Pioneers in the United States.

At the last convention of the American League, the Works Progress Administration was denounced for dismissing 13 Japanese and 2 Chinese artists because they were not citizens of this country. Pledges were taken by leaders of the Federal Writers' Union; League of American Writers; Book Union; W. P. A. section. Local 400, Teachers' Union; Artists' Union, and Theater of Arts that those organizations would become affiliates of the league at once. Lincoln Rothchild, of the American Artists' Congress, emphasized the importance of art as a means of propaganda. Dr. H. W. L. Dana, teacher in the Communist school in Boston, was made a member of the resolutions committee to lead a fight against certain films of which the league disapproved. The league endorsed the World Youth Congress to be held at Vassar. H. F. Reissig, of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Aaron McGill, field secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; and William B. Spofford, of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, were selected to cooperate with the national office of the League. Mrs. Laura Liebman was elected chairman of the trade-union committee; Steve Berquist, Russell Butler, Victor Poverk, and Albert Cohn, vice presidents of the committee; and Albert E. Edwards, organizer.

Ambassador Fernando de los Rios, of the Spanish red front government, was one of the headliners at the convention, as was Congressman Jerry O'Connell, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Earl Browder, Robert Morss Lovett, A. J. Isserman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James Waterman Wise, Joseph P. Lash, Gov. John T. Bernard, Harn Matsui, Max Yergan, Juan Marinello, Ludwig Renn, Y. T. Young, Margaret Forsyth, Roy Wilkins, and Max Bedacht.

The following is a quotation taken from *The Communist International*, page 78, January 15, 1934:

Our most successful application of the united front has been the antiwar and anti-Fascist movement. We led a highly successful United States congress against war, which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country. * * * The congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly. * * * The congress set up a prominent organization on a federative basis called the American League Against War and Fascism.

The reasons for the changing of the name of this organization are interesting. The United States Congress Against War was a section of the World Congress Against War. The latter changed its name to the World League Against War and Fascism, so the section in the United States naturally changed its name to the American League Against War and Fascism. But last year, 1937, according to the official mouthpiece of the Communist International—*Imprecor*, No. 26, volume 18, page 644—it was deemed advantageous to again change the name of the world organization. This time it selected World League for Peace and Democracy. The branch in this country then changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy at its November 1937 convention.

With regard to whether or not Dr. Ward, head of the league, is pro-Soviet himself, his statement, which appeared in *Soviet Russia Today*, November 1936, page 18, is most enlightening:

There is no way to constructively organize peace except by adopting throughout the world the basic organization on which the Soviet Union is founded.

In the February 1936 issue of the same publication, page 6, he stated that the chief purpose of the American league is—

to promote a wider understanding of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to cooperate with other agencies to prevent an attack on the Soviet Union.

It is evident, therefore, that Dr. Ward's chief interest seems to be in Russia and the welfare of the Red brethren in the United States.

The original purpose of the league was to work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions made in the United States to foreign countries. This was to be accomplished through the creation of strikes, picketing, and mass demonstrations. The league started out to attempt to abolish the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, to support revolutionists in colonies, and, above all, to "support the peace policies of the Soviet Union" and for "total disarmament and universal disarmament" in every country with the exception of Russia, which maintains the largest armed force in the world, and, in addition, supports a widely organized band of propagandists in every country outside of Russia. The league announced that it would "oppose all attempts to weaken Russia" and that it would fight all "false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering, or intervention" when it concerned Russia. It also aims to "win the armed forces of our country" to the support of such a program.

The Communist International is the official organ of the executive committee of the Third International. Apropos of the fundamental Communist aim to disrupt all non-Communist governments by inducing class warfare, we read on page 59 of the January 1935 issue of the Communist International:

In this connection it is important to recall the analysis made a year ago by the thirteenth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International, which states:

"The tremendous strain of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolutions and war."

Everything which has happened this year only brings out more sharply the accuracy of this analysis. * * *

In the instructions to Communist sections all over the world, including the Communist Party, United States of America, as to advance preparations for the seventh biennial congress, and as to what this congress would do, we read on page 69 of the same issue of the International:

It is perfectly clear that the Communist Parties can correctly indicate the revolutionary prospects and tasks facing their particular countries only in the light of the general revolutionary prospects and the strategic and tactical tasks facing the Comintern (Communist International) in the oncoming historic period, and if they thereby bear in mind the lessons and the experience of the struggle in their own particular country.

Whereas the Sixth Congress of the Communist International indicated the prospects of the shattering of the relative stabilization of capitalism, and the indicated foundation for the prospects of a growth of a revolutionary upsurge throughout the world, and of the preparation for decisive battles, the seventh congress, on the other hand, will determine the prospects of the second round of revolutions and wars, when both the task of preparing for decisive battles and the prospect of the most decisive struggles of the proletariat in a number of countries, as well as the importance of the main slogan of the Comintern, namely, that of soviet power, come to the fore with the utmost force.

This strategic prospect determines our basic tactical task, namely, that of organizing the united front for the struggle against fascism, war, and the capitalist offensive, and, along these lines, of leading the masses to the decisive struggles for soviet power.

The seventh congress will analyze the new features in the decline of world capitalism, the new processes going on in the ranks of the working class and of the toilers of the capitalist and colonial countries. It will sum up the results of the world historic victories in the Soviet Union. It will determine the influence of these victories on the development of the world revolutionary movement. It will indicate the further prospects of the ripening of the world revolutionary crisis. It will determine our tasks and the forms of struggle against the growth of fascism, against the growth of the danger of war, a struggle developing into the direct struggle for soviet power.

Yet Dr. Ward says there can be no peace without taking in the "reds" and upholding Russia.

Has the league succeeded in winning over the armed forces of our Nation? Not to any great extent, we believe. In this respect it is interesting to note the following, which transpired at the second congress of the league, September 30, 1934. A National Guard man is speaking:

As a representative of a group of guardsmen from four divisions of the National Guard of the United States, I bring you greetings. We are carrying on the work among the National Guard against fascism by organizing anti-strike-breaking groups. We pledge our full support to carry out all the decisions of this congress.

Dr. Ward interrupted the applause to say:

Of course, you understand, we have here elected delegates from four companies of the National Guard, and that these delegates elected this man to represent them. Please don't delay this by prolonged applause. We are now to see and hear from a first lieutenant of the United States Army.

The uniformed officer then stepped forward and said in part:

The revolutionary soldiers of the Sixth Corps Area, which includes the Regular Army in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois, extend revolutionary greetings. If the capitalists call upon us to wage war, we will wage war, but it will be a war against the war makers.

It is reported that during the period of these seditious appearances the doors of the hall were locked and that the soldiers appeared masked.

In view of repeated and widespread exposures of specifically named subversives in the United States, one wonders how long it will be until popular pressure will develop sufficiently to bring Congress to enact Federal statutes adequate to protect the loyal citizen against not only the inimical foreigner but against the disloyal citizen.

Dr. Ward's seditious intent is proven by the careful way in which he handled affairs on this occasion. He knows full well that these soldiers are liable under Federal and State military law, even if he is not. Sooner or later such fellows as these masked soldiers will expose themselves and will be appropriately dealt with. They do not have large followings; and those in the Regular Army do not vote. But the leaders of the A. L. A. W. F. and affiliated organizations have an enormous following, most of whom are citizens with a vote apiece. And day and night their efforts are ceaseless to mislead and confuse the people, so that the directed vote of their followers will count out of all proportion in producing conditions in this country under which the Communist leaders believe it will be possible to apply their available force to a successful violent overthrow of our Government. This is not planned for every section at once; only in strategic spots, from which control will then be spread over tributary areas, precisely as happened in old Russia, in Siberia, in six Provinces of China, and is being attempted in Mexico, Cuba, Spain, and elsewhere.

I believe that the statement of a former member of the American League will speak louder than any other proof I have assembled herewith that the league is nothing but a Communist front.

Rabbi Edward Isreal, of Baltimore, who was a member of the American League, says in a letter to Dr. Hillman Bishop, of the City College of New York, according to Bishop, and as of date December 11, 1937, "I resigned from the league in a public discussion with Dr. Ward because of some matters closely akin to points that you bring out in your extremely interesting study." The study by Mr. Bishop is set forth in this pamphlet that I present you. It shows that the league is absolutely a Communist force.

Rabbi Isreal continues:

As a matter of fact, I wish that I had known you were making it. I could have given you some sustaining information.

The American League did not have the courage to attack the American Communist Party for its public stand on the question in Palestine * * *.

When the Arab riots broke out in April 1936, the handful of Palestine Communists issued manifestos siding with the Arabs. The American Communist Party was playing into the hands of fascism in Palestine. He did not do it. I therefore resigned because, as I told him, I could not be a party of a united front with the group like the Communist Party which claims to be fighting fascism here in America or in Spain, but supports it in Palestine. However, let me say that the rabbi is hooked up with many of the Spanish aid movements that are active in the United States.

Party Organizer, volume VII, No. 8, page 11, says:

When we issue a call for a conference requesting delegates from mass organizations, etc., for the purpose of organizing a branch of the American League Against War and Fascism or the Provisional Committee Against the High Cost of Living, etc., a copy of this call is given to the members of the fraction department who in turn takes this up with the fraction so that when it is taken up in the organization each party member is prepared to help have it formally received by the organization as a whole.

The International Labor Defense calling on its women section to support the International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism in Paris, July 28-30, 1934, and states that "the American League Against War and Fascism is organ-

izing district and regional conferences to elect delegates to the Paris congress and mobilize American women for the struggle." It called on the I. L. D. women members to join in these efforts. (Labor Defender, Communist organ, p. 3, April 1934.)

The International Labor Defense is a Communist movement.

In a circular issued by the youth section of the American League Against War and Fascism (west coast section) January 1935, the youth section talks of everything but "peace." It says:

We must follow the example of the Soviet Union. We must overthrow the capitalist system * * * we must set up a government * * * that will be a Soviet Government. We, the youth of America, make our declaration of independence to fight for a Soviet America.

The Party has done a great deal to help build the American League Against War and Fascism. * * * Certainly the work of the American League Against War and Fascism must be extended by us beyond halls and press. It must be brought into the shops and the major responsibility for explaining the league and fighting for its growth falls upon the shop papers.

Finally, the roll of the Communist Party as the decisive factor in the struggle against war and fascism is not sufficiently brought out. The shop papers everywhere must increase their emphasis on this point, making it clear that the only final solution in the fight against war is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet America (p. 32, Party Organizer, vol. VII. No. 3).

Nos. 72 and 73, International Correspondence—Imprecorr—official mouthpiece of Third (Communist) International, states that "The International Bureau for the Fight Against Imperialist Wars and the Anti-Fascist Bureau," were "amalgamated under the common title of International Bureau for the Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism" in August 1933.

Now as further evidence that the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly in November 1937, the American League Against War and Fascism, is a Communist front, and to emphasize at the same time another point, that of using attractive women to gain men recruits and attractive men to gain women recruits, we submit two letters, the first taken from the state of Massachusetts Legislative Report, 1938, on investigation of subversive activities, and the second letter from one Communist leader in Florida to another Communist leader, who is boring within a labor movement. We will recall the case of Don Henry, the Kansas College boy who met his death in the "red" ranks of Spain, and who, correspondence among his belongings showed, had been enticed by two women sent to Kansas by the Communists, and these by the names of "Sophie and Norma." These letters that follow speak for themselves:

244 WAVERLY PLACE, NEW YORK CITY,

September 11, 1936.

DEAR COMRADE FRANKFELD: I have just come from New York district office where I have obtained your name and address from Comrade Wells (in charge of personnel).

The situation which I should like you or Comrade Blake to work on should hardly be distasteful.

During the past summer I met three young women during several sojourns in Connecticut. Naturally a good party member never goes on vacation as far as the cause is concerned. So, I have put in some good hard work on all three with the gratifying result that, when they parted company from me, they of their own volition asked "What may we learn more of this—how can we continue after we return to Boston?" Concealing a grin of triumph, I assured them I would do my best to dig up some contacts in Boston where the gentle process of enlightenment might continue. To that end I now write you, en-

trusting in considerable detail, if you will pardon a long letter, the further education of these young ladies to your competent hands.

First, let me state I should not be doing this were I not convinced that they would, under proper influence, become comrades, and what is more very valuable ones. In New York I know we are very short on good attractive "fronts." Possibly the same is true of you in Boston. These three, as you may speedily ascertain, would be excellent for this purpose, if for no other, and there is no reason to presume they would not become solid comrades in every other way.

The first one is Mrs. R— A—, who also sails under the maiden name of Miss M— C—. While the other two naturally know my sympathies, they are not positive, that I myself am a comrade. Mrs. A— does not know definitely; not only my real name but the party name under which I also write. She is particularly good material—probably the best of the three. She is young (around 24) very attractive physically, and also an intelligent woman. She is sympathetic to all our approaches, but to this point has done very little about it. That she is eager to embark on some of the work is evident in that she has written since we parted to inquire what I was doing about the promised contact.

She has been a number of years a teacher in the Boston public-school system, losing (with a great deal of resentment) her position due to local barbarous ruling that married women may no longer occupy public-school positions. Added to her impishiveness in the direction of the left, she has a lot of time on her hands and as yet no outlet for this.

Her husband at this point cannot be considered in our picture. I have given her every specific instruction on how to handle him—which I know are good ones and which she accepts without question. He is a buyer for a chain of stores, called I believe the S— F—. No—I think he manages the chain. You can get some inkling of this concern when I tell you they force him to go under the name of A— in business, employ few if any other Jews. He is pretty well filled with resentment about them, and about poor pay. However, having descended from a background of former wealth has not thus far relinquished bourgeois hopes of recouping fortune.

The second prospect is Mrs. A—'s sister Miss H— C—. She is also of more than average attraction, and quite young. Not more than 19, I judge. She is at present completing her last year at — in Boston, expecting to teach next year. She had previously been worked on by a New York contact during the summer and more than ready to accept our ideas. Probably she belongs for the time in your Youth Communist League.

The third of this trio is also a schoolteacher and a personable young lady of about 24 named Miss E— H—. She is at present teaching in the public-school system.

I hope you will not consider the following suggestions presumptuous; but without them you are starting work on quantities unknown to you pretty cold.

I would suggest, if I may, that some of your most attractive comrades of at least bourgeois background be chosen to contact them. A woman comrade in the case of Mrs. —, and a man in the other two. Although all three seem ready to embrace communism directly, it might be wisest to choose comrades from some organization such as the American League Against War and Fascism, Friends of the Soviet Union, where I know Mrs. A— at least knows some people. It seems to me any of our fringe organization which have strong factions, in the course of work can arrange either socially or through the work to be thrown into contact with them for a while. I am positive recruiting will follow rapidly. I hope you do not think me chauvinistic in my suggestion of (attractive) comrades; but you know as well as I do, that when such people have been approached by those roughly speaking, in their own strata, it is not wise to suddenly throw them up against some of our more rough-and-ready comrades.

This would have been well enough with a longer period of grooming but I did not have sufficient time to do more than awaken interest on the theoretical side. Even discussions of horrible example does not penetrate far when one is in the green foothills of the country. There must be time for revolt against housing conditions, etc., to come closer in actuality.

Again, please do not think me presumptuous. These are kindly suggestions from my own thinking, and if you differ in any respect please handle as you see fit. But I do believe, you will find my judgment to have been accurate. That Mrs. — in particular should be closely watched for qualities of leadership.

Soft-spoken, but positive and intelligent, and with an appearance that can help us worlds.

Mrs. A—— and Miss H—— living at 50 —— Street, Dorchester. Miss E—— H—— lives at 534 —— Avenue, Roxbury. While none of them is rolling in money, they all seem to be well enough to do. Mrs. A—— is the proprietor of a small summer camp for children called P——, at G——, Conn. Her sister and Miss H—— worked for her as counsellors this past and other summers.

I think this covers the ground. If there is anything more I can do, write or add to help, please call on me, as I would like to follow developments. I am enclosing three letters under my real name which you may use or not, as you see fit. Whether you choose to employ a direct Communist approach, or through an organization is up to you, although I suspect at first some organization as suggested above might prove the better way.

If you are in New York I should like very much to meet you. If I come to Boston, which I do not plan to do, I should like to look you up. I may be reached either through the district, or section 27, where I am currently working on the finance committee, or perhaps best of all at my home address, indicated at the beginning of this.

With all comradely greetings,
Sincerely yours,

KENNETH HUNTER,
(Arthur Herzog, Jr.)

SOUTH JACKSONVILLE, FLA.,
March 30, 1938.

Mr. R. W. DAVIS,
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

DEAR COMRADE BOB: Your letter to Comrade Jack was received, but as he is in Tampa it was turned over to me to answer.

Well, old boy, you sure are keeping your promise to carry out your assignment to read and write better. It was a surprise to all of us to see the swell job you did on the typewriter and it is better than I did when I first started. Keep it up and write me every time you get the chance and I will do my best to answer.

You say in your letter that the president of the International Longshoreman's Association fought you when you told the members of the union about the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and that he would expell a member if he went to the conference. Well, don't let threats like this worry you, as we learn a lesson from such things. We learn at this time that we must not let just one man, the president, run the union. You must make very close friends, and if possible party members of the most honest members of the union. Teach them how wrong it is for one man, like the president, to rule like a dictator over many good honest longshoremen, and if he keeps up doing so that all the members, the rank and file, must stick together and tell him how wrong he is, and if he does not change then the members will have to get a new president.

We must keep the control of the union in the hands of the members and the officers must be taught to do what the general membership wants done. This is the true way that a union must be run.

Now, Bob, I am enclosing something you will like. It was sent to me by Lillian for you. Do you remember when it was taken?

Now, as to the name the girls. All I know is that they are Sophie and Norma, and their address is 236 East Twenty-fifth Street, apartment 25, New York City, N. Y. I do not know their last names myself, but if you want me to I'll send it to you as soon as I write Lillian and they send it to me.

In the meantime, if you want to send them some fruit you might ship it to Rose Klinedman, 305 East Twenty-first Street, apartment 19, New York City, N. Y., and also send the same comrade a letter telling her to give the fruit to Norma and Sophie. I am sure that they will do it. Rose, you know, is the comrade that painted your picture.

As soon as I get the girls' last name I will mail it to you.

I am sending soon some material on the Longshoreman's Union to Comrade Katherine which you should study over and try to carry out. If there is any doubt in your mind Comrade Katherine will help you, and, if you wish, you can have her write me and I will help wherever I can.

So keep up your studies, build the party, help the workers in the Longshore men's Union and they in turn will help you.

Good luck, and write me again.

Comradely yours,

A. W. TRAINOR.

As soon as Comrade Jack comes back I will give him your letter and he will be glad to see how well you are doing.

T.

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

[From official report of convention, January 1938, pp. 24, 25]

Reorganization Committee: LeRoy Bowman, Albert Ciccone, William Patterson*, Russell Babcock, Richard S. Childs, Erich von Schroetter, Charles Krumbein*, Margaret Forsyth, Joseph Cadden, Bert Leech, William Armstrong, Eugene Martinson, I. Bradley, William Albertson, Louis Simon, William Zuckerman, C. M. Marino, J. Stack, Samuel Kaufman, J. K. Hamilton, Elizabeth Fry, Rabbi Max Maccoby, Joseph Lash, Max Bedache*, Dr. Herman F. Reissig, J. Portal, Rev. J. W. Robinson, Moran Weston, S. A. Burquist, H. Patch, John B. O'Shea, John Priboni, Audley Moore*, Dr. David M. Licorish.

Program committee: Dr. R. M. Lovett, C. A. Hathaway*, Mrs. Meta Berger, Mrs. Helen Holman*, Miss Dorothy McConnell, A. A. Heller*, S. H. Dalrymple, Hugh Wing, G. H. Campbell, George Palda, Joseph Vina, Benjamin Fee, W. Burkhardt, John Bobbitt, A. Isserman, Carl Davis, Anton Becker, N. Zonarich, Theodore Carlson, J. Crawford, Miriam Ristine, Mrs. J. X. Cohen, E. Gilmartin, J. D. Butkovich, Gustav Pikal, Paul Rogers, Joseph Pass*, Blanche Bray, Eva Gillespie, Alwood Keppley, Angelo Herndon,* Barrington Dunbar, S. D'Inzullo, Oscar Schneller, A. E. Campton.

Resolutions committee: Eleanor Braman, Earl Browder*, James Waterman Wise, Jacob Mirsky, Dr. Max Yergan, Anna C. Schneiderman, Walter Lurie, David Pierce, I. Kreschevsky, Y. T. Wu, Chu Tong, George Hampel, Dr. Emily Pierson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*, Mrs. Blanche Lowenthal, Samuel Wolchok, William Goddard, R. E. Bellingier, Al Hyman, Charles S. Zimmerman, Ruben Zuckerman, Mikio Kubota, Mrs. B. Fink, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, Rabbi Benjamin Bokser, Rev. B. F. Crawford, James Lerner, Rev. Jule Ayers, J. Gassimus, Anna Damon*, David Clendenin, Daniel Howard, Girolamo Valenti, Ruth Berman, James Alsbrook, N. P. Atkinson, Everett Karetza, Oscar Christensen.

Nominations committee: Roger Baldwin, W. B. Cochran, James W. Ford*, Thomas Wright, Abraham Feingold, Mrs. Jeannette Turner*, Jack Rosenberg, Barbara Perger, Joe Chandler, August Mueller, Frank C. Pepper, Max Kraus, William Larson, William Gordan, Mrs. George G. Bray, Louise Brausten, Margaret Cowl*, Ben Gold*, Gordon Sloane, S. R. Solomonick, Robert Dum*, Beatrice Selig, Ann Gottlieb, John Downey, Nora Sauer.

Credentials committee: Jessie O'Connor, William Mangold, William Hill, H. T. McGreedy, W. H. Hobbs.

We haven't attempted to check each name with our records, but those with the () are all widely known Communists; others on the list are known to be at least friendly with the Communist movements, and many will be found on other front movements.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the program of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; this is their program.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that they are for neutrality legislation?

Mr. STEELE. It depends upon who is the neutral—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But in this war in Spain, they are in a campaign to raise funds to assist the Loyalist cause?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a record of how many thousand dollars they have raised?

Mr. STEELE. No; but I have a report from the State Department showing that over a million dollars was raised by all those agencies during the last year. But that was a million dollars from a year

ago, when Congress enacted a law compelling them to register the amounts. Now, there was approximately a million raised before that law went into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the owner of this Daily Worker; do you know?

Mr. STEELE. No; I do not. It is listed as the Compro Daily Publishing Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't they publish the names of the owners?

Mr. STEELE. I think they do; yes, sir. I think I have them somewhere, but I do not have them with me.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would get that sometime and give it to the committee. We would like to have it for the record.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Steele, this million dollars that you say has been raised: Is that contributed by everybody in the country? Do they accept contributions from anybody?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And do you think that the people who contribute really understand that they are contributing to a communistic cause?

Mr. STEELE. Well, I presume some people do. I do not imagine all of them do; no.

Mr. MOSIER. That is something I am very ignorant about. Will you explain how any Loyalist Spanish Government is backed by the Communists?

Mr. STEELE. Explain what?

Mr. MOSIER. Why are the Communists behind the Loyalist side of the Spanish fight?

Mr. STEELE. That is quite a long story. You would have to go back to 3 years prior to the beginning of the revolution to show the political manipulations that took place.

Mr. MASON. Is not the answer the fact that the rebels are the Fascist group, backed by the Fascists, and the Loyalists, so-called, are nothing but a united front composed quite largely of Communists?

Mr. STEELE. I think that is a pretty good answer.

Mr. MOSIER. The rebel group is the church group, is it not?

Mr. STEELE. The church group are what they term the "rebels" or "insurgents." And I know that that side is backed by Germany and Italy, and the other side is backed by Russia and Communists of other countries.

Mr. MOSIER. You are familiar with the fact that certain young boys have been sent from this country to become members of these flying brigades. Do those boys know, for the most part, that they are sent over by the Communists?

Mr. STEELE. Most of them.

Mr. MOSIER. Most of them do?

Mr. STEELE. Most of them do, but not all of them do. There was a case in Kansas, for instance, where a young student knew he was going to Spain to fight, but he told his parents that he was going on a research excursion to France. When he got to France he went over the border and got into the fight and was killed there.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you talking about the Jenkins case?

Mr. STEELE. I do not think that is the Jenkins case.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not killed; he is in a concentration camp.

MR. STEELE. All I know is what the papers said. His parents began to check up on the contents of his trunk. I had some correspondence with them and became quite familiar with the case. They found that the Communist Party had sent some young ladies from New York and enticed this young man, and gotten him into some parties in the evening, and finally convinced him that he should be a "red," and they took him to New York where he joined the party and finally they sent him to France and into Spain with the Red Army.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have some definite testimony on that from other witnesses.

MR. STEELE. I want to leave for your information a document which was issued by Dr. Hillman M. Bishop, a professor of government at the College of the City of New York.

Dr. Bishop, of the City College in New York, became a member of this American League Against War and Fascism, or, rather, the American League for Peace and Democracy, with the understanding that it was not a Communist movement.

But after he was in the movement a while he began to see that they were following along Communist Party lines, so he has made a complete study of that from the inside.

Here is a letter that Rabbi Israel, of Baltimore, has written to Dr. Bishop in reference to this document which has been issued. Rabbi Israel stated in his letter as follows:

HAR SINAI CONGREGATION,
Baltimore, Md., December 31, 1937.

MR. HILLMAN M. BISHOP,
New York City.

DEAR MR. BISHOP: I resigned from the league in a public discussion with Dr. Ward because of some matters closely akin to points that you bring out in your extremely interesting study. As a matter of fact, I wish that I had known you were making it. I could have given you some sustaining information.

The American League did not have the courage to attack the American Communist Party for its public stand on the question in Palestine. I hold no brief for British imperialism, but certainly I see no reason for lauding either Arab or Italian fascism over British interests. If I were to be pressed on the subject, I would perhaps even admit that the British side was indeed the lesser evil.

When the Arab riots broke out in April 1936 the handful of Palestinian Communists issued manifestoes siding with the Arabs. The American Communist Party held public meetings and the Daily Worker and the Freiheit devoted pages to the support of the Arab cause. It was part of the Moscow-dictated anti-Zionist policy. Anyone who knows Palestinian politics—and the truth becomes more and more obvious—realizes that Palestinian Arab nationalism is a very small element in this whole struggle. The chief factors are the exploiting Arab landowners, and Mussolini, who is trying to undermine Britain in the Mediterranean.

I challenged Dr. Ward to criticize the manner in which the American Communist Party was playing into the hands of fascism in Palestine. He did not do it. I therefore resigned because, as I told him, I could not be part of a united front with a group like the Communist Party, which claims to be fighting fascism here in America or in Spain but supports it in Palestine.

Since that day I have come to see more and more that while we must have a strong front against fascism in America, the American League is not the group which can develop what we need. Your excellent study still further convinced me of this. I thank you for it.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD L. ISRAEL.

The CHAIRMAN. What else do you have in reference to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

MR. STEELE. That is what this is. This is an investigation from the inside.

Mr. MOSIER. That is an investigation from the inside?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Made by whom?

Mr. STEELE. Made by Dr. Hillman M. Bishop, professor of government at the City College, in New York.

Mr. HEALEY. He was formerly a member of the league?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; he was formerly a member of the league.

Mr. HEALEY. When he joined he did not know of its communistic leaning?

Mr. STEELE. No; he was assured that it was not communistic. Dr. Bishop sent a copy of that to Rabbi Israel and Rabbi Israel says that the American league did not have the courage to attack the Communist Party for its public stand on the question in Palestine.

Also, in that statement, is a statement that a resolution was introduced at the conference changing the name from American League Against War and Fascism to American League Against War, Fascism, and Communism, and the resolution was tabled.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us take up some of the other organizations. Do you have any other high lights on that league for the information of the committee?

Mr. STEELE. I want to state this—that the league carries on a propaganda in the nature of reports, and they claim that their service reaches 1,250 newspapers, that they published and circulated 1,050,891 pamphlets last year, and they claim that their annual budget is \$76,311.

The league charges the affiliated movements a definite fee but permits them only a small number of delegates. For instance, an organization having up to 50,000 members can send only 2 delegates. An organization having 100,000 or more can only send 4 delegates. The authority of the league resides in the national congress.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the purpose of that, so that the Communists can maintain control of it?

Mr. STEELE. That is what I would make out of it. They claim they have 102 branches in 24 States, with 1,632,231 labor-union members and affiliates, and then that they have 163,036 farm members and affiliates, and that their total is 4,025,920 members and affiliates.

The organization claims that its chief purpose is to fight fascism.

They have what they call an anti-Fascist movement listed, but out of the total of over 4,000,000 members and affiliates, according to their own statements, only 219,510 are listed as anti-Fascists. In other words, the so-called purely anti-Fascist movement—I presume those are the figures of the anti-Fascist movement; they do not list the names of those particular ones, but they claim there are 4,097 organizations affiliated, but that 79,427 members and affiliates were not represented by the 121 delegates awarded them in their last congress. That figure, of course, is not included in the total represented at the congress.

The league states that they have many religious groups in their fold, and yet in their report they show only 26 delegates to the convention which they list as representing religious movements and affiliates, and they claim those 26 delegates represented only 246,116 religionists.

They have not as many religionists in it as they paint the picture in their propaganda.

At the last convention of the American league the W. P. A. was denounced for dismissing 13 Japanese and 2 Chinese artists because they were not citizens of this country. Pledges were taken by leaders of the Federal Writers' Union, League of American Writers, Book Union, W. P. A. Section, Local 400, Teachers' Union, Artists' Union, and Theatre of Arts, that those organizations would become affiliates of the league at once.

Lincoln Rothschild, of the American Artists' Congress, emphasized the importance of art as a means of propaganda. Dr. H. W. L. Dana, teacher in the Communist school in Boston, was made a member of the resolutions committee to lead a fight against certain films of which the league disapproved.

The league endorsed the World Youth Congress to be held at Vassar. H. F. Reissig, of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Aaron McGill, field secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; and William B. Spofford, of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, were selected to cooperate with the national office of the league. Mrs. Laura Liebman was elected chairman of the trades-union committee; Steve Berquist, Russell Butler, Victor Poverk, and Albert Cohn, vice presidents of the committee; and Albert Edwards, organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a pretty good idea of that movement. Let us take some others now.

Mr. STEELE. Take the American Student Union.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to hear something about that.

Mr. STEELE. The membership of the American Student Union is approximately 30,000. It is a section of the World Student Union, now the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom, and Culture. Its organ is the Student Advocate.

The American section World Student Association for Peace, Freedom, and Culture, was organized at a joint meeting of the Communist National Student League and the Socialist Student League for Industrial Democracy, held in the Y. W. C. A. at Columbus, Ohio, December 28-29, 1935. Their report of this Congress stated that "nearly 500 delegates" from "113 schools and colleges" in the United States were present. The Communist unit had inveigled the Socialist youth into participating in the congress, usurped the leadership of the organization, and have used it as an adjunct to the young Communist movement all during its short life.

The program first adopted by the American Student Union advocated the "right to education and security"; in defense of academic freedom, peace, protection of minority races, and a struggle against the "oligarchy of high finance, industry, and politics." It immediately set out to fight the R. O. T. C., C. C. C., and national defense. It supported an effort for youth relief appropriations. At first the movement adopted a pledge to "refuse to defend the United States Government in any war" (defensive or aggressive), but as soon as Spain and China became involved in warfare, they rescinded this action and sent some of their members to the "red" front.

In a report to Moscow, the Communists refer to the American Student Union as one of its greatest triumphs in the United States. Joseph P. Lash was made national secretary of the organization. Lash has since resigned from the Young Socialist Party League, stating that it was too tame. He has become active in many other

Communist-influenced movements. George Clifton Edwards, Jr., was named national chairman, and Serrill Gerber, executive secretary. The national board of the union included:

Bruce Bliven, Jr., Jeffrey Campbell, Lewis Cohen, James Cox, Harold Draper, Frances Franklin, Maurice Gates, Albert W. Hamilton, Alvaine Hollister, Leo Kontouzos, Martz Lewis, Harold Lebros, Virginia McGregor, Katherine Mayer, Walter Relis, Dorothy Rockwell, Warber Shippe, Julius Sippin, Hamilton Tyler, and Monroe Sweetland.

These came from Ohio State University, Los Angeles Junior College, Southern Methodist, Columbia University, Swarthmore, Harvard, University of Louisville, University of Virginia, Antioch College, St. Laurence University, Y. M. C. A. College of Chicago, Depauw, Temple, Vassar, Oregon University, University of Chicago, University of Minnesota, Brooklyn College, Occidental, and other prominent schools.

An advisory board was set up which included: Roger Baldwin, Prof. George Counts, Mary Fox, Francis Gorman, Louis Hacker, Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Quincy Howe, Julius Hochman, Freda Kirchwey, Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, and Prof. Goodwin Watson.

The immediate action of the American Student Union was to launch student strikes throughout the Nation on April 22 of each year. It claims to have influenced around 500,000 to "walk out" on this date each year in the United States. It has sections in nearly every college and university in the country and in many of our high schools.

I have a list of the officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the names of the officers so we can tell who they are.

Mr. STEELE. The following are officers which were elected at the December 1937 congress of the American Student Union.

Robert E. Lane (Harvard), president.

Joseph P. Lash (City College of New York), executive secretary.

Molly Yard (Swarthmore), organizational secretary.

Lloyd James (University of Chicago), director of publications.

Agnes Reynolds (Vassar), treasurer.

Britton Harris (Wesleyan), assistant treasurer.

District secretaries: Kenneth Born (University of Kansas), Chicago; Howard Lee (College of Ozarks), south; Louis Burnham (City College of New York), south.

National executive committee: Kenneth Born (University of Kansas), Ruth Brodie (Carnegie Tech), Robert Buckles (Purdue), Jack Chasson (University of Los Angeles), Clifton Davenport (Wesleyan), Tony Groso (Smith), Robert Huffcut (Cornell), Lloyd James (University of Chicago), Frances Estelle Jones (Bennett), Robert E. Lane (Harvard), Joseph P. Lash (City College of New York), Manuel Manfield (City College of New York), Florence Myers (Wayne University), Agnes Reynolds (Vassar), Sol Rosner (Temple), Al Rubio (University of Illinois), Charlotte Russell (Hunter), Boone Schirmer (Harvard), Katherine Scudder (Vassar), Oliver Stone (Wesleyan), Celeste Strack (University of California, at Los Angeles), Mary Symons (Oberlin), Herbert Witt

(New York University), Florence Yard (Swarthmore), Molly Yard (Swarthmore).

High school: Nolan Bell (Central High, Cleveland), Cornelia Brangman (Wadleigh High, New York), Evelyn Elkin (Central High, Detroit), and Loon Wofsie (New Haven High).

The American Student Union has cooperated directly with other Communist movements in many avenues in the United States. Its last convention was held at Vassar College, December 27-31, 1937, at which time it took on a direct political tinge by resolution. The union also resolved to boycott Japan and to help the Spanish and Chinese "red" fronts. It especially favors the Nye-Kvale bills to abolish military training in schools and colleges. It passed a resolution eulogizing some of its members fighting on the Spanish "red" front. The union upheld the Mexican confiscation of American properties; it denounced American interference in Puerto Rico and the arrest of revolutionists there, demanding their release; it endorsed the World Youth Congress, to be held at Vassar in August 1938; it urged the liberation of the Communist, Luis Carlos Prestes, now held by officials in Brazil; it urged the passage of the anti-lynching bill; the abolition of poll tax; it supported the Harrison-Black bills, the Southern Negro Congress, the Scottsboro Negroes. The union adopted resolutions opposing theater owners banning Negroes in movie houses of the South. It ordered its members to cooperate in labor struggles. It endorsed the C. I. O. and the sharecropper movement in the South; it endorsed cooperative and consumer movements (with Charles Saphirstein in charge of this work). It denounced the jailing of labor agitators, and criticized colleges and universities expelling students and discharging professors for radical activities.

The American Student Union set up the United Student Peace Committee in 1938, through which it has a wider range in organizing strikes in American schools. Molly Yard is organizational secretary of this committee. Through it they claim to have influenced 17 national youth movements to become affiliated with it. These include the International Intercollegiate Christian Council (Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. student councils); the American Youth Congress; the American League for Peace and Democracy; the Committee on Militarism in Education; the Emergency Peace Campaign; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Joint Committee on United Christian Youth Movement; League of Nations Association; National Council of Methodist Youth; War Resisters' League; National Student Federation; student department, Foreign Policy Association.

On March 24 the American Student Union called a strike, at which time, according to the Daily Worker, March 22, 1938, page 5, it called on Secretary of State Hull to follow the Soviet peace policy against the "Fascist aggressor." Of course, that policy was to supply money, men, and arms to the "red" fronts, thereby injecting the country into the fracas. The organization then took up support of the Jerry O'Connell peace amendment.

The April 24, 1938, issue of the Sunday Worker published an article which stated that the Young Communist League created the American Student Union and is the "main inspiration behind the student peace activities that rocked America on April 27" (1937). It also

said that "the Young Communist League can likewise be proud of its loyal and energetic cooperation in the American Youth Congress."

On February 4, 1938 (*Daily Worker*, p. 6), the American Student Union thanked the official organ for the fine publicity and support it gave the union's Vassar convention.

In *New Masses*, April 19, 1938, the union announced "Trips to Russia." The organization issued a call for "a closed shop on the campus" early in 1938. The call is published in a booklet issued by the organization. Joseph P. Lash was the writer thereof. This demands that the students cooperate with unions of professors and teachers in running the educational institutions of our land and to prevent the expulsion of either. On page 7 of this booklet the following statement is made: "We reaffirm that society as presently constituted cannot give us economic security." In this statement the union shows its "red" face again.

In this pamphlet the union also reviews the definite activities of the organization in various colleges and universities, and it names scores of institutions in which it is organized, from New York City to San Francisco; from Detroit and Chicago to Texas and Florida.

One of the originators of the union, Robert Burke, was expelled from Columbia University. He took part in Ohio steel strikes and was sentenced on charges of syndicalism in the C. I. O. strike activities in 1936.

In one of its publications, the union stated: "Student bodies and faculties are becoming organized and articulate. They will demand more control over the university."

In *Toward A Closed Shop on the Campus* the union said:

At Oxford our experiences in the American Student Union contributed toward bringing about the Socialist and Communist student unity in Europe.

Earl Browder and other leaders of the Communist Party have addressed the members of the organization at various meetings.

MR. MASON. Are you giving us these front organizations in the order of their importance?

MR. STEELE. Yes, I think so.

MR. MASON. And the League for Peace and Democracy you think is the most important organization in this United Front?

MR. STEELE. That is the one that claims the largest following, and I would assume that would be the most important.

Now, as to the Workers' Alliance of America.

We find in the *Imprecor*, which is the official organ of the Third International, in volume 15, No. 36, at page 941, this statement:

As the alliances became exceedingly popular (in Spain) we joined them and this led to a great extension of the unity movement up to the October uprising, when Communist, Social-Democratic, and Anarchist workers fought together on the barricades. The October struggles proved that the Workers' Alliances are adopted to be coming organs of the struggle for power.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the official publication of what?

MR. STEELE. Of the Third International. The name of it was *Imprecor*. It was changed just recently.

In the report of A. Bloomfield, a New York City Communist leader, *Building a United Front in the U. S. A.*, which may be found

in the April 25, 1936, issue of *Imprecor*, volume 16, No. 20, p. 549, the following statement is made:

Organic unity is now taking place between the Communist National Unemployed Councils and the Socialist Workers' Alliance. The unity includes the workers organized on relief projects.

In another issue of *Imprecor*, No. 23, volume 16, page 628, May 16, 1936, a report on the "Unification of the Unemployed Organizations in the U. S. A." by Herbert Benjamin, national secretary-treasurer of the Workers' Alliance of America—Mr. Benjamin is an avowed Communist and he makes no secret of it; he also claims that he proclaims allegiance to the Soviet Union.

He was a candidate for the central committee of the Communist Party; organizer and leader of the first nationally organized march on Washington, D. C.; that is, the first hunger march; national organizer of the Communist unemployed councils; arrangements committee, United States Congress Against War; National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, Washington, D. C., January 1935; organizer, national unemployment council; chairman, national unemployed committee for Browder and Ford (Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President of the United States); national council, Inter-Professional Association for Social Insurance; and a writer for the Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. We are pretty familiar with him.

Mr. STEELE. Benjamin says in this report to the Third International:

On April 7 to 19 (1936) nearly 700 delegates, representing all major unemployed organizations of the United States, met in a joint convention in Washington, D. C., and merged their forces into a single unified organization. The merger represents the successful culmination of a campaign conducted for nearly 4 years by the Communist Party of the United States of America and by the national unemployed councils which were organized and led by the Communists since the beginning of the crisis late in 1929.

In accordance with the previously arrived at agreement, the united organization will be known as the Workers' Alliance of America.

The program of the Workers' Alliance, as adopted by the convention, varies little from the program of the unemployment councils. Due to the fact that the councils were first in the field and were guided by the Communists who initiated and led the struggles and organizations of the unemployed in the United States, they were able to crystallize a correct and comprehensive program.

The Workers' Alliance is, therefore, bound to play an important role in all the immediate and future struggles of the toiling masses of the United States.

That meeting was held in the auditorium of the Department of Labor in Washington.

Mr. MOSIER. When was that, Mr. Steele?

Mr. STEELE. That was in 1936. I have some photographs showing them parading out in front of it.

The Workers' Alliance claim a membership in the United States of 800,000. That figure is verified in the report issued by the Federal Youth Administration in 1937, as a result of a survey of organizations in this country. That report can be obtained at the Federal Youth Administration Bureau.

The Workers' Alliance has led marches on State and national capitals. It has staged sit-down strikes in State legislatures and has seized city councils and held them for days. Patterned after the St. Petersburg (Russia) prerevolutionary day "unemployed councils," the Workers' Alliance has taken a leaf from the book of

practices of the Russian Bolsheviks. The councils also staged similar marches, sit-down strikes, and finally gained absolute control of work-relief projects and pay rolls. I have their own document on that, so it is not my guess about it.

The first sit-down strike we could trace was in St. Petersburg at that date, and it was a sit-down strike of the unemployed councils working with certain left-wing unions, which they name in this book. They marched in on the city duma and held the city duma as prisoners until they appropriated relief-project money. Then they staged another sit-down strike, demanding that the cities have set up machinery for hiring men for this work relief and for the control of the work projects. From there on they employed only their own kind on these projects. That is their own story in their own book.

Mr. MOSIER. You say this Workers' Alliance was organized in Washington in the auditorium of the Department of Labor?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How do they get permission to use the auditorium of the Department of Labor, if you know?

Mr. STEELE. I do not know. They held forth there 2 days and during that time marched up on Congress, to try to force Members of Congress to appropriate money to reimburse them for their expenses here and back home, which Congress did not do.

They went to the relief bureaus demanding money for relief for the trip back. I do not know whether they received money from Mr. Hopkins or not. I doubt if they did. I think possibly they had to pay their own fare back home and get back the way they got here.

At the time they arrived here there were over 900 delegates. Many of them came by train and many of them by trucks. I talked to several hucksters who hauled them down here and they were paid \$100 for their trip and expenses while they were here.

The CHAIRMAN. Each truck driver?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. How much the convention cost them I do not know. It would seem that it ran into quite a bit of money because some of them came from quite a distance.

They stated there were 900 delegates present, and that those who were here at that time represented 500,000 or more dues-paying members.

You can imagine an unemployed man, if they are unemployed, being assessed dues from his relief funds when he needs them for other purposes, to keep this movement going.

Mr. MOSIER. How much are the dues?

Mr. STEELE. I do not know whether I have that information or not. I think I have it, but I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything else about the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. STEELE. I have the list of officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us some more on the Workers' Alliance.

Mr. STEELE. They stated in their report that the 500,000 or more dues-paying members were members of the Socialist Workers' Alliance of America, the Communist National Unemployed Councils, the National Unemployed League (Trotsky-Communist movement), the California Federation of Unemployed, United Workers of New Jersey, Florida Federation of Workers' League, City Project Council,

Project Workers' Union, United Relief Committee, and the Unemployed Teachers' Union. They declared that the purpose of the convention was to inaugurate a drive against our present system of government and to establish a "new social order." Resolutions adopted demanded the passage of Congressman Marcantonio's bill, which would appropriate \$6,000,000,000 more for relief; the passage of the Frazier-Lundeen unemployment insurance bill; the enactment of the Benson-Amlie student bill to pay students from \$3 to \$15 per month for attending school, and \$15 per week if they study vocational training; and the passage of the Socialist-Communist workers' right amendment to the Constitution, also introduced by Congressman Marcantonio, which would sovietize the Nation.

Felicitations were sent to the imprisoned anarchists, Mooney and Billings. A program to organize 300 new units with a minimum of 300,000 new members; to establish a war chest of thousands of dollars; to promote the Moscow prescribed Farmer-Labor Party; and to launch a national newspaper was outlined. Included in the list of speakers were Senator Frazier of North Dakota; "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor, Communist agitator and organizer; Nils Anderson, of the Labor Relations Division of the Federal Bureau of the W. P. A.; Senator Elmer Benson, of Minnesota; Congressman Lundeen, of Minnesota; Norman Thomas; Herbert Benjamin (Communist), and David Lasser (Socialist).

Although every courtesy and comfort was tendered the "reds" upon their arrival and during their 4-day stay in the Nation's Capital, even to the extent of permitting them the use of the Federal buildings, things did not run as smoothly for some en route. Two New York delegations, one consisting of eight bus loads, were temporarily detained at Bel Air, Md., when a riot call brought scores of State police and riot squads to round up the "reds" who had refused to settle the bill after breakfasting in a local restaurant. Two of them, James Taney and Howard Farmer, were taken into custody. The others threatened to rush the jail in an attempt to force the release of their comrades. Another disturbance occurred in Delaware, where another unit was temporarily detained by the police.

A delegate from New York, Isaac Rolling, was arrested shortly after his arrival in Washington. In the valise he carried six loaded pistols, 2 boxes of ammunition, 18 huge pocket knives, and 4 razors were found by the police.

He refused to give any reason for possessing the arsenal. Emmanuel Wideroff, 24 years of age, another delegate from Brooklyn, N. Y., was arrested in front of the offices of Federal Relief Commissioner Hopkins. He was defended in court by Samuel Levine, an attorney on the staff of the (Communist) International Labor Defense.

Although coming to Washington of their own volition, arriving in automobiles of their own, hired busses, and passenger trains, delegates to the convention demanded a special appropriation to care for the hungry and needy comrades who, they claimed, were stranded in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, with reference to that *Don Henry case*, who I thought came from my district, I made a mistake in the names there. The name I had in mind was Jenkins. I just wanted to make that correction for the record. He is the one whose father and mother

live in my district. He is in a concentration camp in Major Franco's army in Spain and alive. There was some question about it.

Mr. STEELE. I think you will find that Don Henry was actually killed in action.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I made a mistake about the name. I got the two names mixed up.

Mr. STEELE. The resolution asking for a \$1,000 for the relief of these stranded individuals was introduced by Senator Frazier and Congressman Boileau. The resolution was defeated on the objection of Congressman Taber.

It was understood, according to the newspapers—and I am not sure whether their report states it or not, but I know it was in the newspapers that after the defeat of the resolution certain Members of Congress did chip in to raise money to help finance their trip back.

The CHAIRMAN. What else do you have on the Workers' Alliance that you consider important?

Mr. STEELE. The flag carried by the Alliance in the parades at that time in the city—of course, it is an old slogan, but this time it was used for a new purpose—had inscribed on it "Don't Tread On Me!"

The CHAIRMAN. And where did that slogan come from, "Don't Tread On Me!"?

Mr. STEELE. I think that dates back to our Revolutionary history, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. MASON. That was supposed to be the inscription for the original flag designed by Benjamin Franklin, "Don't Tread On Me!" It had a picture of a snake that was cut into several parts.

Mr. STEELE. Yes; just as they changed the words "Onward Christian Soldiers" to mean something else.

The song that they sang in the parade or chanted in the parade as they marched up to the Capitol and back was the Internationale and Solidarity Forever. I had those here yesterday, if you remember. Those are Communist marching songs. Also, another one was "John Brown's Body." That is another Communist marching song.

"To Hell with Roosevelt!" was chanted as they marched up the street.

Mr. STARNES. Who was singing that, "To Hell with Roosevelt!"?

Mr. STEELE. Well, the delegates were chanting that as they marched. The majority of the delegates, as they paraded, paraded with their fists clenched, which is the Communist salute. That is, with a certain hand up. I think the Fascists hold the right hand up and the Communists hold the left hand up.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you gentlemen want to hear any more on this Workers' Alliance?

Mr. STEELE. In credit to the White House, in this respect, I would like to say that the delegates demanded to see the President, and he and Vice President Garner refused to see them.

Mr. MOSIER. I would like to ask a question. Did the Workers' Alliance work itself into the W. P. A.?

Mr. STEELE. Very much so; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Afterward?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know anything about that situation?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; I have that.

Mr. MOSIER. I would like to have you go over that, if you will.

Mr. MASON. It was testified here yesterday, was it not, that it was approved as the bargaining agency by the W. P. A. in certain places?

Mr. STEELE. I could not verify that.

Mr. MASON. Someone testified to that.

Mr. STEELE. I have nothing to substantiate that.

The CHAIRMAN. No; the testimony was that they had reported at some of their conventions that they were the bargaining agents. There was nothing to establish the fact, other than their own statements.

Mr. STEELE. I have a list of the officers here, or many of the officers here that I would like to submit, and some other verifying data in connection with the Communist slant on it.

For instance, they have threatened marches on Congress here several times when it appeared that the relief appropriation would be reduced; and each time that the President set the figure, they set a higher figure, of course, to shoot at; something to agitate for.

In the annual report of the Communist Party, by the way, delivered by Earl Browder, general secretary, he states:

The unemployed struggles are coming to the fore again as a key question * * *. The efforts now being made to squeeze down Works Progress Administration and relief expenditures from Washington, a typical and expected course of the middle-of-the-roaders of the Roosevelt administration, are tests to see how much starvation the workers will stand without fighting * * *. If they (the administration) get by without any struggle, that proves to them that they were correct in reducing expenditures. If they have a sharp fight, if there are collisions with the police, and demonstrations and struggles around relief offices, that proves to them they were wrong, and they begin to raise expenditures.

In other words, this is their view of it, in setting forth why they should make these demands for larger funds. There have been a number of cases where the Communists have circulated false rumors, as they are accustomed to doing, as we know, that there were going to be lay-offs, thereby creating riots at relief stations. We have had a number of these right here in Washington. I have seen some of them. I have talked to officers that have had to be called in to clear the relief offices. I do not know how many of the relief offices have been controlled by Communists, I cannot say that, but I do know of one instance—I do not know whether it is still true or not, I have not been able to find out—down in Virginia at the S. E. R. A., a party by the name of Orr, who was a Communist candidate during the year before, was placed in charge of a department of the S. E. R. A. and his wife was the secretary in that department.

Mr. HEALEY. What is the S. E. R. A.?

Mr. STEELE. That is the State Emergency Relief Administration. In other words, as I understand it, the Federal Government joins the State in handling this money, in what they call the State Emergency Relief Administration.

Mr. HEALEY. Was that a Federal job or a State job?

Mr. STEELE. I do not know whether that would be a Federal job or a State job; I am not familiar with that.

Mr. MASON. It is a State emergency relief organization that does the actual work and receives Federal funds to augment State funds which are distributed.

Mr. STEELE. That is the way I understood it, but I was not sure of that.

Mr. HEALEY. The State appoints the officers?

Mr. MASON. Yes; I think with the approval of the Federal officials.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Now, whether that gentleman and his wife are still there, I do not know. I have not checked up in the last year or so.

The same organization has created local protest demonstrations in which they have forced the unemployed as well as the relief workers into action. The sit-down strike of the relief workers in Chicago reached the most serious stage. Slogans there were "Hold the fort," and also "Battle will soon rage on all fronts." That was their slogan in the propaganda they issued, which I happen to have.

There have been statements made by Hugh Johnson, for instance, who was in charge of the relief bureau in New York City, to the effect that the entire relief groups up there were Communist controlled. The same statements were made by Victor Ridder. The same statements have been made by every relief administrator they have had up there. At this time they are carrying on a campaign, or have been, against Colonel Somerwell—I believe that is his name—who is the present head there. There have been various changes made, but those officials, while they were officials, have stated that they do control practically all of those relief centers up there.

Mr. HEALEY. What do you mean by relief centers?

Mr. STEELE. Well, they have relief projects. For instance, the writers' project, the Federal theater project, and these different projects. In each one of these projects they are divided up into sections and those are their centers.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that part of the Communist set-up?

Mr. STEELE. No; that is the relief set-up. Many of those projects issue regular publications. For instance, there is a publication issued, which I had displayed here yesterday, by the W. P. A. writers' project, by the Communist unit in the writers' project. There is one issued by the Communist unit in the Federal theater project. There is one issued by the Communist unit in the W. P. A. art project, and so on down the line.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question at this point: Have you any information on an organization called the Anti-Nazi League for Defense of American Democracy?

Mr. STEELE. I never heard of it, but I think I saw a picture in the papers here the other day of a convention of that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not heard of it?

Mr. STEELE. I never heard of it before, and I have not been able, in the short time I have had, to find out anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know who are the officers of that organization?

Mr. STEELE. I have no idea where it is located or who the officers are, or anything about it. I never heard of it until the other day when either the Hearst papers or the Post printed a picture of what they said was a convention of that organization.

Here is something, Mr. Chairman, that may be of further information on this subject. The grand jury of Kings County, N. Y., early in 1938, accused the Workers' Alliance of fostering un-Ameri-

can doctrines and with intimidation of relief officials, charging its members \$1 per month for the program.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that date?

Mr. STEELE. That was early in 1938. I can find that exact date for you, but I imagine the court up there could give you that.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean the program was sold to them?

Mr. STEELE. What is that?

Mr. THOMAS. The program—you say they charged a dollar for the program? Is not that what you said?

Mr. STEELE. The grand jury of Kings County, N. Y., early in 1938 accused the Workers' Alliance of fostering un-American doctrines and with intimidation of relief officials charging its members \$1 per month for the program. That is what I stated. In other words, they charged them a dollar a month to carry on what the grand jury called intimidation of officials and un-American doctrines. That is what the grand jury charged. I do not recall whether the grand jury has taken up the case yet or not—that is, whether the court has taken up the case.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it or is it not a fact that in order to get a W. P. A. job you have to be a member of the Workers' Alliance—that is, to qualify for a job?

Mr. STEELE. I could not say that, because I have not tried. But I have been told that that is the case.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is purely hearsay.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, I think that is only hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that ought to go in the record.

Mr. STARNES. I think a statement like that ought not to be in the record.

Mr. STEELE. I doubt it, too; I agree with you.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very sweeping, broad statement.

Mr. HEALEY. You mean that you have to be a member of the Workers' Alliance in order to get a W. P. A. job?

Mr. STEELE. I say, I have been told that.

Mr. HEALEY. I can say definitely that that is not so in my section of the country. No such requirements is set up. I know that that is not the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. That may develop in particular places.

Mr. STEELE. It may.

Mr. STARNES. Where was this Workers' Alliance organized?

Mr. STEELE. In the Federal Department of Labor auditorium.

Mr. MOSIER. Right here in Washington, 2 years ago.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have the names of the organizers?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. STARNES. Have you presented that for the record?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; I will present this whole thing for the record.

Mr. STARNES. Who composed the membership of that alliance?

Mr. STEELE. I have the names of the organizations that composed it in this memorandum.

Mr. STARNES. What are the requisites for membership?

Mr. STEELE. I do not know whether I have that or not. I think it states here that a member only has to agree to the bylaws of the organization and pay a dollar a month.

Mr. STARNES. What I am trying to get at is this. Is it an organization of relief workers solely, or is the membership confined to any race, creed, or color? What is the background of the membership?

Mr. STEELE. They were formerly members of a number of unemployed organizations in this country; some Socialist organizations, and some Communist organizations, which were known originally as the unemployed councils—that was the Communist organization—and in their program, their own bylaws, which I have not included in this because it is not in existence now; it is now the Workers' Alliance—they pledged allegiance to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the group that sponsors these parades and the chartering of special trains and bringing down these paraders from New York City and other points here to the Capital?

Mr. STEELE. That is right. I have one picture which shows—it looks to me, if I am any good at estimating—about 25,000 in one demonstration up in New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. That is also the group that sponsored these sit-ins at various State capitals?

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

Mr. THOMAS. Such as at Harrisburg.

Mr. STARNES. Are they the group that sponsored vacations with pay for relief workers?

Mr. MASON. Oh, yes.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. How many members are there, did you say?

Mr. STEELE. They claim 800,000; and the National Youth Administration report, which was a survey of organization, claims 800,000.

Mr. MOSIER. And they get a dollar a month dues?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. That is \$800,000 a month.

Mr. STEELE. That is what they claim.

Mr. MOSIER. That is \$9,600,000 a year, if that is true.

Mr. THOMAS. I think they are high on that estimate of a dollar a month dues.

Mr. STEELE. I do not know; but what it says in their own documents—

Mr. THOMAS. I have heard that their dues do not amount to that much.

Mr. STEELE. Possibly some do not pay anything.

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. It may seem amusing to some that they would demand vacations with pay for relief workers, but I have seen a parade in New York City—it was last year—and that is just what they were doing. I saw a number of placards, and that was one of the mildest, while they were parading under police protection.

Mr. STEELE. I do not know how many people are on relief, so I do not know what percentage 800,000 would make of the total. I presume that there are a lot in this who are not even unemployed. For instance, Herbert Benjamin certainly is not unemployed. He must receive a salary from this organization; and David Lasser. Herbert Benjamin reported the progress of this organization at the recent convention of the Communist Party in May in New York City.

Herbert Benjamin and Lasser were delegates to the celebration in Russia in November of their twentieth anniversary. So you can see the close hook-up there.

Mr. MOSIER. Is this Workers' Alliance associated with the C. I. O.?

Mr. STEELE. Well, that I do not know. I do know this—

The CHAIRMAN. If you do not know, do not make any statement about it. Do not make a statement unless you know.

Mr. STEELE. I was just going to state that in their convention in Milwaukee, last year. I think it was, they sent a telegram to the C. I. O. offering their solidarity, as they called it, and they received a telegram back of the same sort. I think you will find there is a transformation going on at this time. In other words, the C. I. O. is building up at this time—they just launched recently, as I understand it, a union of relief project workers. It is possible that it is absorbing this group like it absorbed the Trade Union Unity League or the union groups several years ago.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not expect it to absorb this Workers' Alliance, do you?

Mr. STEELE. Well, I would think so, because there seems to be a favorable feeling there between them, and it is possible that there may be a division in the organization where some of them will want to go into the C. I. O. and some will not.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, that is all a matter of conjecture, is it not?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; and I do not know whether that should go in the record or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think we should conjecture here.

Mr. STARNES. I do not think matters of hearsay or conjecture should go into the record at any point.

Mr. STEELE. I will say this, however, that the announcements of the meeting held in Indianapolis, March 9, 1937, by the Workers' Alliance, carried on the announcement of the meeting the endorsement of Mr. John L. Lewis.

Now, in the 1937 city elections in New York, the Workers' Alliance announced in the Communist publications that it was supporting the Communist candidates for city council.

Mr. THOMAS. What Communist publication?

Mr. STEELE. The Daily Worker.

In July 1937, together with the Teachers' Union and the Artists' Union of the W. P. A.—the Federated Teachers—the American League Against War and Fascism, the Communist Party, and certain left-wing Negro groups, opened a protest campaign against Colonel Somerwell, who is the present director of relief. A mass meeting was held before the W. P. A. headquarters at Columbus Avenue, between Sixty-second and Sixty-third Streets in the city of New York. Placards announced that "We Workers Know Somerwell's Labor Record."

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, do we want any more evidence on this Workers' Alliance?

Mr. STEELE. I will say that most of this memorandum contains the names of members and officers.

The CHAIRMAN. I would suggest that we pass on to what you consider the next most important front organization.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you not going to develop any more of the Workers' Alliance movement?

Mr. STEELE. That is up to you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Along what line?

Mr. THOMAS. Whatever concrete information the witness has relative to the Workers' Alliance. The reason I make that point, Mr. Chairman, is that I believe that as time goes on you will come in contact with this Workers' Alliance as much as any other organization, so-called front organization of the Communist Party. You will find when the various other matters that you have in mind come before the committee that the Workers' Alliance will play an important part.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything of material importance there in connection with the Workers' Alliance? Personally I doubt if recitations of demonstrations over the country are of very much value at this time. We are all familiar with that. We have seen that.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. That is brought to our attention visually and otherwise.

Mr. STEELE. The rest of this memorandum is perhaps not so material.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you anything about the activity of the Workers' Alliance in regard to the political situation in and about New York City?

Mr. STEELE. Only as I stated there, that they supported the Communist candidates in 1937.

Mr. THOMAS. Nothing other than that?

Mr. STEELE. Nothing later than that; no, sir. I guess there have not been any political actions since then; I do not know.

I will file with the committee this memorandum on the Workers' Alliance.

WORKERS' ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States and a member of the presidium of the Third (Communist) International of Moscow, says, in his book, *The People's Front*, page 48:

"We Communists were the pioneers in this and in many other fields. The unemployment movement dates from the great Nation-wide demonstrations * * * called by our party, for which we paid the heavy price of prison terms for comrades Foster, Minor, Amter, and Raymond * * * It was the Communists who raised the slogan of national unification, fought for it consistently, and finally brought about the merger of all into the Workers' Alliance * * *"

With the permission of Secretary of Labor Perkins, Communists and Socialists met in a 4-day session in the Labor Department Building on Constitution Avenue in Washington, D. C., in 1935. Approximately 900 delegates arrived in the city via trains, busses, and automobiles. They stated they were duly elected delegates, representing 500,000 or more dues-paying members of the Socialist Workers' Alliance of America, the Communist national unemployed councils, the National Unemployed League (Trotsky Communist movement), the California Federation of Unemployed, United Workers of New Jersey, Florida Federation of Workers' League, city project council, project workers' union, united relief committee, and the unemployed teachers' union. They declared that the purpose of the convention was to inaugurate a drive against our present system of government and to establish a "new social order." Resolutions adopted demanded the passage of Congressman Marcantonio's bill, which would appropriate \$6,000,000,000 more for relief; the passage of the Frazier-Lundeen unemployment-insurance bill; the enactment of the Benson-Amlic student bill to pay students from \$3 to \$15 per month for attending school and \$15 per week if they study vocational training; and the passage of the Socialist-Communist workers' right amendment to the Constitution, also introduced by Congressman Marcantonio, which would sovietize the Nation. Felicitations were sent to the

imprisoned anarchists, Mooney and Billings. A program to organize 300 new units with a minimum of 300,000 new members; to establish a war chest of thousands of dollars; to promote the Moscow-prescribed Farmer-Labor Party; and to launch a national newspaper was outlined. Included in the list of speakers were Senator Frazier, of North Dakota; "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor, Communist agitator and organizer; Nils Anderson, of the Labor Relations Division of the Federal Bureau of the Works Progress Administration; Senator Elmer Benson, of Minnesota; Congressman Lundeen, of Minnesota; Norman Thomas; Herbert Benjamin (Communist); and David Lasser (Socialist).

The mob marched on the White House, where they were received by Mr. McIntyre, the President's secretary. They were, however, refused an audience with the President. Vice President Garner was also too busy to see them, but upon their refusal to leave, he finally appeared, accepted their petition, and handed back the slurs which were thrown at him.

Bernard Kaplan led the New York group; Herbert Benjamin, the Communist hunger strike leader of 1932 and leader in the Communist Party and its national unemployed council; David Lasser, of the Socialist Party and head of the Workers' Alliance; Hilliard Bernstein, organizer of the Virginia unemployed; Charles Rossio, agitator among Illinois and Wisconsin miners; Ray Cook, organizer of the New Jersey unemployed; Ted Seclander, of the Ohio unemployed; and W. K. Patrick, bonus march leader, represented the northwestern radicals. The latter led the northwestern Communist bonus marchers to Washington in 1932.

Upon their departure from Washington, the delegates warned that they would return during the summer 100,000 or more strong, stating that they would then remain until their demands were granted.

Officers of the newly formed united front included David Lasser, president; W. K. Patrick, Angelo Herndon (Georgia Negro Communist), Charles Rossio, Sam Wiseman, vice presidents; Herbert Benjamin, organization secretary. Members elected to the alliance board in the united front were Ed Morgan, Illinois; Hugo Rasmussen, Indiana; David Benson, Florida; Rynaldo Waters, Maryland; Ray Cook, New Jersey; Nelson Meagley, Ohio; Robert Liebermann, Pennsylvania; Lyte Olson, Wisconsin; John Spain, New Jersey; Rudolph Koller, Wisconsin; Hilliard Bernstein, Virginia; Paul Rasmussen, Illinois. The following were elected to the membership of the board of national unemployed councils (Foster-Browder group) in the united front: Benjamin, Wiseman, Herndon, Gray, Harold C. Work, Herbert Musser, H. Muldowney, Ted Seclander, Sam Gordon, Alex Noral, Joe Morris, and Arnold Johnson. All official organizers and active organizational working members receive weekly salaries, it is understood. Announcement was made to the effect that a national advisory board of 50 members, consisting of radical ministers, professors, writers, etc., would be appointed to give the radical united front a more dignified and acceptable appearance.

Within the past few years the Communists in the United States, as well as those in European countries, have centered their attention on the unification of Marxians of all types, or, in other words, the formation of "united fronts," which will eventually enable them to take over the leadership of all radical movements and activities. Such united-front tactics have been successfully launched in France, while the Communists remain in the background ready to "steal a march" when the opportunity presents itself. This strategy has also been successful in Spain, where the Communists have completely "stolen the show." They are now engaged in battle with organized Communist opposition, the forces of which are being called "insurgents" and "Fascists." This united-front campaign has been successful in Mexico, and the Communists now control more than half of the Government, gradually encroaching on the other half. Communists have also been successful in sovietizing a great part of China.

After Communists have gained a sufficiently large following through their united-front activities, they change the name of their movement to "popular fronts." This has a psychological effect on the masses, who are led to believe that the widely publicized title is an evidence of the popularity of their movement.

The "reds" united-front tactics were openly referred to at the January 1936 convention of the American League Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio. Representatives of that "united front" reported that the league is a counterpart of the "front populaire" of France. Delegates to the convention pledged their support and that of the league to the Spanish "red" front government. Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America and a member of the Third International, states in

his book, *What Is Communism?* that the American League Against War and Fascism "represents the largest united front ever built in America."

In the Labor Fact Book, No. 3, issued by the International Publishers, the Communist publishing house in New York City, reference is made on page 154 to "other united fronts." Among the organizations listed is the Workers' Alliance of America, which held its national convention of unity on April 8, 1936, in Washington, D. C. The Labor Fact Book, a "red" directory of facts, claims that the alliance has a membership of approximately 500,000. A more recent report, however, numbers the members at more than 800,000. The membership is composed chiefly of Federal and State relief workers and others of the so-called unemployed class. On page 171 of the book the Dayton (Ohio) police are criticized for having used tear-gas bombs, machine and riot guns on members of the Workers' Alliance who were rioting in that city. It also condemns the Roanoke, Va., police for having arrested two members of the alliance and ordering their deportation from the country.

In an editorial which appeared on November 11, 1935, in *Labor Challenge*, a Communist publication with headquarters located at 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City, the following statement was made: "The third annual convention of the National Unemployed League has been called off to enable conclusion of negotiations for merger of the league and the Workers' Alliance." In this editorial the alliance was referred to as "one united organization of unemployed and relief workers."

A photograph which we have in our files shows David M. Benson, of Tampa; David Lasser, of New York; Mrs. Charles E. Moody, of New Jersey; Elliott Brady (Negro), of Baltimore; Paul Rasmussen, of Chicago; and Mike Patrick, of Portland, Ore.; members of the committee of six which attended the Washington, D. C., unity convention of the Workers' Alliance.

It will be recalled that the Workers' Alliance, during its national conference, warned the Federal Government that should there be any attempt to reduce relief appropriations, or to begin leveling off relief work projects, it would march on the Federal Legislature 500,000 strong, and remain in the Capital City until its demands and a continuation of the relief project were met. We must remember that it was the unemployed councils, organized in Russia prior to the red revolution, which forced the Kerensky government to continue legislating relief until the government treasury could no longer meet its obligations. In the face of this perplexing situation, which they purposely created, and in which the government found itself by bowing to their dictates, these councils began to invade the district relief stations, and finally marched on the government legislative chambers, seizing the officials and holding the reins of government for days. This was the signal for the numerous other organized bolshevik forces in Russia to launch the civil war, the overthrow of the Kerensky government and the setting up of a Communist Soviet.

In his annual report to the Communist Party, delivered in New York City, Earl Browder, general secretary of the party and titular head of the movement in the United States, said:

"The unemployed struggles are coming to the fore again as a key position. * * * The efforts now being made to squeeze down Works Progress Administration and relief expenditures from Washington, a typical and expected course of the middle-of-the-roaders of the Roosevelt administration, are tests to see how much starvation the workers will stand without fighting. * * * If they (the administration) get by without any struggle that proves to them that they were correct in reducing expenditures. If they have a sharp fight, if there are collisions with the police, and demonstrations and struggles around relief offices, that proves to them they were wrong, and they begin to raise expenditures.

"The gains of the Workers' Alliance have been great, but we have not fully exploited these gains. Now the situation calls for greater attention to unemployed issues and struggles, and to the unemployed organizations more help and more guidance. These will encourage the next step in building the people's front. * * * Nor should we uncover all our forces in those cases where it is necessary to have people working without being known as Communists."

This shows the Communist hand in the Workers' Alliance and the purposes behind it.

The gradual reduction of relief forces in New York, made possible by increasing employment and a growing shortage of available labor for private enterprise, has been met by Communist-agitated strikes of thousands of relief workers. In Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massa-

chusetts, Ohio, California, and elsewhere, this same attitude has been noticeable. Where there were not street demonstrations, there were "sit down" and "stay in" strikes. Radicals are determined to remain on relief rolls and force the Government to continue handing out easy money to them for the continuation of these relief rolls which are the core of the Workers' Alliance and other similar agitational movements.

The Communists have been circulating all kinds of false rumors about the numbers which are being laid off, or are to be laid off in the near future. They have created local protest demonstrations in which they hoodwinked the employed as well as relief workers into action and hatred toward the Government and officials thereof. The sit-down strike of the relief workers in Chicago reached a most serious stage. Slogans such as "Hold the fort," "Battle will soon rage on all fronts," etc., were flashed in the faces of striking relief workers by the Communist agitating propagandists. From one source the information released was to the effect that the relief officials had been forced by this Communist strategy to post guards at all doors, to use pass words and countersigns to keep the "reds" from other sections of relief workers. It is certain that this agitation and strike action will increase, for it is an attempt to influence Congress to pass continued and larger appropriation bills and then to stir up more serious problems.

The Federal Government cannot, of course, continue to hand out relief, excepting to the relatively few absolute needy who are yet without work. It has announced that it will continue this policy of caring for those, but with demands for labor from private sources, the Government cannot be expected to continue to maintain those on relief rolls who are in demand and who are physically able to work, but who prefer relief work to private employment. But the Communists will not accept the latter common-sense theory, because to do so would be to help stabilize the Government financially while at the same time it would disrupt a powerfully organized weapon of the "reds." It is therefore evident that the country will be face to face with a real militantly organized issue, when it is finally forced to more drastically curb expenditures through larger reductions, especially in relief avenues. The public should be ready to stand by the Government in that dark hour to give it support in its efforts toward restabilization.

In October 1936 both Lasser and Benjamin, the two leaders of the Alliance, were arrested at the gates of the White House on charges of resisting an officer. A third member, John Kelly, of Pennsylvania (an organizer) was also arrested on charges of slugging a District policeman. Gardner Jackson, an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union and head of a Spanish "red front" relief movement, was with them. He was ordered to move on. He later posted bail for Lasser, Benjamin, and Kelly.

Congressman Celler addressed one of the Workers' Alliance protest demonstrations in New York City on February 18, 1938, at which time 4,600 marched on the city hall. The demonstration was held in support of a move to add 100,000 more to Works Progress Administration rolls in New York City and also to register protest against the opposition to the appointment of Si Gerson, a Communist, to a city position.

Early in 1938 the Workers' Alliance began to stampede Congress for a relief appropriation of \$550,000,000. President Roosevelt had then asked Congress for \$250,000,000.

The grand jury of Kings County, N. Y., early in 1938, accused the Workers' Alliance of fostering "un-American doctrines" and with "intimidation of relief officials" charging its members \$1 per month for the program. The organization has contributed funds to the American Labor Party. Although it is able to carry on continuous and wide activities, only about one-half of its membership of 800,000 pay dues.

In June 1937 the Workers' Alliance staged a sit-down strike for days in the State Legislature of Trenton, N. J. It had seized the floor of the chamber the year before and staged a sit-down strike for 8 days.

In April 1937 Governor Davey, of Ohio, was forced to eject representatives of the Workers' Alliance from his offices at the State Capitol, where they had staged a sit-down strike in demanding \$50,000,000 State relief appropriations. Several were arrested. The Tom Mooney civil liberties committee then submitted a protest against the evictions. Yetta Land, Communist candidate for attorney general of Ohio in 1934, represented the arrested strikers in court. The Workers' Alliance has also staged sit-down strikes in the offices of Harry Hopkins in Washington, D. C. Two hundred of its members staged a week's

sit-down strike in the chambers of the State senate at St. Paul, Minn., in April 1937. The Farmers' Holiday Association joined with them. This time they demanded a State appropriation for relief in the amount of \$17,000,000.

The Communists also act through the City Projects Council, the Project Workers' Union, the Writers Project, the Art Project, etc.

The Workers' Alliance has the endorsement of John L. Lewis, Committee for Industrial Organization leader. This endorsement was written on October 9, 1936.

Delegates attending the 1937 convention, held in Milwaukee, voted a resolution eulogizing the "red" front of Spain. They also passed a resolution to raise funds to send the Alliance president, David Lasser, to Spain to deliver the message in person.

In April 1937 Congressman Barnard, of Minnesota, together with John P. Davis, of the National Negro Congress, a Communist agent, addressed the local branch of the Workers' Alliance in Washington, D. C. A report was made on the sit-down strike at the U Street relief station in Washington, D. C., the week before. After parading in the Capital City on February 25, 1937, 2,100 members of the Workers' Alliance besieged the Capitol. They had arrived in chartered busses from various sections of the country. Each of these busses cost them \$20 a day.

Affiliates of the Workers' Alliance include the Works Progress Administration Teachers' Union, 11 West Eighteenth Street, New York City; manual division, 78 West Thirty-sixth Street, New York City; City Projects Council, 130 West Twenty-second Street, New York City; unemployed division, 101 West Twenty-eighth Street, New York City; and the Association of Workers in Public Relief. The organization has taken an active part in Committee for Industrial Organization riots, Spanish-aid movements, and in Communist activities.

The demonstration which was staged in New York City on February 19, 1938, in which over 5,000 participated, was led by the Communist "Weinstock" Painters and Paperhangers Local No. 9 band. Twenty members of the Spanish "red" front battalion (Lincoln Battalion) took part. The United American Artists Union also took an active part in the affair.

The Workers' Alliance claims that H. R. 5822 was introduced in Congress at its request by Congressman Bailean. It also claims credit for the Frazier-Lundeen and the Schwellenbach alien bills.

On November 2, 1936, the Workers' Alliance circulated copies of what was supposedly an agreement with Harry L. Hopkins, of the Works Progress Administration, giving the Alliance a right to organize relief workers in the United States.

Ray Cooke, an official of the Workers' Alliance, addressed a special meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union on May 17, 1937, at Wesley Hall, Washington, D. C., on the question of "civil rights" of the unemployed.

Announcements of a meeting sponsored by the Alliance, to be held in Indianapolis, March 9, 1937, carried the endorsement of John L. Lewis, of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Members of the Alliance picketed the Italian Embassy in Washington, D. C., on March 23, 1937, protesting the use of Italian troops being used in Spain. In 1936 the District of Columbia council of the Workers' Alliance wrote President Roosevelt and threatened to revolt if improvement in relief was not made.

Victor Ridder, who succeeded Gen. Hugh Johnson as head of the Works Progress Administration in New York City, was forced to resign in 1936 as a result of the demands of the Workers' Alliance on Harry L. Hopkins, according to Alliance leaders.

In the 1937 city elections in New York, the Workers' Alliance supported Joseph D. McGoldrick for comptroller (Fusion Party candidate) and Communist Party candidates for city council. The Alliance of New York City, in July 1937, together with the Teachers' Union, Artists Union on Works Progress Administration, Federal Teachers, American League Against War and Fascism, Communist Party, and Negro groups, opened a protest campaign against Colonel Somerwell, successor to Victor Ridder. A mass meeting was held before the Works Progress Administration headquarters at Columbus Avenue, between Sixty-second and Sixty-third Street, in New York City. Placards announcing that "We workers know Somerwell's labor record" were in evidence. Demands for his dismissal were numerous.

The People's Press, operated by James Waterman Wise, issued a special Workers' Alliance edition to encourage their 1937 march. The entire issue was devoted to the Alliance and was written and edited by its leaders.

The following list includes the addresses of principal offices of Workers' Alliance affiliates:

Alabama, Bessemer, 1526 South Sixteenth Street.
 Arizona, Coolidge, box 1317.
 Arkansas, Little Rock, 702 Garland Street.
 California, San Francisco, 320 Market Street, room 228.
 Colorado, Denver, 202 Denham Building.
 Connecticut, Torrington, 65 Brightwood Avenue.
 Delaware, Wilmington, 811 Madison Street.
 District of Columbia, 810 F. Street NW., room 49.
 Florida, Tampa, 1005½ Ninth Avenue.
 Georgia, Rossville, 817 Chickamauga Avenue.
 Idaho, Eagle, route 1.
 Montana, Great Falls, 519 Ninth Avenue South; Whitefish, 517 Somers Avenue.
 Nebraska, Lincoln, 1965 Vine Street.
 New Jersey, Trenton, 159 Mercer Street.
 New Mexico, Clovis, 114 East First.
 New York, New York City, 101 West Twenty-eighth Street.
 North Carolina, High Point, 703 Grace Street.
 North Dakota, Bismarek, box 334.
 Ohio, Cleveland, 814 Finance Building.
 Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, 129½ West Grand.
 Oregon, Portland, room 420, Kraemer Building.
 Illinois, Staunton, 237 Lafayette Street.
 Indiana, Indianapolis, 29 South Delaware.
 Iowa, Sioux City, 2512 South Helen.
 Kansas, Topeka, 123 West Sixth Street.
 Kentucky, Lexington, 400 Main Street.
 Louisiana, New Orleans, 4956 Music Street.
 Maryland, Baltimore, 713 Calvert Street.
 Massachusetts, Boston, 6 Boylston Place.
 Michigan, Detroit, 2423 Grand River; Jackson, 306 Maurice Avenue.
 Minnesota, St. Paul, 15½ West Ninth Street.
 Missouri, St. Louis, 3608 Finney Street.
 Pennsylvania, Bethlehem, 427 Wyandotte Street; Harrisburg, 256 Cumberland Street.
 South Carolina, Columbia, 1918 Richland Street.
 South Dakota, Aberdeen, 22 Tenth Avenue SE.
 Tennessee, Memphis, 90 North Third Street.
 Texas, San Antonio, 1321 West Commerce.
 Utah, Salt Lake City, 415 Hooper Building.
 Virginia, Norfolk, box 141.
 Washington, Seattle, 212 Mutual Life Building.
 West Virginia, Charleston, 619 Randolph Street.
 Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 312 West State Street.
 Wyoming, Cheyenne, 1025 West Twenty-eighth Street.
 Alaska, Juneau; Juneau Unemployed League; Mr. C. R. Leshar.

To give you an idea of how widely organized the alliance is in each State we list the locals of the Illinois Workers' Alliance of Cook County:

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| 1. 1717 North Fairfield Avenue. | 15. 3203 Ogden Avenue. |
| 2. 1515 North Leavitt Street. | 16. 7085 South Chicago Avenue. |
| 3. 1145 Vernon Park Place. | 17. Sixty-fifth and South Racine Avenue. |
| 4. 1441 North Cleveland Avenue. | 18. 3490 West Douglas Boulevard. |
| 5. 955 West Grand Avenue. | 19. 6251 Champlain Avenue. |
| 6. 3668 South Michigan Avenue. | 20. 9135 Brandon Avenue. |
| 7. 749 South Oakley Avenue. | 21. 3206 Wilton Avenue. |
| 8. Fifteenth and Wentworth Streets. | 22. 4938 Wentworth Avenue. |
| 9. 3218 South State Street. | 23. 1102 West Fifty-ninth Street. |
| 10. 955 West Grand Avenue. | 24. 11209 South Spaulding Avenue. |
| 11. 1032 West Roosevelt Road. | 25. 1831 South Racine Avenue. |
| 12. 1717 Hammond Street. | 26. 2159 West Division Street. |
| 13. 1648 West Van Buren Street. | 27. 1014 East Seventy-fifth Street. |
| 14. 11117 South Bishop Street. | 28. 4343 Forrestville Avenue. |

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| 29. 3116 South Halsted Street. | 45. 4648 Langley Avenue. |
| 30. 6924 South Lafayette Avenue. | 46. 2009 West Madison Street. |
| 31. 777 West Adams Street. | 47. 3822 South Kedzie Avenue. |
| 32. 4650 South Gross Avenue. | 48. 3404 Calumet Avenue. |
| 33. 1628 West Division Street. | 49. 3276 Wilton Avenue. |
| 34. 700 East Oakwood Boulevard. | 50. 4420 Emerald Avenue. |
| 35. 3201 South Wabash Avenue. | 51. 6 West Forty-fourth Street. |
| 36. 809 South Halsted Street. | 52. 322 East Forty-third Street. |
| 37. 75 East Thirty-fifth Street. | 53. 1648 West Van Buren Street. |
| 38. 2409 North Halsted Street. | 54. 15137 South Wood Street. |
| 39. 5716 South State Street. | 55. 522 South Halsted Street. |
| 40. 3326 Madison Avenue. | 56. 1441 North Cleveland Avenue. |
| 41. 955 West Grand Avenue. | 57. 243 North Artesian Street. |
| 42. 3457 North Oketo Street. | 58. 777 West Adams Street. |
| 43. 1102 North Wells Street. | 59. 567 East Thirty-fifth Street. |
| 44. 716 East Forty-second Street. | 60. 2659 South Lawndale Avenue. |

Officers of Workers' Alliance of America: David Lasser, national president; Herbert Benjamin, national secretary-treasurer; Paul A. Rasmussen, general organizer; W. K. Patrick, first vice president; Angelo Herndon, national vice president; Charles Rossio, third vice president; Sam Wiseman, fourth vice president.

Local heads of the Alliance include: California, Alex Noral, Edward Conway; Florida, David Benson; Illinois, Robert Foley, Edward Morgan; Indiana, Hugo Rasmussen; Missouri, Joseph Morris; Maryland, Rynaldo Waters, James Blackwell, Elliott Brady; New Jersey, John Spain, Jr., Ray Cooke; New York, M. C. Work, Dave Rosenberg; Ohio, Ben Gray (Communist candidate for State senate, 1936); Arnold Johnson, Ted Selander, Nelson Meagley; Pennsylvania, Sam Gordon, John Muldowney; Virginia, Hilliard Bernstein; Wisconsin, Rudolph Kohler; southern New Jersey, Henry Jaeger (educational director, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, a C. I. O. unit); Washington, D. C., Alfred Tanz (arrested in the District of Columbia in February 1938), David Dixon; St. Paul, Minn., Chester Watson, V. L. Mitchell; E. H. Ozmum, Washington, D. C., chairman, grievance committee.

"Work" is one of the publications of the Workers' Alliance. It is edited by Mary K. Gorman. The first issue contained articles by Aubrey Williams of the Works Progress Administration and Ralph Hetzel of the Committee on Industrial Organization (employment director). Project councilor is another Alliance publication, as is Social Welfare.

A relief demonstration in Detroit, February 4, 1938, was addressed by Richard Frankenstein, Committee on Industrial Organization auto union official, who was recently fired by Homer Martin for alleged red activities.

Another organization that I think is very important, and you will be confronted with it here, and have been, is the International Labor Defense. They have a legislative bureau here, and they have one in many of the States. They have one in New York State, for instance, and in several other States.

The International Labor Defense was established to provide free defense in court to arrested comrades, to fight against the revocation of citizenship of alien Communists, to fight the deportation of alien Communists, and to raise funds for and carry on agitation for the release of imprisoned Communists.

MR. MASON. What is the difference between that and the Civil Liberties Union?

MR. STEELE. Not a great deal.

MR. MASON. But they are two distinct organizations, functioning approximately along the same lines?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. In other words, this is the head of the front of the defense movement. The membership in the I. L. D. in the United States was claimed in 1938 to be 300,000. They claim that in their report, at a convention of the American Association for the Protection of Foreign Born. They reported to them that the membership of the International Labor Defense was 300,000.

Mr. STARNES. What was the name of that committee you just mentioned?

Mr. STEELE. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Mr. STARNES. What sort of an organization is that?

Mr. STEELE. I will get to that later. That is an organization that also defends alien radicals.

The first chairman of the International Labor Defense in this country was A. T. McNamara. The first secretary was James P. Cannon.

The International Labor Defense is an avowed section of the International Red Aid in Moscow. The following is quoted from the Labor Defender, official organ of the I. L. D., March 1930 issue, page 218:

The fifth congress of the Red International of Labor Defense, like the congresses that have gone before, calls upon all militant workers to give energetic support to the various national sections of the M. O. P. R. (the international defense organization, the American section of which is the International Labor Defense).

This is a direct appeal from the fifth world congress of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) to the members of the Trade Union Unity League in America. It is, in fact, a mandate of the greatest importance.

The world organization of the International Labor Defense now numbers 8,540,000 members. We must together build a list of proud achievements to present to the sixth world congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Labor Defender of November 1931, that being the official organ of this movement, contains this statement at page 219:

In the name of seven and a half million members, the central committee of the M. O. P. R. (International Labor Defense) of the Soviet Union sends proletarian greetings to the American International Labor Defense, as well as to the whole revolutionary proletariat of the United States, upon the fourteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution.

This is signed "Central Committee, International Red Aid."

The Labor Defender of September 1931, page 177, carries this statement:

The third plenum of the executive committee of the International Red Aid (International Labor Defense, United States of America), recently held in Moscow, spoke for nearly 9,000,000 members—8,379,556, to be exact.

During the year 1930 the International Red Aid spoke through 61 publications in 25 languages outside of the Soviet Union.

As I stated yesterday, this movement does not operate in Russia, because they do not give their workmen that privilege. This movement is carried on in countries outside of Russia.

On page 56 of the Labor Defender for March 1932, this statement is made:

The executive committee of the International Red Aid (International Labor Defense) has decided to convene a world congress of all its national sections and fraternal organizations, to be held in Moscow November 10, 1935.

November 1932 marks not only the tenth anniversary of the first beginning of our world organization, but it also witnesses the historic fifteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Our International Labor Defense here in the United States, organized in 1925, was preceded, however, 10 years ago, by the organizations set up to lead the resistance against the Palmer raids in 1920, the attacks on the Communist Party, and especially to carry through the tremendous campaign against the raid on and the indictment of scores of delegates to the Communist Party, Bridgeman, Mich., convention in 1922.

Among organizations active in establishing the International Red Aid were the Society of Old Bolsheviks and the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles of Czarism.

In April 1934, page 11, the Labor Defender states:

The International Labor Defense is the American section of the International Red Aid. All together there are 70 sections in every part of the world. It was under the banner of our parent organization that Dimitroff was freed; that the Scottsboro campaign became international.

Article 1 of the Constitution of the International Labor Defense reads—

The name of the organization shall be International Labor Defense, section of International Red Aid.

Voice of Action, July 6, 1934, refers to the "growth from 1925 (39 branches into 800 branches in 1934) in the United States, organized in 70 countries with a membership of 12,000,000." It also states that the circulation of Labor Defender, national organ of the International Labor Defense in the United States, is 40,000; that the I. L. D. has handled 25,000 cases in the United States since 1925. Special emphasis was made on the Sacco-Vanzetti, Gastonia-Marion, N. C., Imperial Valley, Calif.; Scottsboro, Ala.; Herndon, Atlanta, Ga.; and Mooney-Billings cases.

In 1933 the I. L. D. established youth branches in this country, known as Young Defenders. (See What Is the I. L. D., p. 20.)

The I. L. D. cooperates with the American League Against War and Fascism and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. (What Is the I. L. D., p. 20.) It has 800 branches in 47 States. (What Is the I. L. D., p. 15.) The I. L. D. had 200,000 members in the United States in 1934. (What Is the I. L. D., p. 10, published in 1934 by the International Labor Defense.)

The International Labor Defense reported that it had 300,000 members in the United States of America in 1937. (See statement by president, I. L. D., appearing in convention proceedings of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, January 9, 1938, p. 5.)

To give you an idea how this organization is spread over the United States of America, we show how many branches it has in California, which, for instance, is only an average of other States except New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, where the sections are approximately 10 times as numerous.

Here are their branches in California, which the I. L. D. refers to as "section No. 14":

Sacco-Vanzetti branch, San Diego branch, Armenian branch, German branch, Greek branch, Hungarian branch, Japanese branch, Lettish branch, Lithuanian branch, Long Beach branch, Mexican branch, Mooney-Billings branch, Ontario branch, Russian-Ukrainian branch, Santa Barbara branch, Scandinavian branch, and South Slav branch.

It states in the same publication that the affiliated organizations include the Women Consumers Educational League, Unit No. 21 of the Communist Party, Los Angeles; Freiheit Branch 165, I. W. O.; Los

Angeles district and city committee, I. W. O.; Rosa Luxemburg Branch 83, I. W. O.; Morris Vintchevsky Branch 186, I. W. O.; Olgin Branch, I. W. O.; Freiheit Gesangs Verein; Freiheit Mandolin Club; and the Jewish Workers Club.

Now, the *Imprecor*, which is the organ of the Third International, volume 14, No. 14, March 2, 1934, page 349, states:

A straight path leads from the relief association founded in London by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles in aid of the victims of the revolution of 1848 to the founding of the International Red Aid. It commenced with local relief committees and has grown into the world-wide organization of the International Red Aid. It was the Bolsheviks who founded the International Red Aid in response to a suggestion made by the association of revolutionists under Czarism. From the first moment of the existence of the International Red Aid, the Communist International put the whole of its forces at the disposal of this mighty achievement of international proletarian solidarity. Lenin, Stalin, Mannelsky, Piatnitsky, Knorin, and Kuusinev, Clara Zetkin, Marchlevsky, and many other Bolsheviks took up the work of the I. R. A.

On the fifteenth anniversary of the Comintern (Communist International), the International Red Aid greets the Comintern and especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and expresses its revolutionary thanks for the invaluable aid which it has given its work in all countries. Millions of "red" helpers greet the Comintern and its leader, Stalin; millions of "red" helpers call to the struggle and pledge themselves to carry on the struggle steadfastly and resolutely for the emancipation of the proletarian class.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

We shall be victorious. Capitalism must and will be overthrown by us.

Under Arrest, a booklet of instructions for arrested Communists, was issued by the International Labor Defense to its members and members of the Communist Party, its affiliated and cooperating groups. These instructions include:

1. Give no information to arresting officer, either about yourself, or your fellow workers, or any organization which you belong to * * *.
2. If a foreigner, no information of any sort, of the date you landed, the name of the boat, etc.
3. Telephone International Labor Defense headquarters from the jail if there is one, or some responsible friend and tell them.
4. The arrested must be very cautious in discussing the case with other prisoners or visitors while in jail.
5. Sign no statement, confession, or any other paper, no matter how innocent it appears. * * * Refuse firmly to answer any question.
6. Insist upon the right to an immediate hearing.
7. Plead not guilty—never plead guilty.
8. Insist that charge be proved. Do not be fooled by promises of suspended sentences. * * * Insist upon a preliminary hearing. Demand a jury trial. Demand a bail be fixed and that bail be low.
9. Make the court your forum for a clear and correct explanation of the economic and social views which you hold, of the facts of the class struggle as applied to your case.
10. Bring out class issues.
11. Answer questions your own way. In criminal syndicalism, or other political cases, the worker will be confronted with the question, "Do you believe in force and violence?" If you are forced to answer this question, refuse to give a "Yes" or "No" answer. Insist upon your own explanation along the following lines:

Class-conscious workers believe that all the tools and means of production, all of the social wealth belong to the toiling masses, who alone produce it. It must not be the private property of a handful of bosses. A greater and greater number of workers and poor farmers are becoming conscious of this, and are organizing themselves to take over all the wealth, natural and social, in order to receive the full product of their toil.

"Militant workers, in defending themselves in capitalist courts, upon being questioned as to the 'overthrow of the Government by force and violence,' have argued as follows: 'As in past history, so at present, the masses of workers will be fully justified, historically and socially, in using means, including force and violence, in defense against capitalist force and violence and in a revolutionary situation, to dislodge capitalism and replace it with a classless social order that will have neither oppressors nor oppressed.'"

The International Labor Defense has cooperated with and has had the cooperation of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers Defense League, the General Defense Committee, I. W. W., American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Communist Party, C. I. O., and American League Against War and Fascism. The American Fund for Public Service and the American Civil Liberties Union contributed large sums of money to the original fund of the I. L. D.—see American Fund for Public Service financial report—and the annual reports of the A. C. L. U. The receipts and expenditures of the I. L. D. have been from \$40,000 to \$200,000 or more annually (see yearly financial report).

For the purpose of showing how the radical organizations in the United States are all interlocked, we will note the official positions held by each of the officers of the International Labor Defense in other radical organizations.

Vito Marcantonio (former Member of Congress), president, I. L. D., 1937; advisory board, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; candidate for Congress on Communist Party ticket, 1936; chairman, committee on aliens' civil rights (A. C. L. U.), 1933; sponsor, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, 1936; signer, McNamara and Schmidt pardon petition, 1936; sponsor, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; subcommittee chairman, American Labor Party, 1937; member, Consumers Union of United States, 1938.

Anna Damon, secretary, I. L. D.; candidate, central committee of Communist Party, 1932; advisory board, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1935; editorial board, Labor Defender; national executive committee, American section, International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism, Paris, 1934; chairman, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; Daily Worker (official organ of Communist Party) correspondent; member, women's section, Communist Party, 1938.

William L. Patterson, national secretary, I. L. D.; Communist Party candidate, mayor of New York, 1933; editorial board, Labor Defender; editor, Midwest Daily Record, 1938; speaker, antilynching bill mass meeting, Chicago, March 6, 1938, sponsored by National Negro Congress; appealed to Negroes to join Communist Party.

Joseph Brodsky, chief counsel, I. L. D.; national advisory council, Workers (Communist) Schools, New York City; member, American Committee for Struggle Against War; executive committee, Political Prisoners Bail Fund; member, League for Mutual Aid; Speaker for I. L. D. in defense of Scottsboro boys, 1935; Joint Committee for Defense of Brazilian People; advisory council, Book Union; sponsor, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor; sponsor, Jewish People's Committee; general council, I. W. C.

Max Bedacht, editor, The Communist, 1930; Communist Party candidate, Congress, New York; author, Workers Library Pub-

lishers; contributing editor, *New Pioneer*, 1931; executive committee, Workers Schools, New York City; central committee, Communist Party, United States of America; Communist Party candidate, Senate, 1936; general secretary, International Workers Order; National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, Washington, D. C., 1935; national committee, I. L. D.; national executive committee, American League Against War and Fascism; Communist Party convention committee, 1936; advisory council, Book Union; editor, *The New Order*, official organ of the International Workers Order.

Clara Bodian, national advisory board, I. L. D.; Communist Party candidate, Assembly, New York, 1934; administration secretary, American League Against War and Fascism; national executive committee, American section, International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism (Paris), 1934; writer, *Daily Worker*.

Robert W. Dunn, national committee, I. L. D.; national committee, American Civil Liberty Union; secretary, American Fund for Public Service; board of directors, All-American Anti-Imperialist League; member, Federated Press; member, John Reed Club; Marcus Graham Defense Committee; contributing editor, *New Masses*; author, *Workers Library Publishers*; national committee, League of Struggle for Negro Rights; prisoners relief fund; contributing editor, *New Pioneer*, 1931; National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation; contributing editor, *Labor Defender*, 1931; contributing editor, *Friends of Soviet Union Magazine*, 1931; National Advisory Council, Workers Schools, New York City; signer of letter to President Roosevelt for recognition of Russia, 1933; supporter, National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, 1934; member, League for Mutual Aid; editorial board, Book Union; signer, *A Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials*, 1938.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national committee, I. L. D.; executive committee and advisory board, Friends of Soviet Union; member, prisoners relief fund; national committee, A. C. L. U.; national committee, International Workers' Aid; national advisory council, Workers Schools, New York City.; member, League for Mutual Aid; sponsoring committee, testimonial dinner to Norman Thomas, 1936; member, Communist Party; editorial board, *Woman Today*; executive secretary, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; instructor, Workers School, New York City; member, central committee, Communist Party; communist organizer, Bronx, N. Y.; signer, *A Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials*, 1938.

James W. Ford, national advisory board, I. L. D.; American Negro Labor Congress; vice chairman, Anti-Imperialist League; Negro organizer, Trade Union Unity League; arrangements committee, United States Congress Against War; endorser, First National Convention, Friends of Soviet Union; Communist Party candidate, vice president of the United States; national executive committee, American League Against War and Fascism; member, central committee, Communist Party; editor, *New South* (Communist publication), 1938.

William Z. Foster, national committee, I. L. D., Communist Party candidate, Governor, New York; national committee, A. C. L. U.; executive committee and advisory board, Friends of Soviet Union;

presidium, Metal Workers Industrial Union; endorser, National Unemployment League; secretary-treasurer, Trade Union Unity League; author, Workers Library Publishers; national committee, League of Struggle for Negro Rights; contributing editor, "New Pioneer"; Workers Cultural Federation; central committee, Communist Party, United States of America; arrangements committee, United States Congress Against War; supporter, National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism; National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, Washington, D. C., 1935; Communist Party Convention Committee, 1936; sponsor, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937.

Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer, national advisory board, I. L. D.; sponsor, Consumers Union, 1938.

Jessica Henderson, national committee, I. L. D.; member of People's Lobby; national executive committee, American section, International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism (Paris), 1934; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937.

Angelo Herndon, national advisory board, I. L. D.; presiding committee, Communist National Convention, 1936; board of editors, Champion of Youth; Communist Party candidate, New York State Assembly, 1936; national vice president, Workers Alliance; national unemployed committee for Browder and Ford; vice president, Young Communist League; sponsor, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; national committee, Negro Congress; national advisory committee, Commonwealth College; appealed to Negroes to join Communist Party, 1937; editorial board, Young Communist Review, 1938.

Tom Mooney, national advisory board, International Labor Defense; sponsor, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937.

Samuel Ornitz, national advisory board, I. L. D.; contributing editor, New Masses; National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners; National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation; signer of Anti-Imperialist League protest against United States aid to Japan against China, 1932; signer of pledge supporting Communist Party Presidential candidates, 1932; Motion Picture Artists Committee of Anti-Nazi League, Los Angeles, 1937.

Joseph Pass, national advisory board, I. L. D.; member of John Reed Club; Prisoners Relief Fund, 1931; National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners; contributing editor, Labor Defender; secretarial staff, American League Against War and Fascism; editor, The Fight Against War and Fascism.

Louise Thompson, national committee, I. L. D.; arrangements committee, United States Congress Against War; national executive committee, American League Against War and Fascism; editorial board, Woman Today; National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners; national executive committee, American section, International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism (Paris), 1934; committee of professional groups for Browder and Ford; sponsor mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; national committee, I. W. O.; member, women's section, Communist Party; associate editor, New Order, official organ of I. W. O.; Communist Party organizer, Negro section.

Maude White: National committee, I. L. D.; Cleveland committee, Communist Party, 1938.

Anita Whitney: National advisory board, I. L. D.; national committee, All American Anti-Imperialist League. Prisoners Relief Fund; National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation; national committee, International Workers' Aid; national advisory council, Workers Schools, New York City; Communist Party candidate, Congress, 1936; sponsors, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; State chairman, California, Communist Party.

David J. Bental: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; national committee, International Workers' Aid; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor.

Ben Davis, Jr.: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; editor The Negro Liberator; National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, Washington, D. C., 1935; trustee, Political Prisoners Bail Fund; member of League for Mutual Aid; Communist Party candidate, State senate, New York, 1936; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor; writer, Daily and Sunday Worker; appealed to Negroes to join Communist Party, 1937; editor New South, communist publication, 1936.

John P. Davis: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; National Negro Congress; Joint Committee for Defense of Brazilian People; sponsor, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; national council, Inter-Professional Association for Social Insurance; endorser, People's Congress, 1937; sponsor of meeting, auspices American League Against War and Fascism and American Friends of Chinese People, 1937.

Leo Gallagher: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; contributing editor, The Open Forum, 1930; Los Angeles committee, American Civil Liberties Union, national committee for Student Congress Against War, 1932; advisory council, Book Union; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; sponsor, Friends of Abraham Lincoln Battalion; Communist Party candidate, associate justice, Supreme Court of California.

Edward Kuntz: Legal Advisory Committee, I. L. D.; lecturer, Workers School, New York City.

Edward Lamb: Legal Advisory Committee, I. L. D.; national executive board, National Lawyers Guild; attorney for John Steuben, C. I. O., tried for sedition, Youngstown, Ohio.

Yetta Land: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; Communist Party candidate, county prosecutor, Ohio, 1936.

Louis F. McCabe: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; national executive board, National Lawyers Guild.

Isaac Shorr: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Joseph Tauber: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; lecturer, Workers School, New York City.

Ruth Weyand: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D.; national executive board, National Lawyers Guild.

A. L. Wirin: Legal advisory committee, I. L. D., American Civil Liberties Union attorney, New York City.

Grace Hutchins: Treasurer, I. L. D.; member, Federated Press; John Reed Club; Contributing editor New Pioneer; National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners; National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation; contributing editor, Labor

Defender; signer of Anti-Imperialist League protest against United States' aid to Japan against China; national advisory council, Workers Schools, New York City; Communist Party candidate, supreme court justice, New York; Labor Research Association; sponsor, National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, Washington, D. C., 1935; contributor, Soviet Russia Today; editorial board, Woman Today; national executive committee, American section, International Women's Congress Against War and Facism (Paris), 1934; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; opposed New York State Legislature bill barring Communists from office, 1938.

Rose Baron; Secretary, Prisoners Relief Fund of the I. L. D.; is an old-timer in the international revolutionary movement. On March 2, 1918, when Soviet Russia was threatened by Germany, she wired the following message to Lenin and Trotsky, as an official of the International Social Revolutionary Group, 319 Second Avenue, New York City: "You have our whole-hearted faith and support. Ready to organize and send you international revolutionary army from America." Rose Baron, at that time, was also a member of the general committee of the League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners, unquestionably the forerunner of the I. L. D. The legal adviser of that organization was Isaac Hourwich, the head of the statistical department of the Martens (communist) Bureau in New York City. Margaret Sanger, of birth-control fame; Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Robert Minor, Helen Keller, Alex Cohen, Elizabeth Freeman, Ross Strunsky, Emma Goldman, Harry Weinberger, and others were also on this committee.

Among the sponsors of the 1937 Christmas drive to raise \$25,000, conducted by the Prisoners Relief Fund, were Mary E. Woolley, formerly president of Mount Holyoke College; Hannah M. Stone, Babette Deutsch, Josephine Herbst, Leane Zugsmith, and Stella Adler.

The following is a list of the district headquarters and officers of the International Labor Defense:

Carl Hacker, Mike Walsh, George Maurer, 22 East Seventeenth Street, New York City.

Joe Gaal, M. Stern, 49 North Eighth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bill Browder, Herbert Newton, S. Rubicki, 1703 West Madison Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

G. Kristalsky, A. Gerlack, 2539 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

J. Schiffer, W. C. Sandberg, 750 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

Fred Bell, James Dolsen, 424 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

F. Spector, Ida Roth, 1005 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Frommer, Wesley Randall, 309 Lyons Building, Seattle, Wash.

D. Eil, George Kaplan, 1018 Fifteenth Street, Denver, Colo.

Harry Cantor, 5 Harrison Street, Boston, Mass.

I. A. Sheppard, Charlotte, N. C.

Pettis Perry, 1275 Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.

Robert Wood, Donald Burke, Birmingham, Ala.

J. Lokus, Paul Kaufman, 926 North Plankinton Avenue, Milwaukee.

Tom Foley, L. S. Cuthill, 10 South Third Street, route 34, Minneapolis.

Robert E. Burns, Atlanta, Ga.

Hannah Blumenthal, Youngstown, Ohio.

William Zukerman, Henry Wright, 881 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y.

A. Tonaken, Robert Linn, 429 Elm Street, New Haven, Conn.

Owen S. Penny, 812 Wyandotte Street, Kansas City, Mo.

M. Colino, post-office box, drawer B, Ybor City, Fla.

Louis Berger, Baltimore, Md.

E. M. Richmond, 2404 Parker Avenue, Omaha, Nebr.

Walt Packard, Graham, N. C.

Harry Lipshutz, 196 Market Street Newark, N. J.

Ann Miller, New Orleans, La.

In greeting the Soviet Union on the occasion of the seventeenth anniversary of the Communist revolution, the Labor Defender, in November 1934, published a statement which read in part :

Here we wish to convey the greetings of the 200,000 members and affiliates of the International Labor Defense to the soviet workers and peasants, and to pledge defense to the only land that is an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted of all nations. * * *

In endorsing the International Labor Defense, the Third International of Moscow said (Dimitroff, Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, Labor Defender, December 1935, p. 10) :

The political and moral assistance which the International Labor Defense organizations render our prisoners and their families, to political emigrants, to persecuted revolutionaries and anti-Fascists has saved the lives and preserved the strength and fighting capacity of thousands upon thousands of most valuable fighters of the working class in many countries. Those of us who have been in jail have found out directly through our own experience the enormous significance of the activity of the International Labor Defense.

It must become, so to speak, a sort of "red cross" of the army of the united front of the proletariat and the anti-Fascist people's front embracing millions—the "red cross" of the army of the toiling masses embattled against fascism, fighting for peace and socialism.

Robert Minor, internationally known Communist and a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, active during the past year (1937-38) in Spain for the Loyalists, was chairman of the Gallup defense committee of the I. L. D. in 1932. Anna Damon was acting national secretary. Members of this group organized agitation and raised funds to be used in the defense of arrested Communists in New Mexico, whose rioting resulted in the Governor of the State declaring martial law in Gallup.

The New York district of the I. L. D. staged a Scottsboro mass project in Union Square, New York City, in 1932. The speakers were William Patterson, Joseph R. Brodsky, Richard Moor, John J. Ballam, of the I. L. D.; J. B. Mathews, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Donald Henderson, at that time a member of the National Student League (now head of the C. I. O. Agricultural Workers and Camers Union); Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union; Clarence Hathaway, of the Communist Party; and Joshua Kunitz, chairman of the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners.

During the trial of the Scottsboro (Ala.) Negroes, a three-act play entitled "Scottsboro," written by Sasha Small, one of the editors of the official organ of the I. L. D., contributing editor to the Young Communist publication, New Pioneer, and a member of the national executive committee of the American section of the International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism, was presented in all of the principal cities throughout the country for agitational and fund-raising purposes. A financial statement, said to have been audited by Morris A. Greenbaum, of New York City, dated August 31, 1934, showed that \$61,825.23 had been raised in behalf of the Scottsboro boys.

A pamphlet, *Labor's Martyrs*, dealing with the Haymarket (1887) and Sacco and Vanzetti (1927) affairs, issued by the I. L. D. and signed by Vito Marcantonio, with the introduction by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, was printed in October 1937 by the Communist Party publishers, Workers Library Publishers, Inc.

Another booklet, *Ten Years of Labor Defense*, written by Sasha Small and published by the International Labor Defense, contains the greetings and endorsements of the I. L. D. by G. Dimitroff, of Moscow, head of the Third (Communist) International, and William D. Haywood, former I. W. W. leader in the United States. On page 8 of this booklet it is stated that the I. L. D. has 800 branches in this country. It reviews the many important cases in which it has been implicated, such as the Sacco-Vanzetti, McNamara, Tom Mooney, Gallup, N. Mex., Wheatland, Calif., Imperial Valley, Calif., the Maryland, Florida, and Gastonia, N. C., cases. It reviews several of the battles it waged against deportation of alien Communist leaders, and admits its affiliation with the International Red Aid of Moscow. The I. L. D. reports that it charges only 25 cents for initiation fee, and 20 cents a month for dues, yet it spends from \$100,000 to \$200,000 annually in the United States.

Isobel Walker Soule, member of the advisory board of the magazine, *Woman Today*, and a member of the women's section of the Communist Party (*Daily Worker*, January 6, 1938, p. 2), is chief propagandist for the I. L. D.

The I. L. D. has received thousands of dollars from the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Fund for Public Service, in addition to other sources. Within the past 13 years its receipts (estimated) have amounted to approximately \$2,600,000 for the American section of this one Communist organization alone.

John Spargo, former Socialist leader in the United States, stated in November 1933 (reference to which appeared in the *New York Times*) that *Pravda*, official organ of the Communist Party, published a statement to the effect that at that time (1933) the M. O. P. R. (International Red Aid), of which the I. L. D. is the American section, "was mainly responsible" for the "agitation in connection with the coal strike conflict in Harlan County, Ky."

Carol King, secretary of the International Juridical Association, New York City, presided over the I. L. D. conference which was held in New York City on December 8, 1935.

Louis Engdahl, for years general secretary of the American section of the I. L. D., died after an extensive illness in Moscow, while William L. Patterson, present national secretary of the organization, was recuperating from a long illness there in 1935.

The International Labor Defense opened a legislative committee office in Washington, D. C., in December 1937 in the Denrike Building to guide "progressive" legislation through Congress. Likewise, in January 1938, it opened several State legislative bureaus, one of which is located in Albany, N. Y. These bureaus are working to guide local legislation through State legislatures.

In the closing days of the last session of Congress (1938) the I. L. D. introduced H. R. 10543 and 10544, which was sponsored by Congressman John M. Coffee, of the State of Washington. These bills

were aimed at the curtailment of activities of the National Guard in so-called "worker disputes." In the May 24, 1938 (p. 2), issue of the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party in the United States, the I. L. D. condemned the National Guard as a "strikebreaking organization receiving compensation and gifts from large corporations, superseding civil authorities, etc."

The I. L. D. names its branches after Communist leaders, i. e., Ruthenberg Branch, Detroit; Sacco-Vanzetti branch; Russian Bill Haywood branch, Detroit; Mooney-Billings branch, San Francisco; Karl Liebknecht branch, New York City; John Reed Branch, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Lenin branch, Los Angeles; Karl Marx branch, Philadelphia, (*Labor Defender*, November 1931, pp. 225, 226, 227).

On November 21-22, 1937, the New York State I. L. D. held a meeting at which was formed what the members considered to be a real united front of action for legislative purposes. One hundred and seventy delegates were reported present. They voted the adoption of the program. It was announced that 36 of the delegates represented C. I. O. unions, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers, National Maritime, Hand Laundry Alliance, and the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. Forty-nine were said to represent fraternal, political, and welfare movements. It was at this meeting that the lobbies were ordered set up in Washington, Albany, and elsewhere. An intensified campaign for the release of Mooney and Billings was voted. The delegates also voted to cooperate with Labor's Non-Partisan League, and to fight for the right of seamen to vote in elections.

The following is a list of those who have been attorneys for the I. L. D.: Leo Gallagher, San Francisco; David Levinson, Philadelphia; Bernard Ades, Baltimore, Md.; Irvin Schwab, New York City; William Banks, Detroit, Mich.; Maurice Sugar, Detroit, Mich.; Oliver C. Hancock, Atlanta, Ga.; David Bentall, Chicago, Ill.; Edward Speigel, Chicago, Ill.; Ben Davis, Jr., and John Greer.

The editors of *Labor Defender*, official organ of the I. L. D. are listed therein as being William L. Patterson, Sasha Small, Louis Coleman; contributing editors, Prof. John Dos Passos (of Columbia University), Robert W. Dunn, Eugene Gordon, Alfred Hirsch, Hans Hoffman, Grace Hutchins, Philip Jaffe, M. Kemman, Conrad Kemrowski, H. Kravif, Melvin P. Levy, Joseph Pass, Paul Peters, and Ludwig Renn. Henri Barbusse, Maxim Gorki, Louis Enodabl, and Lincoln Steffens, French, Russian, and American Communists, were, until their deaths during the past few years, also on the staff of *Labor Defender*.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE AS OF JULY 12, 1938

(National office, moved to 112 East Nineteenth Street, room 504, New York City)

Vito Marcantonio, national president.

William L. Patterson, first vice president; Richard B. Moore, Winifred Channell,

Jan Wittenber, A. R. Newhoff, Henry Shepard, Elaine Black, vice presidents.

Anna Damon, national secretary.

Louis Colman, assistant national secretary.

Robert Dunn, national treasurer.

Rose Baron, national prisoners relief director

Sasha Small, publicity and publication director.

LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

George R. Andersen.	Irvin Goodman.	Prof. Leon A. Ransom.
Hart E. Baker.	Grover C. Johnson.	Samuel L. Rothbard.
David J. Bentall.	Carol King.	Sylvia Schlesinger.
Joseph R. Brodsky.	Edward Kuntz.	Isaac Shorr.
Gilberto Concepcion.	Edward Lamb.	Joseph Tauber.
Ben Davis, Jr.	Yetta Land.	Prof. Herbert T. Wechsler.
John P. Davis.	Vito Marcantonio.	Saul C. Waldbaum.
J. Allan Frankel.	Louis F. McCabe.	Ruth Weyand.
Leo Gallagher.	Herman L. Midlo.	A. L. Wirin.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Rose Baron.	Robert Fitzgerald.	Dwight C. Morgan.
Elaine Black.	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.	A. R. Newhoff.
Ella Reeve Bloor.	Leo Gallagher.	Herbert Nugent.
Timothy Burr.	Rojelio Gomez.	Robert Parker.
Winifred Chappell.	Irvin Goodman.	William L. Patterson.
Gifford Cochran.	Lillian Goodman.	Henry Shepard.
Louis Colman.	Carl Hacker.	Albert Simmons.
Anna Damon.	Clarence Hathaway.	Lawrence Simpson.
Ben Davis, Jr.	Angelo Herndon.	Sasha Small.
John P. Davis.	Dirk de Jonge.	Mary A. Sweres.
Samuel I. Dlugin.	Rockwell Kent.	Errol White.
Robert Dum.	Vito Marcantonio.	James Waterman Wise.
Alfred L. Ellis.	La Rue McCormick.	Jan Wittenber.
Ralph Emerson.	Richard B. Moore.	

NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Max Bedacht.	Jessica Henderson.	Joseph Pass.
Clara Bodian.	J. B. McNamara.	Isobel Walker Soule.
Dr. Arnold Donawa.	Bruce Minton.	Louise Thompson.
James W. Ford.	Tom Meyerscough.	Maude White.
William Z. Foster.	Tom Mooney.	Anita C. Whitney.
Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer.	Samuel Ornitz.	Mrs. Ada Wright.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have all that matter pretty well before us.

Mr. STEELE. May I bring out one point: I have stated their instructions are issued in pamphlet form to members who may be placed under arrest. They instruct them to give fictitious names, wrong addresses, to deny everything, and to use the courtroom as a forum of revolution. That is stated in their own instructions to their members, and I have noted them in detail here. I have also listed the officers, and, Mr. Chairman, I would like, if possible, to insert this in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. STEELE. It is the document I have been reading from.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to be careful about inserting matter in the record. However, we will take it under advisement.

Mr. STEELE. I have taken their officers, and have shown their membership in all these various movements. I have taken each officer in each of the movements, and have shown where they stand in the leadership of these many other movements I have been talking about. I did that for the reason that it shows an interlocking connection between all these movements through that sort of control.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you take up the next subject.

Mr. STEELE. Now, there is the Workers' International Relief. This organization was founded in 1921, and it maintains an American sec-

tion by the same name. "Solidarity and fraternity" is its published slogan. It is a section of the International Red Aid, the same as this organization I have just been talking about. Until his death recently, the former Bishop William Montgomery Brown was the national chairman of the organization in the United States. He was forced to resign from the Methodist Episcopal Church because of his radical activities. He died a few months ago, having willed the Communist Party \$345,000. As I have said, he was the president of this organization until his death a few months ago. The official organ of this movement in the United States is Solidarity. In their organ they tell of their direct connection with the Red International at Moscow. It is a section in this country and actively cooperates with other branches of the Communist movement in this country. They tell about their having launched a drive for funds to finance the first hunger march to Washington. This organization financed that drive, and I have their own documents to show it. During the Gastonia, N. C., Communist revolution, or uprising, the Workers' International Relief launched a drive calling for the names of 1,000,000 workers to be sent to the International Labor Defense and the Workers International Relief for the defense of 15 national textile workers' union members who were being tried for murder.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a branch of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; this is a separate movement entirely. This carries on relief work, and the other carries on defense work. They are two different movements.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we know generally what that is.

Mr. STEELE. The next one is the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. This organization is set up in this country, they say, to fight against the deportation of aliens, and for the repeal of all laws which deal with immigration quotas. Their idea is to do away with all laws that set quotas. They want free admission.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a general idea of that. Do you have a list of the officers of the American Civil Liberties Union there?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; but there are so many of them that it would take over an hour to read them.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you go ahead and give us what you have on that.

Mr. STEELE. This organization, according to Report No. 2290 of the House Committee Investigating Communist Activities in the United States, Seventy-first Congress, third session, classifies the American Civil Liberties Union as being "Closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are in behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law."

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the principal points about them.

Mr. STEELE. I have a list of their officers here from year to year. This is one of the organizations that Mr. John L. Lewis denounced as a Communist organization in 1924. Do you have a copy of Mr. Lewis' pamphlet of that date?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not believe we have.

Mr. STEELE. It includes a denunciation at that time of communism, and includes the organizations we have been dealing with here. I think I have a copy of his pamphlet. This document was printed by the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. We have that.

Who was the most noted Communist officer of that organization?

Mr. STEELE. Mr. William Z. Foster was. I do not know whether he is now, or not, but he was one of the highest authorities in the Communist Party, and has been connected with it, according to their own list of officers, in the past. We have every reason to believe that it is Communist, and that Robert Dunn is still on the organization's list. I would not want to say what the others are, because I have not checked up on it from that angle.

WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

(949 Broadway, 131 West Twenty-eighth Street, 16 West Twenty-first Street, New York City)

This organization was founded in 1921. It maintains an "American section" by the same name. "Solidarity and fraternity" is its published slogan. Until his death recently, the former Bishop William Montgomery Brown was national chairman in the United States. On his death, early in 1938, in Galion, Ohio, he willed the Communist Party \$345,000. Mercel Sherer is national secretary. Beatrice Carlin is secretary of the New York City local. The official organ of the Workers' International Relief in the United States is *Solidarity*.

The international, with which the American section is affiliated, was organized in 1921. The official organ of the Third (Communist) International, *International Press Correspondence*, better known as *Imprecor* (No. 59, p. 1235, column 2), says in part:

The central committee of the Workers International Relief publishes the following appeal. In August 1931 it will be 10 years since, on Lenin's suggestion, the Workers' International Relief was founded. In the nearly 10 years of its existence the Workers' International Relief has carried through wearily, and thanks to self-sacrificing support of millions of toilers in all countries, a number of international relief actions of the greatest political importance, and supported thousands of strikes and economic struggles. * * * Since its existence the Workers' International Relief has collected the huge sum of three and one-half to four million pounds and distributed it.

The Workers' International Relief is today an important and indispensable portion of the revolutionary labor front and is acquiring an ever-increasing importance for the class struggles as a result of economic mass fights. * * *

The Workers' International Relief today numbers in its organizations 15 to 16 million individual and collective workers. During the last few months a number of W. I. R. organizations have recruited a considerable number of new members, while in a number of other countries new W. I. R. sections have been set up. * * *

It is our aim, by means of the "10 years' recruitment," to reach the figure of 20,000,000 members of the Workers' International Relief by the time of the International Congress (spring 1931).

When the Workers' International Relief was first organized it was known as the International Workers' Aid. George Kraska was its secretary in 1927. According to the March 6, 1927, issue of the *New York Times* it was "designed from the start by the Communists as an instrument of the united-front maneuver. Further details of how well-meaning liberals, including some prominent educators, scientists, writers, and politicians, are being used by the Communist International for propaganda purposes are given in a report on the make-up and activities of the International Red Aid, sometimes called the Communist Red Cross and the International Class War Prisoners' Aid, issued on February 5, 1927." In two Communist

leaflets, *Over One Million, and Workers Show Your Solidarity*, the International Workers' Aid is called *Workers' Red Cross of America*. It is shown in one of these leaflets that the organization poured money into the strike areas of the British coal miners in 1927. The March 6, 1927, issue of the *New York Times* also stated that M. Lepeshinsky, with headquarters in the Soviet Union, was chairman of the central committee.

Rose Pastor Stokes, wealthy Communist, was the national camp director of the Workers' International Relief in the United States in 1931. Theodore Dreiser and Henri Barbusse (a French Communist) were endorsers of the movement, according to W. I. R. literature. Professor Albert Einstein has also openly endorsed it.

The activity in the United States of the W. I. R. included the financing of the first Nation-wide Communist march on the National Capital at Washington in 1931. This was known in red circles as the Hunger March. Its appeal to members of its organization for funds for the march carried an endorsement of its activities by Prof. Albert Einstein.

Another appeal for funds was issued March 14, 1931, "for summer camps for children." It reported at that time that the W. I. R. had taken care of hundreds of American youth at such camps for a period of 2 weeks at a time the previous summer. The camp located at Van Etten, N. Y., was closed by law-enforcement officers after complaints were made by the American Legion. The Legion charged that revolution and hate were being taught the youth attending the camp. Two of the leaders and teachers at the camp, Mabel Husa and Arlene Holmes, were arrested on charges of "insulting the flag" at the camp. Pictures of the youth at the camp were published in the Communist organ *Labor Defender*, September 1930 issue, p. 177. They show those in attendance at the camp lined up giving the Communist salute. The hammer and sickle of communism, the red flag, was prominently displayed at the camp.

In announcing International Solidarity Day, June 14, in which it asked all radical organizations to turn out in demonstration in all sections of the country, the appeal was not only signed by the Workers' International Relief, but also by the Anti-Imperialist League, United Council of Working-Class Women, Young Pioneers, International Workers' Order, Trade Union Unity League, National Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, National Unemployed Councils and Workers' Ex-Service Men's League. Attached to this appeal was an application for membership in the W. I. R. The appeal was headed: "Workers—Turn Out in Powerful Numbers in Support of International Solidarity Day, for Bread and Freedom, Against the Rich, for the Poor, Against Imperialist War, for Defense of the Soviet Union." It stated that the "Workers' International Relief has participated with all its strength in the coal miners' strikes of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia," and in the "Hunger March to Washington," in the "strikes of Lawrence and Allentown textile workers, the heroic strike of the Kentucky and Tennessee coal miners," the "German seamen's strike in American ports, the New York shoe workers, Colorado beet workers," etc.

This appeal was circulated in Washington, D. C., and a meeting was held on June 14 at 8:30 p. m. at what was then the Communist

Party headquarters, 1337 Thirteenth Street. A play was given by members of the W. I. R. In addition to its many other activities, the organization maintains a drama section. A number of addresses were delivered during the course of the evening.

Seymour Burns, secretary of the W. I. R. in 1932, spoke before a gathering assembled at Musicians Hall, 1006 E Street NW., Washington, D. C., on January 11, 1932, in behalf of the Kentucky Miners Relief Committee. Charles Guinn and William Poe, reported to have been strikers from the coal fields of Kentucky, also addressed the audience. The W. I. R. paraded these men at their drive meetings.

During the Gastonia, N. C., Communist revolution, the W. I. R. launched a drive calling for the names of 1,000,000 to be sent to the International Labor Defense and the W. I. R. for the defense of "15 National Textile Workers Union members" who were being tried for murder. Following presentation of the bail by the "reds," these 15 escaped to Russia and found protection there.

On a letterhead of the Workers' International Relief one finds the following list of officers: The late Bishop William Montgomery Brown, national chairman; Ludwig Landy, executive secretary; Emjo Basshe, director. Members of the national committee included Arthur Bodanzki, Heywood Brown, Prof. John Dos Passos, William Gropper, Harold Hickerson, Serge Koussevitzki, Eva La Gallienne, Louis Lozowick, Kenneth MacGowan, Clarina Michelson, Eugene Nigob, Harry Alan Potamkin, Leopold Stokowski, and Edmund Wilson. Endorsers of the organization, according to the letterhead, included Henri Barbusse, Theodore Dreiser, Prof. Albert Einstein, and Upton Sinclair. The letterhead on which these names appeared carried a statement to the effect that the W. I. R. had "thirteen camps for workers' children * * * in various parts of the country last year (1928) * * * and we are planning to establish many more next summer (1929)."

A letter sent out over the name of Fred G. Biedenkapp, executive secretary of the Workers' International Relief, "American Section of the Workers' International Relief," in December 1927, made the following announcement: "Please take notice that beginning with January 1, 1928, the name of our organization will be changed from International Workers' Aid to Workers' International Relief, 1 Union Square, New York, N. Y." A letterhead issued July 1, 1928, had printed thereon the name, "International Workers' Aid—the Workers' Red Cross." D. J. Bentall's name appeared as treasurer and F. G. Biedenkapp, executive secretary. The national committee then included Alexander Trachtenberg, Charlotte Anita Whitney, Edgar Owens, J. Louis Engdahl, Ella Reeve Bloor, Kate Craue Gartz, Scott Nearing, and other prominent Communists.

In another document the W. I. R. speaks of offering "motion-picture films" from Russia and states that various pictures may be obtained by local theaters at a cost of from \$20 to \$50. These films included Breaking Chains, Visit to Soviet Russia, and Polikushka. All of these pictures "must be shown as run under the auspices of cultural activities department of the Workers' International Relief." The W. I. R. offered to supply "ample advertising material" with the films.

The W. I. R. refers to its "technical aid department" in another release and "delegates to Moscow" for the "thirteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution," and at the same time the "World Congress of the W. I. R." An all-expense round trip, including "everything" was mentioned at \$287.

The "Workers' International Relief Scouts" are referred to in an official release of the organization. This is its youth movement, and the members thereof are asked to "penetrate the schools and neighborhoods" and enlist the aid of others in "demonstrations, strikes, and relief work." The W. I. R. also maintains a "photo service" to "red" newspapers and journals.

A section of the W. I. R. appears to be the International Red Aid Society, Salvador section. The Caribbean secretariat of this branch was located at 80 East Eleventh Street, R. 480, New York City. The following information was requested in filling out the member tickets: Name, group, office, city, department, country, date of admission, signature of the group secretary, contributions paid, from—transferred to, group, city, and country.

I quote herewith from Labor Fact Book, published by the Communist publishing house in New York City (p. 205):

Communist members are active in * * * the Workers' International Relief which provides direct relief * * * to strikers and others engaged in militant activity. Still another is the Anti-Imperialist League of the United States which fights for the "immediate and unconditional independence of all colonial peoples from foreign imperialist rule." * * *

Since its existence the W. I. R. has collected and distributed the enormous sum of \$20,000,000. * * *

The following is quoted from the August 1931 issue of Solidarity, page 10:

The W. I. R. is a workers' Red Cross—a real "red" cross that is part of the fighting armies of the working class.

Solidarity, August 1931, page 14:

The W. I. R. is developing a proletarian cultural movement that organizes workers' theatrical groups, music groups, dance groups, film groups, etc., in order to carry to the masses of workers the story of the workers' struggles. (Marcel Scherer, executive secretary, W. I. R.)

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have the names on the list.

MR. STEELE. There is another organization supposed to be an aid to the Communist movement called the International Committee for Political Prisoners. It was organized in 1924, and the national chairman is Roger N. Baldwin, who is also a director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Baldwin, by the way, stated in the Harvard class book that "Communism is the goal." Those were his own words, written into the Harvard yearbook. This organization protested against the action of France in expelling Robert Minor, an American "red." He was a member of the Communist Party here, and they raised funds with which to carry on their agitation. They opposed the deportation of two Communists down in Brazil, and, also, protested against the death sentence passed upon the Hamburg Communist leaders, Edgar Andre and Lieselotte Herman, who were two Communist leaders in Germany. They cabled the Hungarian Minister on November 11 and 29, 1937, requesting the dismissal of charges of treason against George Pikler, who was charged with selling Hun-

garian military information to the Third Communist International in Moscow. They also filed their protest with the authorities in Venezuela over the arrest of Miguel Otero Silva, the radical Venezuelan poet.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have sufficient information on that organization.

Mr. STEELE. There is another aid group, called the League for Mutual Aid, which was organized in January 1920 in an effort to bring radicals of all shades of opinion together for mutual help. It aids political prisoners and radical agitators, and lends money to workers without interest "to tide them over." For the fiscal year ending April 30, 1929, the league made 71 loans, amounting to \$7,170. In 1930 its membership was only 600. Its documents indicate, however, that from a "baker's dozen" it has grown into a league, with members from Maine to California. The membership fee in the organization is \$5 a year. It maintains a loan fund, paying interest on deposits and loans to "needy" radicals. It has organized an employment service to assist radicals in obtaining positions. The league promotes parties and dances, furnishing "social contacts with worth-while people."

I have a list of the officers of the league, and some of them are officers of other organizations I have discussed.

Now, there is a movement in this country known as the Friends of Soviet Union, with national headquarters in New York City. According to the report of a congressional committee in 1931, this movement is referred to as one of the Communist subsidiary organizations. The statement is made there that "the Communist Party of America has a great many subsidiary and auxiliary organizations, through which it endeavors to function and penetrate into almost every field of human activity." They then list 25 of the principal organizations, one of which is this movement known as the Friends of the Soviet Union.

One of their pamphlets is entitled "Who Are the Friends of the Soviet Union?" Among other statements made in that pamphlet is the following:

Affirming the essential identity of interests of the working class the world over, the Friends of the Soviet Union recognize in the Soviet Union the outpost of world socialism.

On page 4 of the pamphlet they say:

The United States Government has maintained an antisoviet policy ever since the Soviet Government was organized. It has supported vicious campaigns of lies and slanders, has withheld recognition, and put obstacles in the way of normal relations with the Soviet Union.

They also state, on page 5, that—

The interests of the working class and farmers the world over demand a close bond of solidarity between the workers in capitalist countries and the soviet workers.

Under the heading of "Tasks and Activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union," on page 7, they say:

To mobilize the masses for militant action against war and in defense of the soviet socialist state through street meetings, demonstrations, factory-gate meetings, and the organization of the Friends of the Soviet Union antiwar committees in all basic industries.

Further, on the same page, they say :

The attacks on militant workers on hours, wages, standard of living, and the attacks on the Soviet Union are parts of one whole, of the capitalists' attacks against the working class.

On page 8, in the second paragraph, they state :

As a part of this policy of workers' solidarity, the Friends of the Soviet Union sends delegations of American workers to the Soviet Union to participate in the May Day and November 7 anniversary celebrations. In the campaigns for such delegates, the Friends of the Soviet Union enters into close contact with progressive and revolutionary trade-unions.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET UNION

(National headquarters: 80 E. 11th St., New York City)

The committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, headed by Mr. Hamilton Fish and known generally as the Fish committee, in House Report 2290, Seventy-first Congress, third session, on January 17, 1931, page 16, gives the heading of a paragraph as "Subsidiary Organizations."

The statement is there made that "The Communist Party of America has a great many subsidiary and auxiliary organizations, through which it endeavors to function and penetrate into almost every field of human activity. The principal organizations affiliated with the Communist Party are as follows." About 25 different principal organizations are listed, one of which is the Friends of the Soviet Union.

That the statement of the Fish investigating committee is correct is shown by the literature and publications of the Friends of the Soviet Union. One of their pamphlets is entitled "Who Are the Friends of the Soviet Union?" The outside cover page shows a number of persons apparently in Soviet costume laughing and smiling. The price of the pamphlet, which has 16 pages including both cover pages, is 1 cent. Among other statements made in that pamphlet is the following:

Affirming the essential identity of interests of the working class the world over, the Friends of the Soviet Union recognize in the Soviet Union the outpost of world socialism.

On page 4, they say :

The United States Government has maintained an anti-Soviet policy ever since the Soviet Government was organized. It has supported vicious campaigns of lies and slanders, has withheld recognition and put obstacles in the way of normal relations with the Soviet Union.

They also state, on page 5 :

The interests of the working class and farmers the world over demand a close bond of solidarity between the workers in capitalist countries and the Soviet workers.

Under the heading "Tasks and Activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union," on page 7, they say (b) :

To mobilize the masses for militant action against war and in defense of the Soviet Socialist State through street meetings, demonstrations, factory-gate meetings and the organization of Friends of the Soviet Union anti-war committees in all basic industries.

Further, on the same page, under (d) they say:

The attacks on militant workers, on hours, wages, standard of living, and the attacks on the Soviet Union are parts of one whole, of the capitalists' attacks against the working class.

Of course, no one in the United States has advocated attacks of any sort against the Soviet Union. Every real American, however, reents the attempts of the Communists to impose communism, which is simply a brutal dictatorship, upon the United States. Yet, whenever the Friends of the Soviet Union in their publications refer to the United States, they continually harp on the attacks being made on the Soviet Union. But, when we understand that the Friends of the Soviet Union is a Communist organization, we know that what they really mean is the attacks made against the attempts of the Communists to communize the United States.

The last sentence on page 7 and the top two lines of page 8 reads:

Recognizing the close connection between the defense of the Soviet Union and the defense of the workers' interests in the United States, the Friends of the Soviet Union enter actively into all the workers' struggles against exploitation and oppression, against lynchings of Negro workers, against deportation bills and capitalist terror, against white guard conspiracies and capitalist discrimination.

Note they are against our deportation bills, and they refer to the "capitalist terror" of which, of course, none exists in this country and which, if it did, should be taken care of in an American way.

On page 8, second paragraph, they state:

As a part of this policy of workers' solidarity, the Friends of the Soviet Union sends delegations of American workers to the Soviet Union to participate in the May Day and November 7 anniversary celebrations. In the campaigns for such delegates, the Friends of the Soviet Union enters into close contact with progressive and revolutionary trade unions. * * *

Note this reference to revolutionary trade unions. In other words, they are a part of the Communist revolution being prepared in this country.

The Washington section of the Friends of the Soviet Union issues frequent mimeographed circulars. On some of them, as the one for March 12, 1934, there is the Communist symbol—the hammer and sickle.

In another leaflet issued at about the same time, Recent News on the Soviet Union, they state: "Washington, D. C., January 29. The American League Against War and Fascism was greeted with self-satisfied war talk. * * *" They also mention that Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, "spoke at the meeting Friday night." Of course, the Daily Worker is the official Communist organ in the United States.

In the report of the convention of the F. S. U., held January 27, 28, and 29, 1934, in Chicago, under the heading, "High Lights of the Friends of the Soviet Union," the first paragraph is a quotation from the final message of F. W. L. Dana, Communist. Dana ended that paragraph with: "Long live the Soviet Union!"

They quote one of the speakers, probably Dana, as follows:

Not what is said here but what is done in the field by the delegates will be the criterion of the success of this convention. The speech making is over; the time for action is come.

Following this quotation, the article continues:

One after another the speakers in the final session, Robert Minor of the Communist Party * * * reflected this conviction.

The third paragraph reads in part:

Throughout the convention the nonparty united front character of the Friends of Soviet Union was reflected in the composition of the delegates, the resolutions adopted, and was particularly emphasized in the speeches of the representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Robert Minor and Alexander Trachtenberg. * * *

Parallel with and coincident with the Communist drive in the spring of 1934 in Washington, D. C., to build up a Communist nucleus among the navy-yard employees in the Washington Navy Yard, which is the United States naval gun foundry, the Friends of the Soviet Union put on a drive to secure members for their organization and subscriptions to their magazine, Soviet Russia Today. In one of their bulletins there appeared the following heading: "Special Spring Recruiting Drive. Bulletin Volume I, No. 3, February 22," the first headline of which read:

Friends of the Soviet Union Local plans to make Washington a fortress of Soviet defense. Thus can we crystalize the great wave of sympathy and enthusiasm of the Washington workers, liberals, professionals, students for the Soviet Union into a solid organization * * * into a powerful Friends of the Soviet Union movement.

Then they set a 6 weeks' plan to build a F. S. U. in southeast Washington

After that follows a number of recommendations, No. 4 of which reads.

A grand prize awarded to the person Southeast who secured most subs * * * prizes to be a free trip to the Soviet Union.

No. 7 reads:

Subscriptions secured from a workman in the navy yard shall be considered as worth twice a regular subscription, in order to reach the navy-yard workers, who are especial desirable elements to interest in the Soviet Union.

The last sentence on the second page reads:

The Southeast of Washington with its large navy yard employing 5,000 workers is the most proletarian section.

On the last page they call for so popularizing the subscription campaign that they will obtain not less than 1,000 subscribers. They then state: "Out of these new subscribers we must build a branch (of the Soviet Union) of a membership of not less than 150, half of these people to be employees of the navy yard." Everywhere it is stated that the F. S. U. is for the defense of the Soviet Union with frequent statements to fight against imperialist war.

In the December 1933 issue of the official publication of the Friends of the Soviet Union, there is given, on page 17, the "National Committee, Friends of the Soviet Union, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York, and endorsed by"—and then follows a list of 52 names of whom 30 are absolutely known to be Communists, among them are William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party; James W. Ford, Negro, who ran on the ticket with Foster for vice president; Clarence Hathaway, Earl Browder, Robert Minor, and others nearly equally as well known as leading Communists.

In a leaflet, dated October 10, 1933, there is given the statement found on membership cards of members of the F. S. U. That statement reads in part:

The Friends of the Soviet Union for the Recognition and Defense of the Soviet Union. The Friends of the Soviet Union is an international organization, with headquarters in many countries, devoted to developing the international solidarity of the working masses for the support and defense of the Soviet Union.

Then follows a short paragraph ending with the "aims of the F. S. U.":

(3) To rally the American masses for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and intervention; (4) to counteract the anti-Soviet propaganda by carrying on a Nationwide agitation to acquaint the masses with the glorious achievements of the proletarian revolution; (5) to send elected delegations to the Soviet Union to establish fraternal relations between the working masses of America and of the Soviet Union and to bring back first-hand reports of the life and progress of the Soviet workers and peasants.

In a poster about 20 inches long and a foot wide, issued in Chicago, there is stated in big letters: "American imperialism is the main leader in war preparation. Defend the Soviet Union. Fight imperialism," and after certain other statements, ends: "Sponsored by Communist Party, Trade Union Unity League, and Friends of the Soviet Union."

In another two-page leaflet circulated in Chicago, advertising the same event, the statement is made:

Demonstrate August 1, Defend the Soviet Union, Fight Imperialist War Preparations. Then follows two pages of reading matter ending with: "August 1, United Front Conference called by the Communist Party, Trade Union Unity League, Friends of the Soviet Union."

These quotations have been given at length to conclusively refute the statements being made by the "Friends of the Soviet Union" that they are simply a nonpartisan, nonpolitical, noncommunitistic organization to bring about a better understanding of the culture and achievements of the Soviet Union.

The preceding statements show conclusively that, as stated by the Fish investigating committee, the Friends of the Soviet Union is a working auxiliary of the Communist Party, not only of the United States but also of the world, and the evidence is conclusive also that every effort is now being made to push the Friends of the Soviet Union to the front and under the guise of spreading Soviet culture and art in dancing and other forms, they hope to wheedle many into the Communist camp that they could not if people only understood the Communist character of the F. S. U.

This deceitful nature of the Communist Party movement and the Friends of the Soviet Union is set forth in their own official publication, Soviet Russia Today, in the March 1934 issue, page 15. At the head of that page is the general title in large black letters: "Our Immediate Tasks." As a special heading thereunder we find: "Don't Meet in a Red Center."

The lone branch in San Francisco, with an office, and full-time paid organizer, held its meeting in what they called a "Red Center." Only those who were already friends of the Soviet Union were attracted to the Friends of the Soviet Union. Others thought that the Friends of the Soviet Union lured them in under false slogans, in order to "baptize" them in the "red" of the hammer and sickle. They left the Friends of the Soviet Union and prevented others from joining. This branch has now only 10 disgruntled members.

Every patriotic organization in America should at once put on a drive to advertise the Friends of the Soviet Union as an out and out Communist Party in the United States which is sworn to destroy the Government of the United States if it ever becomes strong enough.

On page 10 of the Soviet anniversary issue of the *Sunday Worker*, November 7, 1937, magazine section, the following statement was made:

The November (October) revolution (in Russia) came to many Americans as a sudden realization of a dream—workers in power in a great State.

In 1918, while the United States was still at war, New York celebrated the first anniversary of the Soviet revolution in one of the most enthusiastic meetings ever held in New York City, when workers literally stormed the old Madison Square Garden.

Out of that meeting held at the old Madison Square Garden and the subsequent work of the committees grew the organization of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The organization published *Soviet Russia*, the predecessor of "*Soviet Russia Today*."

Early in 1919 the American Labor Alliance for trade relations with and recognition of Russia was formed. The acting spirits in this alliance were Timothy Healy, representing the Oil Workers Union; President Johnson, of the Machinist Union; President Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Benjamin Schlesinger, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and many others. Alexander Trachtenberg (of the Communist Party) was secretary of the alliance.

Russia, ruined by years of war, civil war, and intervention, lay prostrate in the grip of a famine. The Friends of Soviet Russia engaged in relief work, organizing it throughout the breadth and length of the country, collected over \$1,000,000. * * *

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America raised \$167,000 * * * took the initiative in organizing the Russian-American International Corporation, the purpose of which was to help build and operate the clothing and allied industries in Russia.

One of the extremely valuable forms of aid was the organization of the American Technical Aid Society, affiliated with the Friends of Soviet Russia. It organized innumerable groups of workers (in the United States) in various industries, Americans as well as foreign born, who played an important role in the first stages of reconstruction in the Soviet Union.

The following is quoted from the official organ of the Third (Communist) International, *Imprecor* (vol. 14, No. 11, Feb. 23, 1934):

The first national convention of the American section of the Friends of the Soviet Union was held in New York on January 26-28 with 980 (220 more were unable to raise the fare) delegates present from nearly 796 organizations. It was a mass demonstration of solidarity for the defense of the Soviet Union, but upon a united-front basis. It laid down a broad program which, if properly carried out, will mean a real turn in the sectarian organization the Friends of the Soviet Union has been since it was founded in 1929.

Among the speakers at this convention, according to the report, was Prof. Corliss Lamont, whom it described as a "son of a partner of J. P. Morgan & Co."

It reports that included in its Nation-wide campaigns in 1933 were those for "recognition of the U. S. S. R." during which "hundreds of mass meetings were held," and "100,000 leaflets distributed." "Delegations sent to the U. S. S. R. during the year totaled 150 members."

The membership of the Friends of the Soviet Union at the time (1934) was given as "8-10,000," meaning, it is assumed, 8,000. It stated that a drive was on to recruit "10,000 associated members" and "trade-union members to the total of 100,000," and to organize "200 new branches" in the United States.

Organizations by the same name (Friends of the Soviet Union) are active in various other countries. It is understood by authorities that these are national sections of an international having headquarters in Moscow, known as the Foreign Relations Committee of the Soviet Trade Unions (Washington (D. C.) Times, June 2, 1936).

The Daily Worker (vol. VII, No. 226), makes the following statement:

The invitation of the Soviet Trade Union Council of American Workers to visit the Soviet Union for the fourteenth anniversary celebration of the Soviet revolution, November 7, should stimulate the utmost activity everywhere in preparing a really representative delegation which is being organized by the F. S. U.

The present delegation being organized by the F. S. U. should by all means come overwhelmingly from the basic industries, mining, steel, auto, chemical, marine, and rail transport industries.

The revolutionary workers should use this occasion to assist in every possible way to build the F. S. U. into a great mass organization.

On the letterhead of the Friends of the Soviet Union, United States section, is this slogan: "Our aim is to cement solidarity of American and Russian workers for support and defense of the Soviet Union."

In a publication, Who Are the Friends of the Soviet Union, issued by the national committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union, p. 6), the following statement is made:

The Friends of the Soviet Union in the United States was founded in 1929 * * * to spread accurate information about what is going on in the Soviet Union, and mobilizing the American masses for the struggle against war upon the Soviet Union * * *. The American section is affiliated with the International Friends of the Soviet Union * * *. The organization has branches in select factories.

In another pamphlet, The Soviet Union—Your Questions Answered (p. 46), we find this statement:

In this way we will win the sympathy for the Soviet Union of additional numbers of workers who are still influenced by the leaders of the Socialists, and it will be easier for us to draw more of them into the daily struggles for our every-day needs, and in this way strengthen the working-class movement in the United States of America and blaze the only way toward an American Soviet Government * * *.

The Friends of the Soviet Union circulated a pamphlet, One Hundred Years in Ten, written by A. A. Heller, who is a member of the National Advisory Council of the Workers' (Communist) Schools in New York City; treasurer, American Committee for Struggle Against War; national executive committee, American League Against War and Fascism; sponsor, mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor (Communist), 1937; and sponsor of the Jewish People's Committee. In this pamphlet Heller says that the contrast between the Russian workers' conditions and the American workers and farmers "will become greater and greater as the years go by, unless, of course, the American workers and farmers should establish a soviet system in the United States."

The bulletin issued by the Washington (D. C.) branch of the Friends of the Soviet Union, February 5, 1934, stated:

The Friends of the Soviet Union national convention is over; 1,100 delegates representing over 2,000,000 people applauded the Friends of the Soviet Union.

The Friends of the Soviet Union has branches from San Francisco and Los Angeles to New York and Boston. It has openly cooperated

with the (Communist) Trade Union Unity League, the Relief Workers Unemployed Councils, the Communist Party, and so forth.

In November 1937 the Friends of the Soviet Union issued what it chose to call the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union and, in addition, a 100-page edition of its official publication, *Soviet Russia Today*, eulogizing Soviet Russia on its twentieth anniversary. Several hundred thousand signatures of American radicals appeared in the Golden Book under greetings to the Soviet Government. The special 100-page edition reproduced some of these names, which included a number of Members of Congress. Ambassador Alexander A. Troyanovsky and Prof. Corliss Lamont attended the presentation of the Golden Book (Carnegie Hall Program, p. 5). Among the speakers were James Waterman Wise, Dr. Henry E. Segrist, Prof. Jerome Davis (head of the American Teachers' Federation which recently denounced the American Legion as a "Fascist" movement), and Mary Van Kleeck. Included in the list of speakers sponsored by the Friends of the Soviet Union were Dr. Rochelle S. Yarros, Herbert Newton, Lydia Beidel, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Joshua Kunitz, Dr. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, Dr. J. C. Coleman, J. B. Mathews, Thyra Edwards, Harry Shaw, Congressman Ernest Lundeen, Elizabeth Lawson, Vladimir Janowicz, Ferdinanda W. Reed, Martha Koopman, Maxim Gorky, Romain Polland, Dr. Alice Parsons, Dr. Robert Whitaker, Prof. John Illif, Gen. V. A. Yakhontoff, James Waterman Wise, Louis Fischer, Mauritz A. Hallgren, Malcolm Cowley, Dr. J. C. Coleman, Dr. A. S. Levin, Dr. Stephen Braumauer, Clarence Hathaway, B. Friedman, I. Wang, Ella Reeve Bloor, J. Markel, Roy Hudson, Prof. Henry W. L. Dana, Anna Burlak, Donald Henderson, Ella Winters, and Israel Amter.

In 1933 the Friends of the Soviet Union threatened a boycott in the United States against any film company (Principal Pictures, Hollywood) or movie theater that might repair and run Dr. Carveth Wells' mutilated film entitled "The Truth About Russia." Mr. Wells claims the film was mutilated by inspectors who seized them while he was on his way out of Russia. As a result of the threatened boycott, the film was never repaired or shown at a movie theater. On the other hand, the F. S. U. has shown and caused to be shown many films of a propaganda nature on Russia.

The membership of the Friends of the Soviet Union in the United States is composed of professionals, little-business men, and office workers. The California branch in 1936 issued a questionnaire to thousands of professors and teachers offering to send them free literature, which they hoped would lead to enrollments in the F. S. U.

The national chairman of the Friends of the Soviet Union is Corliss Lamont. Herbert Goldfrank is national secretary. Editor of *Soviet Russia Today* is Jessica Smith. The editorial council of the publication includes Dorothy Brewster, Malcolm Cowley, Robert W. Dunn, Thyra Edwards, Mildred Fairchild, A. A. Heller, Langston Hughes, Dr. John Kingsbury, George Marshall, Broadus Mitchell, Isobel Walker Soule, and Maxwell S. Stewart. The following are affiliated with the Friends of the Soviet Union: Roger N. Baldwin, H. W. L. Dana, Robert W. Dunn, Ilya Ehrenbourg, Waldo Frank, Bonchi Friedman, Alice Withrow Field, Joseph Freeman, Eugene Gordon, Michael Gold, Maxim Gorki, Langston Hughes, Grace Hutchins, William N. Jones, John A. Kingsbury, N. K. Krupskaya, Joshua Kunitz,

Robert Morss Lovett, John Howard Lawson, Gerald McGill, Scott Nearing, Harvey O'Connor, Moissaye J. Olgin, Alice M. Parsons, John Dos Passos, Karl Radek, Anna Rochester, Romain Rolland, Anna L. Strong, Jack Scott, Ella Winter, James Waterman Wise, and Reuben S. Young.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we are informed about that.

Mr. STEELE. I might add that this group issued some publications here in Washington in 1936 which were designed to be distributed at the Government navy yard. They were seized by the police here at the time and were not distributed.

In that particular publication, which was called the Navy Yard Worker, they called for the solidarity of our armed forces with the Communist forces of the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take an adjournment now until 10 o'clock tomorrow.

(Thereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the committee adjourned to meet tomorrow, Thursday, August 18, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

(Mr. Steele subsequently submitted the following evidence:)

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION—A "RED" DEFENDING MOVEMENT

The American Civil Liberties Union, in its role as defender of civil liberties and the right of free speech, assembly, and the press (according to its interpretation of these provisions under the American Constitution), is often referred to as a mere protective organization for Communists and other types of radicals who are undermining the Constitution and threatening to put into effect their theories of government, which would not provide for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or freedom of assembly, eliminating, therefore, the reason for the existence of the American Civil Liberties Union.

90 PERCENT OF ITS EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF COMMUNISTS

Report No. 2290 of the House Committee Investigating Communist Activities in the United States, Seventy-first Congress, third session, classifies the American Civil Liberties Union as being "closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are in behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law." Other Government bodies have likewise uncovered the alliance between the union and communistic elements.

"AS AN AGENT OF MOSCOW"

In the June 1936 report of its activities, the American Civil Liberties Union says: "Despite the constant attack by reactionaries on the Civil Liberties Union as an agent of Moscow, for its defense of radicals as others, the membership of the union not only showed an increase but no resignations. * * *"

COMPLIMENTS COMMUNIST UNITED FRONT

In the same report, the union admits that the "defense work was strengthened by the new policy of the Communist Party, which has encouraged the formation of united-front committees to bring together diverse agencies in common and harmonious action."

There has apparently been no direct denial on the part of the American Civil Liberties Union of the charges made to the effect that the major portion of its activities are in behalf of Communists and extreme radicals. If so, it has escaped the attention of our organization.

THE MELTING POT OF RADICALS

Since the American Civil Liberties Union has been accused so openly of being not only the champion defender of "reds" in the United States but also the melting pot of numerous radical movements, it will be well to review the history of the organization from its inception, taking note of the character of

its personnel, the activities of the union, and the connection of its officers with other radical movements.

NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE FIRST TO EXPOSE IT

The American Civil Liberties Union, according to the report of the New York State Legislative Investigating Committee on Subversive Activities, published April 24, 1920, is the successor of the American Union Against Militarism and the National Civil Liberties Bureau, both of which came under the scrutiny of the Government during the World War.

THE "ANTIPREPAREDNESS" CAMPAIGN

While the father movement, the American Union Against Militarism was formed in 1915 to keep America out of war (according to its announcement), it launched an antipreparedness campaign, and when the United States finally became involved in the war, it conducted a program encouraging slackerism. The American Union then set up the National Civil Liberties Bureau which furnished legal defense to those who had followed their dictates, dodged the draft, or openly challenged the Government in its efforts to mobilize. The national headquarters of the two original movements were located at 70 East Fifth Avenue, New York City. The offices of the American Civil Liberties Union are located at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

ACCUSED OF AIDING UNCLE SAM'S ENEMY

The State investigating committee, delving deeply into the activities of these movements, accused them of "carrying out to the letter the plan which had been outlined by German propagandists." They further asserted that the American Union Against Militarism was "seeking to prevent legislation looking toward the increase of the military establishment of the United States," while at the same time "seeking to bring about intervention in the European conflict," and (following the passage of the draft act in the United States) "increasing its activities in opposition to what seemed the best interests."

ASSISTED DRAFT DODGERS

The report of the committee contained the following statement: "It immediately undertook to assist all persons desiring to avoid the draft and to protect all persons from so-called 'infringement of civil liberties,' opening branch offices under the name of the Civil Liberties Bureau for this purpose." The committee also had evidence to support its contention that the bureau was carrying on a program to "suggest to men to become 'conscientious objectors.'"

BORING INTO CHURCHES

The New York State Legislature then pointed out that the literature of these organizations called upon the people to get in touch with "Socialist locals, intercollegiate socialist society locals, radical groups, open forums, labor unions, women's organizations, settlements, social-workers' clubs, racial groups, church organizations, college clubs, nationalistic societies, peace organizations, and farmers' organizations," and to hold meetings for discussion and agitation, and to organize action, getting individuals to cooperate in an anticonscription campaign for free speech, free assembly, and rights for conscientious objectors.

In 1917 the American Union Against Militarism "folded up," leaving the Civil Liberties Bureau to carry on.

PERSONNEL OF THE CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU

The first published list of officers of the Bureau included the following: Lillian Wald, chairman; Amos Pinchot, vice chairman; L. Hollingsworth Wood, treasurer; Crystal Eastman, executive secretary; and Charles T. Hallinan, editorial director. Members of the executive committee were Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Bureau; Jane Addams; A. A. Berle; Frank Bohn; William P. Cochran; John Lovejoy Elliott; John Haynes Holmes; Paul U. Kellog; Alice Lewishon; Fred Lynch; James H. Maurer; Scott Nearing; Oswald Garrison Villard; Emily Greene Balch; Herbert S. Bigelow; Sophoniaba

P. Breckenridge; Max Eastman; Zona Gale; David Starr Jordan; Agnes Brown Leach; Owen R. Lovejoy; John A. M. Sparran; Henry R. Mussey; Norman M. Thomas; James P. Warbasse; and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

RALLYING CENTER FOR SUBVERSIVES

In October 1917 the Civil Liberties Bureau became known as the National Civil Liberties Bureau. Its offices became the rallying center of all types of radicals. On November 1, 1917, a bulletin appeared under the name of the American Union Against Militarism, although it had seemingly discontinued its activities several months before and had completely disbanded. This bulletin carried the edict of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates, which had been the backbone of the Communist revolution in Russia.

SUPPORTING I. W. W.

The report of the committee charged that the National Civil Liberties Bureau was at the time assisting "any radical movement calculated to obstruct the prosecution of the war, as evidenced by the bureau's activities in collecting funds for the International Workers of the World," and that it issued "propaganda in order to influence public sympathy toward the International Workers of the World, conscientious objectors, and radical organizations." The committee also found that the bureau "furnished attorneys for the objectors and persons prosecuted for violation of the Espionage Act," and that the organization was at the same time "boring from within in churches, religious organizations, women's clubs, the American Federation of Labor, etc., in order to spread radical ideas and propaganda." They also stated that the bureau was working "toward an after-the-war radical program."

WORKING IN ARMY CAMPS

Evidence obtained by the investigating committee showed that the bureau not only carried on their activities among the general public but also in many Army camps in which they had organizers and correspondents. In 1 camp at Hammond, Ind., they reported that over 100 men had been signed up by 1 agent. The bureau claimed that they had the support of Lippmann, Felix Frankfurter, Keppel (at that time officially connected with the United States War Department), and Prof. Carlton Parker. The latter was charged by the investigating committee with having assisted in preparing International Workers of the World agitation pamphlets.

The moving spirit of the bureau during the World War was Roger N. Baldwin, who now, in 1938, directs the American Civil Liberties Union. In August 1917, Baldwin wrote to Louis Lockner, then actively engaged in radical circles, and now said to represent one of our national newspaper wire services in Germany, warning him to "steer clear from making it look like a Socialist enterprise. Too many people have already gotten the idea that it is nine-tenths a Socialist movement. * * * We want also to look like patriots in everything we do. We want to get a good lot of flags, talk a good deal about the Constitution, and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country * * *." According to the sworn statement of Norman Thomas, at that time Baldwin's best friend and a member of the organization, Baldwin was described as a "philosophical anarchist." He had served sentence for violation of the Selective Service Act.

SOME ADDITIONAL RECRUITS

On November 18, 1918, a new list of the officers of the National Civil Liberties Bureau was published. This time it included many new names, in addition to the old. They were Hollingsworth Wood, chairman; Norman Thomas, vice chairman; Helen Phelps Stokes, treasurer; Albert de Silver, director; William C. Simpson, associate director; and Walter Nelles, counsel. The directing committee was composed of John S. Codman, John Lovejoy Elliott, Walter W. Haviland, Agnes Brown Leach, Crystal Eastman, Edmund C. Evans, John Haynes Holmes, Rabbi Juda L. Magnes, and Rev. John Nevin Sayre. Among the names of subscribers found in the books of the bureau were those of Elisa Cope, William P. Bancroft, Sarah J. Eddy, Mrs. J. Sargent Cram, A. G. Scattergood, Harold Hatch, Mary McMurtrie, Alexander Fleischer, Edith Borg, Albert de Silver, Agnes Brown Leach, Helen Phelps Stokes, John Nevin Sayre, James H. Post, and Mrs. Maurice Lowenstein.

DEFENDED I. W. W. LEADERS

In 1917 the National Civil Liberties Bureau raised funds for securing the bail and financing the defense of the Industrial Workers of the World, William B. Haywood, and to create sympathy for the Industrial Workers of the World, according to the report of the investigating committee. The bureau called the Government's indictments against the Industrial Workers of the World as "silly and outrageous." The report stated that the bureau carried on activities to have these indictments against the members of the Industrial Workers of the World quashed. For a time L. S. Chumley, head of the defense committee of the Industrial Workers of the World, maintained his offices with those of the National Civil Liberties Bureau.

George Creel, prominent in Democratic Party affairs, stated in a letter addressed to the National Civil Liberties Bureau on January 7, 1918, with regard to the Industrial Workers of the World: "Please omit my name from any lists that you send out, and be at particular pains not to give the impression that I am a part of your organization or connected with it in any way * * *."

On January 11, 1918, Baldwin sent Clarence Darrow, Gilbert Roe, George P. West, Charles Mertz, Jack Shaw, Laurence Todd, Ned Cochran, and Basil Manley a copy of a report on an Industrial Workers of the World meeting which was held in Washington, D. C., on January 8, 1918. In the June 22, 1918, issue of the New Republic, the National Civil Liberties Bureau is said to have published a page appeal for the Industrial Workers of the World. This was signed by Albert de Silver, Robert W. Bruere, John A. Fitch, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Thorstein Veblen, Walter E. Weyl, John Dewey, Percy Stickney Grant, Inez Haynes Irwin, James Harvey Robinson, and George P. West.

WORKING UP SYMPATHY FOR RADICALS—DISCREDITING CONSERVATIVES—ENEMY OF AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The investigating report stated: "It is worth noting further that the National Civil Liberties Bureau, under its new name of the American Civil Liberties Bureau, today (1920) is active as ever working up sympathy for revolutionaries, influencing public opinion, and generally spreading subversive propaganda. One of the most subtle of the weapons used by these radicals is the discrediting of any conservative force intent on exposing them." It then pointed out the manner in which the bureau attempted to discredit the United States Department of Justice in its raids on Industrial Workers of the World centers from September 5, 1917, on. It also accused the forces of the National Civil Liberties Bureau and their more openly radical allies, the Industrial Workers of the World, etc., of attempting to undermine the American Federation of Labor.

LEGITIMATE AMERICAN LABOR UNION LEADERS ATTACK AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

In this respect we quote an attack made in 1924 on the American Civil Liberties Union by John L. Lewis, now (1938) the head of the radical Committee for Industrial Organization. It is interesting to note that Lewis now has in his organization many leaders of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Lewis said:

"Active among the 'intellectual' classes of the country, and posing as a champion of the 'liberties of speech, press, and assembly,' is the American Civil Liberties Union at New York. This organization is working in harmony and unity with the Communist superstructure in America, engaged in the dissemination of radical utterances and propaganda, and conducting a Nation-wide campaign for the liberation of Bolshevik agents and disloyal agitators who have been convicted under the wartime laws, or the syndicalist laws of different States, for unpatriotic or revolutionary activities * * *."

"While offering aid to scores of individuals who have been arrested or convicted for violation of national or State laws, it has not, in a single instance, come to the assistance of a man or woman who did not profess radical sentiments, or who was not allied with the Communists, the anarchists, the revolutionary, or the radical movements in America.

"Fifty-two persons, holding a total of 325 directorates in 45 organizations, are in control of the radical and revolutionary campaigns now being waged

in this country. A systematic examination of the directorates of these organizations reveals the fact that they interlock into almost a single whole."

In another instance Lewis said:

"The American Civil Liberties Union, acting on the pretext that 'free speech, free press, and civil liberty' was menaced by the efforts to suppress violence, disorder, and trouble stirred up by the Communist agitators, sent a delegation of its own to southwestern Pennsylvania to also 'work from within' the strike. * * *

"Records seized by District Attorney Gardiner in Merrick's office (Communist strike leader) at Pittsburgh include an extended correspondence between Merrick and Roger Baldwin, directing secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union. This correspondence reveals that the principal effort of the American Civil Liberties Union in this section was to provide legal means of obtaining police permits for street meetings at which Communist speakers would appear, and under the guise of assisting the miners' strike spread their Communist propaganda and revolutionary doctrines. * * * Not only were the Communist problems of the district discussed in their letters to each other, but there is also frequent reference to the activities of Baldwin and of the American Civil Liberties Union in the correspondence that passed at that time between Merrick, on the one hand, and William E. Foster, James F. Cannon, William F. Kruse, H. E. Kean, C. E. Ruthenberg, Charles Baker and a dozen others of the most active of the Communist and revolutionary agents who were connected with the scheme of 'boring from within' the strike.

"The American Civil Liberties Union is shown by the correspondence at the time to have been concerned primarily in keeping the Communist agents out of the jails and prisons.

"There are 200 organizations in the United States actively engaged in or sympathetic with the Communist revolutionary movement as directed and conducted by the Communist Party of America. * * * Forty-five of those organizations of either 'pink' or radical structure are engaged in the Communist effort to seize control. * * * in virtually every instance these organizations have direct contact, through the mechanism of interlocking directorates, with the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America. * * * Fifty-two persons hold 325 directorates in these 45 organizations. * * * There is no gap or breaking point. * * * Illustrative of this arrangement is the executive committee and the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. * * *"

William E. Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, has also scored the American Civil Liberties Union many times. The following statement is taken from one of his numerous attacks on them.

"During all the years since the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia, propaganda in the United States has been conducted not only through agencies directly set up by the Communist high command, but through agencies and organizations in which noncommunists of good standing and repute have been induced to participate.

"Throughout the whole period, Communists have made it a cardinal point to unite with every protesting minority and to engage in every effort directed against established institutions of our country. There has grown up a great group of organizations, Communists and semi-Communists. A careful study of these organizations shows that they are so related through interlocking directorates that apparently some hundred of organizations are dominated by an interlocking group of directors numbering not more than 60. * * *

"As an example, the American Civil Liberties Union may be cited. Its announced purpose is the defense of those who fall afoul of laws when engaged in endeavors for which the law should offer protection. Its practice is almost exclusively the defense of Communists. Among those who have joined it in protest against the use of police action to suppress communism are such Americans as Prof. Charles A. Beard, Susan Brandeis, Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Dr. John Dewey. * * * Dr. Dewey participates in the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union and heads the people's lobby, which seeks to influence legislation. This in turn is interlocked with the National Council for the Prevention of War, which cannot be characterized other than as a pacifist organization. * * *"

"To peruse the subject of interlocking directorates to its conclusion would require almost a volume. Evidence in existence can be produced, if desired."

ARMY CAPTAIN SCORES AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

On May 28, 1926, Capt. C. B. Hopkins, president of the Military Intelligence Association of Chicago, speaking before the Kiwanis Club, said that "the American Civil Liberties Union is the most notorious of the many peace organizations which are directly or indirectly influenced by agents from Russia." In replying to Captain Hopkins' charges, the American Civil Liberties Union disclaimed being a "peace organization," and denied that "our policies are the result of influence from Russia either directly or indirectly. * * *" To these statements Captain Hopkins replied that he had made the charges and that every statement he had made was supported by documentary proof.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HEAD CALLS TO REDS TO WORK AGAINST AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Roger Baldwin wrote to George Vandaveer on June 21, 1918, and suggested that unorganized labor work against the American Federation of Labor "with a view to staging a revolution," according to the report of the New York State Legislature committee. Baldwin also wrote to others suggesting boring within and influencing churches.

SLACKERS PROMISED FRIENDS IN GOVERNMENT WOULD RELEASE THEM FROM JAIL

Baldwin, in writing to conscientious objectors who had been court-martialed for draft violations, assured them that he judged from what he "heard from the War Department" that the men would all be freed as soon as the war was over. But the administration then in power was voted out of office by the American people, and it was not until December 1934 that the administration now in power (through which many of these radicals returned to office) released them by Presidential decree.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HEAD PRAISED FOR WINNING GOVERNMENT LEADERS OVER

John Haynes Holmes, in writing to Baldwin on May 6, 1918, spoke of his admiration for Baldwin as a result of the establishment of the contact between the Civil Liberties Bureau and certain higher-ups in the United States War Department and the Justice Department, according to the State of New York Legislature.

NEW RECRUITS IN AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

A bulletin issued by the American Civil Liberties Union in March 1920 disclosed the officers of the organization as being Rev. Harry F. Ward, chairman; Duncan McDonald, vice chairman; Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin, vice chairman; Helen Phelps Stokes, treasurer; Albert de Silver, director; Roger N. Baldwin, director; Walter Nelles, counsel; Lucille B. Lowenstein, field secretary, and Louis F. Budens, publicity director. Members of the national committee were: Jane Addams, Herbert S. Bigelow, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Robert M. Buck, John S. Codman, Lincoln Colcord, James H. Dillard, Crystal Eastman, John Lovejoy Elliott, Edmund C. Evans, Edward W. Evans, William M. Fincke, John A. Fitch, Elizabeth Cunley Flynn, Felix Frankfurter, William Z. Foster, Paul J. Furnace, Zona B. Gale, A. B. Gilbert, Arthur Garfield Hayes, Morris Hillquit, John Haynes Holmes, Frederic C. Howe, James Weldon Johnson, Helen Keller, Harold J. Laski, Agnes Brown Leach, Arthur Le Susur, Henry R. Linville, Robert Morse Lovett, Allen McCurdy, Granville S. MacFarland, Oscar Maddaus, Judah L. Magnes, James N. Maurer, A. J. Muste, George W. Nasmith, Scott Nearing, Julia O'Connor, William H. Pickens, William Narion Needy, John Nevin Sayre, Vida D. Scudder, Norman Thomas, Oswald Garrison Willard, L. Hollingsworth Wood, and George P. West.

MAKES VICIOUS ATTACKS ON ATTORNEY GENERAL PALMER FOR "RED" RAIDS

In January 1920 the American Civil Liberties Union made more or less open attacks on Attorney General Palmer, the House Immigration Committee, the New York Times, and Senator Fall. They made light of the danger of revolution in America. It is evident that the American Civil Liberties Union was

the rallying point of all radical movements. Its officers and directors, then as now in 1937, holding down executive positions in scores of other movements.

STATE LEGISLATURE CALLS AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION PROPAGANDA AGENCY

The New York Legislative Investigating Committee says in its report that anyone reading it "will be convinced that the American Civil Liberties Union had changed its organization from a bureau of legal service to a propaganda organization," and had increased its "activity * * * to dramatizing issues of civil liberty in the industrial conflict." It further stated that "the effect of the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union is to create in the minds of the ill-informed people the impression that it is un-American to interfere with the activities of those who seek to destroy American institutions."

SEEKS RADICAL LEGISLATION

The American Civil Liberties Union seeks to influence legislators and executives so that they will repeal or veto any act calculated to protect the State or the Federal Government from the attacks of agitators, and drives against all proposed anti-Communist legislation.

SUPPORTER OF SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS

"The American Civil Liberties Union, in the late analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements, and its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime, but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form," says the State legislative report.

ONE HUNDRED PERCENT FOR ALIENS

With regard to aliens, the American Civil Liberties Union takes the position that no person should be refused permission to enter the United States on the ground of holding objectionable opinions, and that no alien should be deported merely for expression of opinion, or for membership in a radical or revolutionary organization, and that no alien should have his naturalization papers revoked because of radical activities and theories, nor should citizenship be refused because of same.

UPHOLDS RADICAL EDUCATORS

The American Civil Liberties Union opposes the dismissal of teachers, professors, or ministers for their radical actions, or for activities in radical movements. It opposes laws favoring religious teaching in schools and colleges, allegiance-oath laws, anti-Communist and sedition laws.

REVISED LIST OF OFFICERS

A later list of the officers of the American Civil Liberties Union, recorded by the investigating committee, had the following changes: Lucille B. Milner had replaced Mrs. Lowenstein as field secretary, and Joseph D. Cannon, Ernest Freund, Paul J. Furnas, Rose Schneiderman, Seymour Stedman, B. Charney Vladeck, Edward Tittmann, and William S. Uren had been added to the national committee.

MANY LEADERS EXTREME RADICALS

In Whitney's "Reds in America," published in 1924, we find that many of the officials of the American Civil Liberties Union were at the same time leaders in the Socialist, Communist, Industrial Workers of the World, pacifist and progressive union labor and defense movements in the United States. These forces were united in 1924 into a political party movement, known as the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which placed a third national party into the field. Following its defeat, however, it began to nominate and elect its followers under major party labels, thereby leading to a radical bloc in Congress during the past 12 years.

LINKED WITH COMMUNISM

"Reds in America" charges that the "the American Civil Liberties Union is definitely linked with communism through the system of interlocking directorates, so successfully used by the Communist Party of America in penetrating into every possible organization with a view to getting control so that when the time comes for the great general strike which, they believe and hope, will lead to the overthrow of the United States Government by violence, they will already have these bodies definitely allied with them."

ASKED CONGRESS TO FREE JAILED

It has been said that the American Civil Liberties Union enlisted the aid of Senator Borah, in October 1921, in introducing bills repealing title 12 of the Espionage Act, under which the postal authorities censored the mails of radical organizations. Amendments to the section of the obscenity statute, which, it is charged, would eliminate the words "tending to murder, arson, and assassination," were also to be included, and that with John Lewis of the Committee for Industrial Organization it prevailed on Senator La Follette to introduce the bill that created the Civil Liberties Investigating Committee and helped in lobbying it through.

DEFENDED COMMUNISTS ARRESTED IN FEDERAL RAID

The American Civil Liberties Union took a leading part in the defense of Communists who were arrested during the Federal Government's raid on the Bridgeman Communist Convention which was held in Michigan in 1922. Some of the committee members of the union allegedly were caught in this raid, and, as a result, the entire legal force of the organization was thrown into the case. The union was also active in defending the radical strikers in the coal and railroad strikes, the textile strike in Passaic, N. J., the steel workers strike in Duquesne, Pa., the Sacco-Vanzetti case in 1921, and in fighting the State supreme court rulings in 1920. It fought for the release of 150 "political prisoners" (radicals), 103 of whom were members of the Industrial Workers of the World. It conducted a campaign against the American Legion, and for "academic freedom" in schools and colleges, against injunctions in labor upheavals. They furnished bonds and bail for the release of the Bridgeman Communists and the Gastonia (N. C.) Communists. The latter escaped to Russia and the \$20,000 bail which had been furnished by the union was surrendered to the State. (See addition at end regarding this.)

MEMBERS ON COMMUNISTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A labor defense committee, established to help raise funds for the Bridgeman Communists, included Roger Baldwin, Robert Buck, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and other members of the American Civil Liberties Union. William Z. Foster, one of the union's national committeemen, was among those arrested in the Bridgeman raid. He later became the head of the Communist Party of America, upon the death of William Ruthenberg, who was also caught in the Federal net.

CRITICAL OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ACTION AGAINST COMMUNISTS

In 1924 a lawyers' committee, composed of some of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, namely, Felix Frankfurter, Ernest Freund, Frank Walsh, and others, signed charges against what they stated were "illegal practices" of the United States Department of Justice in apprehending "reds" in this country. Earlier, President Theodore Roosevelt had denounced Frankfurter as having an "attitude which seems to me to be fundamentally that of Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders in Russia." Walsh was at the time chief counsel for the arrested "reds" in Bridgeman, Mich. Zecharia Chaffee, Jr., a colleague of Frankfurter at Harvard, and the man who is accused of having advocated in print and in public declaration that there should be no law against sedition and anarchy, was also one of the signers, as was Swinburne Hale, who, it is charged, resigned his commission as captain in the United States Army in the Military Intelligence Section when official information was sought regarding a Russian Communist representative to the United

States. Jackson H. Ralston, Roscoe Pound, another Harvard professor, David Wallerstein, of Philadelphia, and others were allegedly among those in the group.

MANY AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION LEADERS HAVE JAIL RECORDS

Among the American Civil Liberties Union leaders indicted by the Government for various activities were Reger Baldwin, for draft violation; Max Eastman, for violation of Espionage acts; Scott Nearing, for violation of Espionage Act; William Z. Foster, for Communist activities; Kate Richards O'Hara for violation of Espionage Act; A. J. Muste, arrested in Illinois on charges of sedition; James Maurer, denounced as being disloyal by Attorney General Palmer, and arrested in Pittsburgh in October 1927; Elizabeth Curley Flynn, an avowed Communist arrested many times for radical activities; A. B. Gilbert, one of the organizers in 1922 of the Industrial Workers of the World, arrested for seditious utterances, serving a term in a Minnesota jail; Arthur Le Suer, arrested and found guilty for inciting riots in North Dakota, and one who signs himself "yours for the revolution"; Scott Nearing, indicted under the Espionage Act, and arrested in Wheeling, W. Va., for inciting to riot; Rose Pastor Stokes, indicted under Espionage Act in Kansas City, Mo., arrested in Chicago for Communist activities, and in Michigan as a result of the Federal raid on Communist convention; Powers Hapgood, arrested in strike activities in Maine, and in textile strike activity in Fitchburg, Mass; Joseph Cannon, charged with murder in West Virginia miners' march, also arrested in Philadelphia; Eugene Debs, an early officer of the American Civil Liberties Union, indicted on charge of conspiracy to murder, convicted of violation of Espionage Act, and citizenship rights withdrawn.

FISIU COMMITTEE SAYS AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION CLOSELY AFFILIATED WITH COMMUNISTS

In taking up the question of the American Civil Liberties Union again, the special committee of Congress investigating communism in the United States in 1931, said in its report:

"The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly; but it is quite apparent that the main function of the American Civil Liberties Union is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag by a red flag and erecting a soviet government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution.

"Roger N. Baldwin, its guiding spirit, makes no attempt to hide his friendship for the Communists and their principles. He was formerly a member of the Industrial Workers of the World and served a term in prison as a draft dodger during the war. This is the same Roger N. Baldwin that has recently issued a statement 'that in the next session of Congress our job is to organize the opposition to the recommendations of the congressional committee investigating communism.'

"The American Civil Liberties Union has received large sums from the Garland fund, of which Roger N. Baldwin is one of the directors. During the trial of the Communists at Gastonia, not for freedom of speech, of the press, or assembly, but for a conspiracy to kill the chief of police, of which seven defendants were convicted, the American Civil Liberties Union provided bail for five of the defendants, amounting to \$28,500, which it secured from the Garland fund. All of the defendants convicted jumped their bail and are reported to be in Russia. The \$28,500 bail was forfeited, including \$9,000 more advanced by the International Labor Defense.

"A committee of the New York State Legislature, back in 1928, reached the following conclusion in regard to the American Civil Liberties Union:

"The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements: its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

"Your committee concurs with the above findings.

"The principles of free speech, free press, and free assembly are worthy of an organization that stands for our republican form of government, guaran-

ted by the Constitution, and for the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, instead of an organization whose main work is to uphold the Communists in spreading revolutionary propaganda and inciting revolutionary activities to undermine our American institutions and overthrow our Federal Government."

LEADER UPHOLDS ADVOCACY OF MURDER

Roger Baldwin was called before the Fish Committee to testify. He is quoted as saying at that time that the American Civil Liberties Union upholds the right of a citizen or alien (it does not matter which) to advocate murder, assassination, and the overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

RECEIVED RED FUNDS

The American Civil Liberties Union is known to have received large sums of money from the million dollar Garland fund. Communist, Socialist, and other extreme radical movements are the only recipients of donations from the fund.

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (1937)

Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman; Helen Phelps Stokes, James H. Maurer, and Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, vice chairmen; B. W. Huebsch, treasurer; Roger N. Baldwin, director; Lucille B. Milner, secretary; Arthur Garfield Hays and Morris L. Ernst, counsel. Board of directors: Roger N. Baldwin, Robert W. Dunn, Morris L. Ernst, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Walter Frank, Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, Quincy Howe, B. W. Huebsch, Dorothy Kenyon, Corliss Lamont, Florina Lasker, Lucille B. Milner, A. J. Muste, William L. Nunn, Frank L. Palmer, Amos R. Pinchot, W. Charles Poletti, Eliot D. Pratt, Elmer Rice, Roger William Riis, Rev. William B. Spofford, Norman Thomas, Mary Van Kleeck, Rev. Harry F. Ward, and Raymond L. Wise.

National committee: Judge Charles F. Amidon, Judge George W. Anderson, Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, John Beardsley, Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Prof. Edwin M. Borchard, Heywood Brown, Prof. Richard C. Cabot, John S. Codman, Clarence Darrow, Prof. John Dewey, Prof. James H. Dillard, Prof. John Dos Passos, Robert W. Dunn, Rev. Sherwood Eddy, Elizabeth Glendower Evans, John F. Finerty, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Walter Frank, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Kate Crane Cartz, Norman Hapgood, Powers Hapgood, Hubert C. Herring, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Dean Charles H. Houston, Frederic C. Howe, Henry T. Hunt, James Weldon Johnson, Prof. George W. Kirchwey, Prof. John A. Lapp (with the Federal Government); Agnes Brown Leach, Prof. Henry R. Linville, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Mary E. McDowell, Anne Martin, Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, Prof. Henry R. Mussey, A. J. Muste, Prof. Walter Nelles, Prof. William L. Nunn, Julia S. O'Connor Parker, William Pickens, Amos Pinchot, Jeannette Ranken, Prof. Edward A. Ross, Dean Elbert Russell, Rev. John Nexin Sayre, Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Joseph Schlossberg, Vida D. Scudder, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, John F. Sinclair, Prof. Clarence R. Skinner, Norman W. Thomas, Edward D. Tittman, Millie R. Trumbull, Oswald Garrison Villard, B. Charney Vladeck, George P. West, Peter Witt, L. Hollingsworth Wood.

Local committees: (California) Northern California Branch, Dr. Charles Hogan, chairman; Santa Barbara Committee, Rev. Oliver Hart Broun, chairman; Esther Fiske Hammond, secretary; Southern California Branch, Dr. Edwin P. Ryland, chairman; Clinton J. Taft, director. Washington, D. C., Committee, John F. Finerty, chairman; Joseph L. Topper and Frederick A. Ballard, secretaries. Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, Jessie P. Binford, chairman; James E. Curry, secretary. Iowa Civil Liberties Committee, Edward S. Allen, chairman; Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, secretary. Maryland Civil Liberties Committee, Dr. A. C. Lovejoy, chairman; Elizabeth Gilman, secretary. Massachusetts Civil Liberties Committee, George H. Roewer, chairman; A. Frank Reel, secretary. Missouri Civil Liberties Committee, Walter Diehm, chairman; Victor Harris, secretary. Michigan-Ann Arbor Civil Liberties Committee, Rev. Harold P. Marley, acting chairman. Detroit Civil Liberties Committee, Rev. John H. Bollene, chairman; Fannie Huff, secretary. New Jersey Civil Liberties Committee, Prof. Edward A. Fuhrbruegge, chairman. New Mexico Civil Liberties Committee, Michael Shepard, chairman; Katherine Gay, secretary. New York City Committee, Florina Lasker, chairman. Erie County Civil Liberties Committee, Dean Julian Park, chairman; Miss C. I. Clafin, secretary. Cleveland

Civil Liberties Committee, Rev. John Sommerlatte, chairman; George Palda, secretary. Portland Civil Liberties Committee, Rev. Ross W. Anderson, chairman; Samuel Lockwood, Jr., secretary. (Pennsylvania) Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee, Dr. Philip David Bookstaber, chairman; Philadelphia Civil Liberties Committee, Edward Davis, chairman; Pittsburgh Civil Liberties Committee, George Evans, chairman; Mrs. H. S. Daley, secretary. Seattle Civil Liberties Committee, Chester Bert Harmon, chairman; Paul A. Olson, secretary. Wisconsin Civil Liberties Committee, Rev. George Collins, chairman; Rev. W. R. Holloway, secretary.

State chairman: Alabama, Rev. Charles H. S. Houk; Arkansas, Kenneth Coffelt; California, Clinton J. Taft; Colorado, Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg; Connecticut, A. C. Worley; Delaware, Louis L. Redding; Florida, James J. Marshall; Idaho, Ray McKaig; Illinois, Jessie Binford; Indiana, B. R. Johnson; Iowa, Prof. Edward S. Allen; Kansas, Prof. Seba Eldridge; Kentucky, Byron Pumphrey; Louisiana, Isaac S. Heller; Maryland, Elisabeth Gilman; Massachusetts, A. Frank Reel; Michigan, Caroline A. Parker; Minnesota, George B. Leonard; Mississippi, Jo Drake Arrington; Missouri, Dale R. Johnson; Montana, Daniel S. McCorkle; Nevada, Martin J. Scanlan; New Hampshire, Prof. Philip M. Marston; New Jersey, Prof. Edward A. Fuhlbruegge; New Mexico, Edward D. Tittmann; North Carolina, Dean Elbert Russell; North Dakota, Herbert C. Hanson; Ohio, Prof. Lawrence A. Sears; Oklahoma, Tupper Jones; Oregon, Rev. Ross W. Anderson; Pennsylvania, Dr. Philip David Bookstaber; Rhode Island, Sigmund W. Fischer, Jr.; South Dakota, William C. Remper; Tennessee, Prof. William R. Amberson; Texas, George Clifton Edward; Utah, Alfred Sorenson; Virginia, Virginius Dabney; Washington, Mrs. Charles Enoch Allen Bennett; West Virginia, Henry M. Russell; Wisconsin, George L. Collins; Wyoming, Rev. Roy Hills.

Committees and auxiliary organizations: Committee on academic freedom, Lucille B. Milner, secretary; committee on aliens' civil rights, David W. Wainhouse, chairman; committee on Indians' civil rights, Prof. Jay B. Nash, chairman, Robert Cessner, secretary; national committee on labor injunctions, former United States Judge Charles F. Amidon, chairman; Alexander Fleisher, secretary; National Council on Freedom from Censorship, Prof. Hatcher Hughes, chairman; Clifton R. Read, Mrs. Mildred Unger, secretaries; national Mooney-Billings committee, Henry T. Hunt (appointed Federal Government, 1934), chairman, Roger N. Baldwin, secretary.

Organizations affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union: Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, president, Arthur Fisher; vice-president, William H. Holly (appointed Federal judge 1934); treasurer, Duane Swift; executive secretary, Lloyd W. Lehman; executive board—the officers and Jessie F. Binford, Karl Borders, Ernst Freund, Herbert J. Friedman, Charles W. Gilkey, William N. Rodriguez.

Civil Liberties Committee of Massachusetts—advisory committee: Judge George W. Anderson; Mrs. Roland M. Baker; Alice Stone Blackwell; Mary W. Calkins; Mrs. E. A. Codman; Frances C. Curtis; Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr; Dr. Hilbert F. Day; Robert C. Dexter; Harold K. Estabrook; Robert Fechner (head of civilian Conservation Corps division relief); Prof. Felix Frankfurter; L. O. Hartman; Ellen Hayes; Hector M. Holmes; Edward Ingraham; Prof. J. M. Landis (until recently with Federal Government); Joseph Lee; John F. Moore; Dr. Abraham Myerson; Cornelia Stratton Parker; Mrs. Wenona C. Pinkham; Mrs. A. E. Phoutrides; Mrs. William E. Ripley; George E. Boewer; Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger; Vida D. Scudder; Prof. Clarence R. Skinner; W. L. Stoddard; Mrs. Mary Gordon Thompson; William C. Thompson; John Van Vaerenwyck; H. F. Whitney; Pres. Mary E. Wooley (Mount Holyoke College). Executive committee: John S. Codman, William C. Taussig, Dorothy Kirchwey Brown, Smith C. Baxter, Herbert B. Ehrann, Mrs. Elisabeth G. Evans, Francis C. Goodale, Catharine S. Huntington, Harold L. Rotzel, Mrs. Cerist Jack, Gardner Jackson, Rev. Robert W. Jones, Reuben L. Lurif, Florence Luscomb, Prof. S. E. Morison, David E. Niles, Mrs. Arthur C. Rotch, and Gertrude L. Winslow.

Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee: Chairman, Dr. Philip David Bookstaber; vice-chairman, Rev. James B. Cox, Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Dr. William Draper Lewis; treasurer, E. Lewis Burnham; executive secretary, Allen C. Harper; State committee, Rev. Waldo A. Ames; Rev. William E. Anderson; M. Georgina Biddle; Dr. Jacob Billikopf; Richard J. Blum; Dr. Ralph S. Boots; Mrs. Mary Clark Burnett; Dr. Henry J. Cadbury; Dr. Edward P. Cheyney; Fanny Travis Cochran; Mrs. Walter N. Cope; Helen Crawley;

Michael Francis Doyle; Sophia H. Dullos; Rev. William N. Fineshriber; Dr. Alexander Fleisher; John W. Edelman; Rev. Maurice Feuer; James A. Fox; Rev. Samuel N. Goldenson; Dr. W. Brooks Graves; Rev. Frederick R. Griffith; Robert Hampton, Jr.; Darlington Hoopes; Dr. R. J. Hovde; Irving Hunt; Mary N. Ingham; Francis Fisher Kane; Rexford Knight; Herman Levine; Simon Libros; Mrs. Sarah Limbach; Mrs. I. Albert Liveright, Jr.; S. McCormick; James N. Maurer; Rev. Theodore Miner; Rev. William Gilbert Howell; Harvey O'Connor; Wayne Paulin; William Rosenwald; Mrs. Harvey F. Smith; Sidney A. Teller; Rev. Ralph B. Umy; Dr. William J. Van Essen; David Wallerstein; J. Barnard Walton; Dr. Frank D. Watson; and Dr. Benjamin H. Williams.

Baltimore Committee, American Civil Liberties Union: Dr. and Mrs. Athey, Miss Margaret D. Boehm, Dr. Gertrude C. Bussey, Mrs. William J. Brown, Mrs. Morris A. Carey, Mr. and Mrs. George Coates, Mrs. W. W. Woodbrook, Miss Elizabeth Gilman, Miss Helen D. Green, Mr. Raymond P. Hawes, B. N. Hartogensis, Francis Jencks, Kenneth D. Longsdorf, Mr. and Mrs. Broadus Mitchell, J. J. McNamara, Dr. and Mrs. Neistadt, Lois Oathoff, S. Wilmer Pleasants, Nora L. Reynolds, Joseph Rosenthal, Karl A. M. Scholtz and Gwendolyn B. Willis.

Civil Liberties Union of St. Louis: Dr. Albert E. Taussig, president; Prof. George W. Stephens, Dean Sidney E. Sweet, vice presidents; Richard C. Bland, executive secretary; directors, Rev. George M. Gibson, Jr.; H. N. Childs, Mrs. C. K. Gleason, Prof. Joseph M. Klamon, Rabbi Ferdinand C. Isserman, Bishop William Scarlett, Rev. Ralph C. Abels, and Prof. Ralph F. Fuchs.

Mary Ware Demmett Defense Committee: Chairman, John Dewey; vice chairman, Henry Sloane Coffin, Katharine Bement Davis, Abel J. Gregg; treasurer, Corliss Lamont; secretary, Forrest Bailey; executive committee; Josephine Daskam Bacon, Harrison H. Elliott, Mrs. Marshall Field, Roy W. Howard, Dorothy Kenyon, Henry W. Thurston, Olive Van Horn. Committee: Edward J. Allen, Helen Arthur, Josephine D. Bacon, Forrest Bailey, Alice Stone Blackwell, Alice C. Boughton, Edwin M. Borehard, John McEntee Bowman, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Louise Stevens Bryant, Lillian A. Burton, Elizabeth Campbell, Ida M. Cannon, Henry Sloane Coffin, Marc Connolly, Herbert J. Davenport, Katharine Bement Davis, Michael M. Davis, John Dewey, Robert L. Dickinson, Paul H. Douglas, Ruth Draper, Sherwood Eddy, Harrison H. Elliott, Kendall Emerson, Max Joseph Exner, Douglas P. Falconer, Mrs. Marshall Field, Margaret Fleuniken, Abel J. Gregg, Louis I. Harris, George J. Hecht, James C. Heller, Norman E. Himes, Harry L. Hopkins (Federal Relief Administrator), William Hodson, Roy W. Howard, Rupert Hughes, Fanny Hurst, Joseph Jastrow, Bascom Johnson, Dorothy Kenyon, Corliss Lamont, Owen R. Lovejoy, Solomon Lowenstein, Marion Lerrigo McWilliams, William J. McWilliams, Kenneth McGowan, Edith J. Mitchell, Ruth Crawford Mitchell, Lewis Mumford, J. Prentice Murphy, Louis I. Newman, Kenneth R. Parmenter, Martin W. Peck, William Allen Pussey, George Haven Putnam, Mrs. Jacob Riis, James Rorty, Milton J. Rosenan, William Salter, William E. Speers, Jessie Taft, Henry W. Thurston, Mabel Ellsworth Todd, Olive Van Horn, Miriam Van Waters, Goodwin Watson, Stephen S. Wise and Evangeline W. Young.

Southern California Branch: American Civil Liberties Union: Clinton J. Taft, Upton Sinclair, Kate Crane Cartz Doremus Scouder, Leo Gallagher, Ethelwyn Mills, P. D. Noll, Lew Head, John Packard, John Beardsley, Charlotte Dantzig Edwin P. Hyland, Ernst Hesig and A. L. Wirin, latter in Federal Government.

National Council on Freedom from Censorship: Chairman, Hatcher Hughes; vice chairman, Barrett H. Clark, Fannie Hurst, Elmer Rice; treasurer, Harry Elmer Barnes; secretary, Gordon W. Moss; Sherwood Anderson, Helen Arthur Bruce Bliven, Kendall Banning, Anita Block, Dr. Louise Stevens Bryant, Witter Byaner, James Branch Cabell, Henry Seidel Canby, Edward Childs Carpenter, Logan Clendenning, Marc Connolly, Mary Ware Demmett, Walter Prichard Eaton, Morris L. Ernst, Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, Paul Green, Dr. Louis I. Harris, Arthur Garfield Hays, Theresa Nelburn, B. W. Neubach, Sidney Howard, Rupert Hughes, Inez Haynes Irwin, Dorothy Kenyon, Kenneth Macgowan, H. L. Mencken, Karl A. Menninger, Lewis Mumford, Henry Raymond Mussey, George Jean Nathan, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Rev. Robert Norwood, Eugene O'Neill, William A. Orr, Maxwell E. Perkins, Dr. C. Shearman Peterkin, Llewelyn Powys, Dr. Aaron J. Rosanoff, Robert E. Sherwood, Claire Sifton, Paul Sifton, Harry Weinberger, Stewart Edward White, Dr. Ira S. Wile, Harry Leon Wilson.

Committee on Indian civil rights: Nathan Margold (Department of Interior)

chairman; Robert Cassner, secretary; Dr. Leon N. Adler, George P. Ahern, Harry W. Anderson, Mary Elliott Arnold, A. C. Ballard, A. A. Berle, Jr. (now with State Department), Alice Stone Blackwell, Alexander P. Black, Franz Boas, Raymond B. Bragg, Witter Bynner, H. E. Cohen, Alice M. Cowan, Virginius Dabney, Robert W. Dunn, Haven Emerson, Charles T. Ennis, Howard S. Gans, Florence Curtis Hanson, Albert Hirst, Mrs. Darlington Hoopes, Judson King, Mrs. Emily A. Madden, Jack McLellan, C. V. Muller, Jay B. Nash, W. F. Ogburn, Henry W. Pinkham, Paul Porter, Eliot B. Pratt, Frederick B. Righter, Father John A. Ryan, Harold von Schmidt.

Committee on labor injunctions: Attorneys, John F. Finerty, Frank P. Walsh, Amos Pinchot, Thomas W. Hardwick (attorney for Dickstein committee), Donald R. Rieberg (with Federal Government), E. M. Crossman, Jerome Walsh, Nelson S. Spencer, William S. Uren, E. D. Tittmann, W. B. Lane; clergymen, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John A. Ryan, Harry F. Ward, Edward L. Israel, Abba Nillel Silver; professors, John Dewey, Herman Oliphant, Edwin M. Borchard, John A. Lapp, Jerome Davis, Alva W. Taylor, Clark Warburton, Paul H. Douglas, Ernst Freund, Edward A. Steiner, Broadus Mitchell, Alice Hamilton, A. J. Todd, Carter Goodrich, Colston K. Warns, Mary E. Wooley, H. W. Edgerton, Tyrell Williams, R. G. Tugwell, Edward A. Ross, Vida B. Scudder, Hornell Hart, W. Carson Ryan, Jr.; editors, authors, and others, Fremont Older, William Allen White, Elizabeth C. Evans, Dr. John B. Andrews, John A. Fitch, Waldo Frank, Sidney Hillman, A. J. Muste, Sherwood Anderson, Robert Herrick.

Committee on academic freedom: Prof. William C. Bagley, Prof. John L. Childs, Prof. George S. Counts, Dr. James N. Dillard, William Edward Dodd (former ambassador to Germany), Prof. Charles A. Ellwood, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Prof. Robert Murray Haig, Prof. Sidney Hook, Prof. Horace M. Kallen, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Dr. John A. Lapp, Robert D. Leigh, Dr. Henry R. Linville, Prof. Karl N. Llewellyn, Prof. A. O. Lovejoy, Dr. Jesse N. Newlon, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, William A. Neilson, Frederick L. Redefer, Prof. Vida Scudder, Prof. Clarence B. Skinner, Dr. V. T. Thayer, Prof. L. L. Thurston, Mary E. Woolley.

In addition to the above, the American Civil Liberties Union sets up numerous temporary committees for special occasions. It claims the cooperation of thousands of attorneys throughout the country who will rush to the aid of any radical in difficulty.

A. C. L. U. LEADERS ACTIVE IN OTHER MOVEMENTS

Members of the American Civil Liberties Union and its many committees and affiliates are officials or committee members of other radical organizations, namely, American League for Peace and Democracy, Methodist Federation for Social Service, People's Lobby, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Reconciliation Trips, Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, Teachers' Union, Federal Council of Churches, Peace Patriots, National Religious and Labor Foundation, Friends of Soviet Union, American League Against War and Fascism, Norman Thomas Election Committee, American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration, American Fund for Public Service, All-American Anti-Imperialist League, India Independence League of America, International Committee for Political Prisoners, National Urban League, Open Forum Speakers' Bureau, Prisoners' Relief Fund, International Juridical Association, National Committee to Aid Striking Miners, International Workers' Aid, American League for India's Freedom, New York Committee for Progressive Miners' Relief, Foreign Policy Association, U. S. Congress Against War, Sponsoring Committee of Emma Goldman, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Association for Old Age Security, League for Industrial Democracy, American Student Union, Rand School of Social Science, American Birth Control League, American Progressive Committee to Support "Il Nuovo Mondo", Brookwood College, Inc.; Committee on Militarism in Education, Conference for Progressive Labor Action, Labor Age Magazine, League for Independent Political Action, Socialist Party, Communist Party, Young People's Socialist League, National Mooney-Billings Committee, America-For-All Magazine, Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction, League Against Fascism, Tamm Labor Conference, Committee on Churches and World Peace, League of Nations Association, Inc.

California Committee for Social Justice, Church League for Industrial Democracy, Emergency Peace Campaign, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, American League for Human Rights, New York Workers' Committee on Unemployment, Book Union, American League to Abolish Capital Punishment, John Reed Club, National Bureau of Information and Education, Robert Ingersoll Committee, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, Artists and Writers Congress, League for Mutual Aid, Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, Brookwood Labor College, New School for Social Research, Group Theatre, Federated Press, Marcus Graham Defense Committee, "New Masses," Workers' Library Publishers, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, "New Pioneer," "Labor Defender," Workers (Communist) Schools, Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, Political Prisoners Bail Fund, International Labor Defense, Soviet Russia Today Magazine, Committee of Professional Groups, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Consumers' League, National Unemployment League, the Three-fold Movement, Unity Magazine, War Resisters' League, Women's Peace Society, "World Tomorrow," National World Court Committee, League for Organization of Progress, National Conference on Students in Politics, World Conscience Movement, Home Library Foundation, Ministers' Union, Committee of 48, Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, "New Republic," Save-Our-Schools Committee, Fellowship of Faiths, Pocono Study Tours Committee, Farmer-Labor Political Federation, "Socialist Call," Champion of Youth Magazine, National Council for the Prevention of War, Committee for Industrial Organization (C. I. O.), Heywood Broun Election Committee, Public Ownership League, National Popular Government League, McNamara and Schmidt Pardon Committee, Western Writers Congress, American Federation of Teachers, Manumet Association, Inc., Pioneer Youth of America, American Friends of Turkey, American Russian Institute, Child Study Association of America, China Institute of America, Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, Henry George Foundation, New Education Fellowship, Progressive Education League, World Unity Foundation, "Open Road," Victor Berger Foundation, Council for Intellectual Cooperation, Committee on Action of Farmer-Labor Political Federation, Association of Unemployed College Alumni and Professional People, Committee on Workers and Farmers' Rights, Moscow State University, Third (Communist) International, Social Frontier Magazine, Common Sense Magazine, Cooperative Distributors, Commonwealth Federation of New York, American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, Mohegan Colony House, Sacramento Appeal Committee, American Workers' Party, Church Emergency Committee for the Relief of Textile Workers, National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, The Witness Magazine, Institute of International Relations, "New Leader" (newspaper), Foreign Language Information Service, World Peaceways, The Challenge Magazine, National Sharecroppers' Week, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Workers' Defense League, American Jewish Congress, National Child Labor Committee, National Student Federation, All-World Gandhi Movement, American Association of University Women, Golden Rule Foundation, Institute of International Education, Committee on Cause and Cure of War, Student Congress Against War, John Dewey Society for Study of Education and Culture, American Friends Service Committee, Proportional Representation League, Committee for Southern Political Prisoners, World Committee for Fight Against Imperialist War, A. F. L. Rank and File Committee, American League Against War and Fascism, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Methodist Federation for Social Service, Free-thinkers of America, International Union of Revolutionary Writers, Labor Research Association, League of Professional Groups for Ford and Foster, People's Legislative Service, National Scottsboro Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Young Pioneers of America, Inter-Professional Association for Social Insurance, Church Emergency Relief Committee, American Veterans' Council, Commonwealth College, National Citizens' Committee for Civil Rights in Automobile Industry (set-up to aid the Committee for Industrial Organization in its sit-down strikes), American Youth Congress, China Institute of America, United Parents Association, Dramatists Guild of the Authors' League, "People's Press" (paper), University of Exile, Riis Settlement, Christian Social Justice Fund, Russell Sage Foundation, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, North American Newspaper Alliance, "Jewish Daily Forward," Telephone Operators Union, National Women's Part, Teachers' Guild of New York, Citizens' Union, United Textile Workers of America, Congregational Education Society, Committee for Industrial Organization and Spanish Aid Movements.

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE ACCUSES AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

In a report prepared by the Naval Intelligence, appearing in the September 10, 1935, edition of the Congressional Record, the following statement is made: "Organizations which while not openly advocating the "force and violence" principles of the Communists, give aid and comfort to the Communist movement and party. Among the strongest of these organizations are:

(a) American Civil Liberties Union. This organization is too well known to need description. The larger part of the work carried on by it and its various branches does undoubtedly materially aid Communist objectives."

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION REPORT SHOWS DEFENSE FOR COMMUNISTS,
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, ETC.

The reports of the American Civil Liberties Union over a period of years shows their continuous defense of Communists, Industrial Workers of the World, Socialists, radical pacifists, and other types of revolutionaries, as well as a continual attack on the efforts of Congress or State legislatures to enact laws of protection from aliens, Communists, and radicals. The union has fought oath of allegiance laws as strongly as attempts to prosecute or deport or give citizenship or prevent entry within our country for any type of undesirables.

EXCHANGE OF THANKS

The Communists deeply appreciate the close cooperation given them by the American Civil Liberties Union and its leaders. They have not hesitated to express their sentiments accordingly. On the other hand, the union has openly sympathized with the Communist cause. At the Ninth Annual Convention of the Communist Party, the activities of Rev. Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union were heralded in the following statement: "Such selfish and consistent service to a progressive cause as Dr. Ward has given, will always receive the unstinted recognition and support of the Communist Party."

ADMITS LIBERTY STRANGLER UNDER COMMUNISM, BUT SUPPORTS IT

In *Liberty Under the Soviets*, by Roger N. Baldwin, he admits that he recognizes "fully the dangers in the extreme measures of control in effect in Russia today." He deplors "them for their unnecessary cruelties," but admits his "personal prejudices in favor of the economic achievements and purposes of the Russian revolution." He says: "I have aided enterprises organized in the United States to help Soviet industry and agriculture, and to gain recognition for Russia. * * * First-hand contact has strengthened my hopes for the effects of economic liberty and diminished my fears for the effects of political repression." Yet when Baldwin was in Russia he admits that "hundreds of persons were being arrested. The political prisons were crowded. The Government was nervous. * * * Georgia * * * obviously was being held in the Union (of Soviet Republics) against the desire of its people for independence." He stated: "In the Communist philosophy, from the days of Karl Marx to the present, there is no room for the ideas of freedom of speech, press and assembly, or liberty of individual conscience." In discussing the religion of Russia, he said: "There is now no state church. There is an antichurch state." Baldwin frankly admitted that even his book would have been censored under the Soviet system of government. In other words, he says there is no liberty worthy of mention in Russia, and that "the Constitution contains no guarantee of rights to individuals." It is interesting to note in this connection that the American Civil Liberties Union, of which Baldwin is an official, is constantly defending the so-called "rights" of Communists in the United States under the American Constitution to advocate the overthrow of the American Government and the establishment of a Communist system.

According to the Philadelphia (Sunday) Dispatch, Roger Baldwin wrote in the Harvard University Year Book of 1935: "My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. Therefore, I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. Communism is the goal." (This has been verified by us.)

An editorial which appeared in the New York Evening American attributes the following statement to Roger Baldwin:

"I am for Socialism, disarmament, and, ultimately, for abolishing the state itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the properties class and sole control of those who produce wealth. * * *

CIVIL LIBERTIES ONLY A TOOL

An article in the April 8, 1937, issue of the New York Times indicated that Baldwin possibly made an acknowledgment of his real purpose and that of the American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of so-called "civil liberties" in the United States when he said: "Civil liberties, like democracy, are useful only as tools for change. * * * I am interested to maintain such freedom of agitation as can be won not primarily as a political principle, but as a means of resolving economic conflict with a minimum of violence."

FORMER CHAMPION OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION RETURNS TO UNITED STATES

In 1935, Fred E. Beal, one of the Communists escaping from the Gastonia (N. C.) strike scene to Russia, returned to the United States. In a series of articles he wrote soon after, he scored the American Civil Liberties Union, Russia and Communism. (See addition at end.)

COMPLAINS THAT THE UNITED STATES BARS ANARCHISTS

In a statement which appeared in the American Labor Year Book, Roger Baldwin was extremely critical of the immigration, passport, and naturalization regulations of the United States Government. He said, in part: "Admission is denied not only to anarchists (since 1901) but to any persons who believe in the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States * * * or who disbelieve in organized government."

RED FINANCIAL HOOK-UP OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Not only does the American Civil Liberties Union admit its open defense of Communists and other types of radicals in what it calls their "legal defense," but it also admits that it has loaned considerable money to the International Labor Defense, a Communist movement, which is a branch of the "red" International Aid of Russia. It also admits having lost \$40,000 in bails which it surrendered in the Gastonia riot cases after the Communists involved had escaped to Russia. Only a short time ago the union received a refund for bails which it had furnished for the Bridgeman (Mich.) Communists. The trail was abandoned by the Government because of the death of the main witness in the case. The union likewise admits that it has received funds from the Garland Fund.

THE "RED" DEFENDERS IN ACTION

In 1933 it was learned that the American Civil Liberties Union was centering its legislative efforts on eight distinct points. These were a demand that each city in the United States give revolutionists and other agitators a special place in parks or on streets to hold forth without police permits, thereby giving such meetings a legal aspect; second, a campaign to compel the United States Department of Labor to stop so-called "illegal" raids on aliens, and to foster a discontinuance of deportation by that Department of aliens, their opinions appear to be finding favor with the Secretary of Labor, Miss Perkins, and to curb antialien legislation; third, to encourage protective legislation for alien political refugees in the United States and to admit alien pacifists as citizens who refuse to take the naturalization oath to defend the United States Government in case of need; fourth, a campaign against post office and radio censorship; fifth, for the release of the anarchists, Mooney and Billings; sixth, for the release of the Centralia I. W. W.'s and Pennsylvania prisoners convicted under the sedition laws; seventh, against legislation and regulations "restricting" freedom in educational institutions; and eighth, for so-called "civil liberties" of Indians.

In certain States where syndicalism laws prevail, the American Civil Liberties Union is also attempting to have them repealed or discredited. It appealed to President Roosevelt to free over 1,200 "political" prisoners, including I. W. W.'s, Communists, and other types of radicals now serving sentences. It sent out a strong appeal for funds for the defense of the Scottsboro negroes now being tried for the third or fourth time for the alleged assault of two white girls, which case was being handled by the (Communist) International Labor Defense.

This program, although pretty broad, was to be taken up in National and State legislatures during the year.

OTHER IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF A. C. L. U.

In 1932 the American Civil Liberties Union took up the fight to kill the bills of the Congressional Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States which had been prepared for the purpose of curbing Communist activities.

On July 2, 1935, the Union directed its friends to help defeat a bill in Congress introduced by Congressman McCormack of Massachusetts, which was designed to prevent Communist agitation and organizing in the Army and Navy. In this connection it asserted: "Only widespread and vigorous action can stop its passage."

The Union worked diligently in 1935 to kill the bills of the McCormack committee which was investigating Communist and Un-American activities.

Over a period of several years, the A. C. L. U. has attempted to promote acts in Congress which would have, if enacted, liberalized the Government's laws with regard to radicals and radical movements.

The American Civil Liberties Union has been active in the following cases: It defended Paul Crouch and Robert Trumbull, two American soldiers who were arrested and convicted for seeking to incite mutiny in the United States Army. Both of these men are avowed Communists.

It defended Count and Countess Karolyi, two Hungarian reds who were refused permission to enter this country by the State Department.

It defended Tresca, an Italian Communist; Saklatvala, a British Communist; Ford, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, who has served time in a penitentiary in California.

It defended Anita Whitney, California Communist arrested for sedition; A. J. Muste (sedition); Stanley Glass (sedition), Ward Rodgers (sedition), disorderly conduct cases, Communist literature cases, obscene literature cases, alien immigration cases, persons accused of carrying concealed weapons, alien deportation cases, alien citizenship cases, atheist cases, those charged with inciting to insurrection, repeal of Espionage Act, repeal of sedition laws, anti-oath, anti-flag, picketing, riot, strike, Centralia Industrial Workers of the World, Philippine Communist, conscientious objectors, conspiracy to riot, Communist Party election, Colorado Young Communist League sedition, Paul Kassey (Ohio) sedition, Theidora Luesse (Indiana), Guido Serio (New York), Tao Hsuan Li (New York), Fort Logan Communists, Council Bluffs, Iowa, Communists, McIntosh and Bland citizenship, Stopes contraception, atheist, Rosika Schwimmer citizenship, post-office censorship, Ohio criminal syndicalism law, Harry Eisman Communist, South Dakota Bible reading in schools cases.

The American Civil Liberties Union is against an investigation of communism in the United States and in schools and colleges. It is against the censorship of subversive plays, pictures, and periodicals; against compulsory flag salutes, military training in schools, loyalty oaths for teachers, sedition bills. It was active in the defense of Angelo Herndon (Negro Communist), Browder (Terre Haute), De Jonge (Oregon Communist), Tom Mooney (anarchist), Young Communist League (McKeesport, Pa.), Milwaukee Communists, Wisconsin Communists, Santa Rosa, Calif., Communists, Sacramento Communists, Topeka Communists, John Stratchey (English Communist).

The American Civil Liberties Union fought the "red rider" (anti-Communist school bill, District of Columbia), Kramer anti-Communist bill, Reynolds-Starnes alien bill. It supported the Indian Regulation Act (opposed by Indians), the bill proposing a new form of government for the Virgin Islands, political asylum for refugees from foreign countries bill, Antilynching Act, admission of alien pacifists to citizenship. In addition, it was active in the following cases: Works Progress Administration theater project censorship of Communist plays, Detroit ban on Soviet film, Youth of Marx, censorship of

It Can't Happen Here, expelled Communist students in Michigan, San Francisco Communist strikes, Newspaper Guild, criminal anarchists, admission of alien pacifists to citizenship, prohibition of interstate transportation of strike-breakers, Oklahoma City Federal conspiracy, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute Communist teacher, University of Pittsburgh atheist professors, and New York Communist cases.

The United States Supreme Court has found that "a State may punish utterances endangering the foundation of organized government and threatening its overthrow by unlawful means. These imperil its own existence as a constitutional State. Freedom of speech and press does not protect disturbances of the public peace or the attempt to subvert the Government * * *."

Yet, in the name of so-called constitutionality, the American Civil Liberties Union upholds those who advocate the overthrow of our form of government, whose utterances and activities imperil the existence of our constitutional state.

OFFICERS 1938

In the latest list of officers the following names have been added: Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Carl Carmer, Harold Fey, John F. Finnerty, Oswald Fraenkel, Nathan Greene, Charles Houston, A. J. Iserman, Corliss Lamont, Mary Van Kleeck, Raymond L. Wise, Bishop Edgar Blake, Heywood Brown, Francis J. Corman, B. Charney Vladeck, Joseph Schlossberg, John Nevin Sayre, Prof. William L. Munn, A. J. Muste, James H. Maurer, Dr. Henry Linville, Dr. John A. Lapp, Sidney Howard, Powers Hapgood, John Dos Passos, Dr. Harry Elmer Brown, and Dr. Mary E. Woolley has become a vice chairman. Several new divisions have been set up this year. These include one in Santa Barbara, Calif.; Kern County, Calif.; Indiana Civil Rights Committee, R. F. D. No. 1, New Palestine, Ind.; Iowa Civil Liberties Union at 1116 Paramount Building, Des Moines; Kansas City, Kans., in the Federal Reserve Building; Maryland Civil Liberties Committee in Baltimore with Mauritz Hallgren as chairman; Western Massachusetts Civil Liberties Committee at Amherst, with Prof. Colston Warne as chairman; Ann Arbor, Mich.; Kansas City, Mo., Bureau; New Jersey Civil Liberties Bureau; Erie County Bureau; Cincinnati Bureau; Texas Bureau in Austin; Tacoma Bureau; Central Wisconsin; etc.

In their 1938 report they condemn: The Senate filibuster on the antilynching bill; Alabama State for keeping Scottsboro Negroes in prison; decision of California Supreme Court denying writ of habeas corpus to Mooney; Mayor Hague's activities; Chicago police Memorial Day activities; Florida court decisions in *Tampa case*; Ohio National Guards in connection with strikes; Cotton planter situation in Georgia; New Mexico Supreme Court on *Gallup cases*; Gadsden, Ala., officials; San Antonio police; Memphis City officials; San Antonio police officials; the Massachusetts State legislative committee investigating subversivism; the United States Congress for enactment of the bill setting up the Committee to Investigate Un-Americanism; Congress for passing an act prohibiting picketing of foreign embassies in District of Columbia; New York State Legislature for enacting a bill to prohibit holding of office by Communists (they express glee over Governor Lehman's veto of same); Deportation warrant against anarchist editor; State Department's limitation of stay for alien C. I. O. president of International Woodworkers; censorship of State boards of radical films; decisions of Supreme Court in *Georgia Tar case*, its refusal to rehear flag-salute case, its refusal to take jurisdiction in case of alien slacker applying for citizenship, its refusal to review conviction cases of Puerto Rican revolutionists convicted for sedition and its refusal to take jurisdiction in the *Scottsboro case*.

It claims it is with the C. I. O. suing Mayor Hague for an injunction to restrain interference with C. I. O. rights in New Jersey.

It criticizes the Government for shutting out William Gallacher, British Communist in 1938.

The financial report of this organization as of January 31, 1937, is: income, \$26,404.27; expenditures, \$25,186.34. Its trust funds show: Receipts, \$30,165.82; expenditures \$1,415.47. Its revolving fund, \$441.07; loans due, \$1,120 (portion for Communist International Labor Defense). It shows total assets of \$42,220; liabilities of \$1,868.

During the year it published and circulated in addition to its regular publications weekly, monthly, and annually, some 43 pamphlets and books, these condemning the militia, Congress, alien interference, so-called labor spying,

Supreme Court, censorship, etc. One of the pamphlets was an address by Secretary Ickes entitled Nations in Night Shirts.

It says it will fight in the next (1939) Congress for changes in the immigration and deportation laws "to end all restrictions" so as to admit all in who want in.

It will fight against military training in schools and colleges and will fight the flag salute and loyalty oath regulations where existing.

It will, it says, fight for the release of all "political prisoners" jailed under sedition and criminal syndicalism laws.

It will fight to prevent declaration of martial laws and suspension of civil law during strikes. It will fight post office, radio, and movie censorship, for freedom of our colonies, etc.

Footnote: Open letter of Fred Beal, defended by the American Civil Liberties Union during the Gastonia, N. C., civil-warfare trials and who escaped to Russia only to get fed up on Communism in Russia and to return to the United States to serve a 20-year sentence:

"ROGER BALDWIN,

"Director of American Civil Liberties Union,

"JOHN DEWEY,

"Eminent American philosopher and educator,

"NORMAN THOMAS,

"Leader of the American Socialist Party,

"HARRY WARD,

"Professor of the Union Theological Seminary,

"MARY VAN KLEEK,

"Industrial expert of Russell Sage Foundation.

"You and the hundreds of liberals who supported me in the past in my battles for full justice to labor, will be interested in the story of my experiences in Soviet Russia which I am bringing to the American masses.

"I cannot remain true to my ideals and remain silent. You and those organs of the press which are largely under your influence have justly expressed and condemned the iniquities of the Fascist dictatorship in Italy and the Nazi dictatorship in Germany.

"But you and the so-called American liberals have either willfully or unwittingly blinded yourselves to the iniquitous and reactionary Stalinist dictatorship in Soviet Russia."

FRED E. BEAL.

In 1938 the American Civil Liberties Union joined the Communist International Labor Defense in having several bills introduced in the House to curb and cripple the use of the National Guard in serious uprisings.

It has issued publications denouncing the police and the National Guards of our Nation. It has waged a fight against teaching religion in schools and against teachers' oaths. It continues its activities in behalf of the communists and has recently taken up the cudgels for the C.I.O.

CHICAGO CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE—(JUNE, 1938)

Officers.—Honorary chairman, Judge William H. Holly; chairman, Jessie F. Binford; vice chairman, Charles P. Schwartz; Treasurer, Georgia Lloyd; Counsel, Edgar Bernhard; Counsel, William E. Rodriguez; Executive secretary, Ira Latimer.

Executive board.—Edgar Bernhard, Jessie F. Binford, Robert T. Drake, Dean Charles W. Gilkey, Carl Haessler, Pearl M. Hart, Dr. John A. Lapp, Ira Latimer, Rabbi Joshua L. Liebman, Georgia Lloyd, Prof. Robert M. Lovett, Robert Pollak, George L. Quilici, William E. Rodriguez, Charles P. Schwartz, Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Robert R. Taylor, Paul E. Thurlow, and Rev. W. B. Waltmire.

Advisory board.—Robert S. Abbott, Rev. Norman B. Barr, Prof. Charles Behre, Jr., Prof. Percy H. Boynton, Prof. S. P. Breckinridge, Prof. A. J. Carlson, Flora J. Cooke, Prof. William E. Dodd, Earl B. Dickerson, Prof. Paul H. Douglas, Prof. Thomas D. Eliot, Dr. Edwin R. Embree, John M. Fewkes, Arthur Fisher, Margaret Furness, Prof. A. Eustace Haydon, Lillian Herstein, Dr. Paul Hutchinson, Esther L. Kohn, Prof. James Weber Linn, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, Prof. Lawrence Martin, Catherine W. McCulloch, Rev. Clyde McGee, Prof. Wayne McMillen, Dr. Charles C. Morrison, Joseph L. Moss, Ruth W. Porter, Rev. Curtis W. Reese, Amelia Sears, Prof. T. V. Smith, Rev. Ernest F. Tittle, Prof. Arthur J. Todd, Dr. James M. Yard, and Victor S. Yarros.

COMMUNIST CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Communists in the United States have not neglected the so-called cultural front, for the reason that it presents some of the best available avenues for propaganda and political penetration. These might be mentioned as art, the theater (spoken drama), the films, and the dance and music. None of these arts have been neglected by the "reds." There are today the Theater Union, the Workers Laboratory Theater, the Workers Dance Groups, the Artists Union, the John Reed Club, the Pierre Degeyter Club, and also, of course, the Labor Sports Union (Monthly Review, December 1934). Large possibilities for this activity were rendered only by the existence of the Soviet Union where directing centers could control it on an international scale. Each of them has a special region for destroying the world culture and undermining the very basis of civilized society.

One of the pioneers of the "red" theater movement is the John Reed Club. It has been active both in the theater and in the cinema as well as in the art. It is still very much in the forefront. It seeks both revolutionary plays and the development of revolutionary playwrights. It has issued calls for short and long plays to go to the League of Workers Theaters of the United States of America, 42 East Twelfth Street, New York City, national section of the International Union of Revolutionary Theaters of Moscow (John Reed Club Bulletin).

One of the first organizations of the "red" theater groups was the Workers Drama League, of New York City, in 1926. Among those prominent were Howard Lawson, Michael Gold, Ida Rauh, and Jasper Deeter. A year later, five young revolutionary playwrights, Lawson and Gold, mentioned above, Francis Farragoh, Em Jo-Basshe, and Prof. John Dos Passe, established the New Playwrights' which was financed with an endowment of \$100,000 by the late Otto Kahn, Wall Street banker. This developed the Provincetown Theater.

In 1930 came a German-speaking labor theater group producing "agitprop" or agitational and propaganda plays, produced not in theaters but at labor rallies and in revolutionary meetings. The Scottsboro trials were seized on for propaganda purposes. This group was followed by the organization of the Workers Laboratory Theater, under the newly formed Workers Drama League. The purposes were to spread radical propaganda and foment class hatred. The first magazine, *The Workers Theater*, was organized, and this grew into the much more pretentious *New Theater* of today. *International Literature* and *International Theater* are other organs of the Workers Theater movement.

A dramatic bureau was set up in New York in 1931, and the theater movement became national. The next year was held the first National Workers Theater festival and conference. Messages came to the conference from reds in Japan, Germany, Russia, and France, as well as from the International Workers Dramatic Union in Moscow. There was established the League of Workers Theaters of the United States of America, as a national federation of producing groups. It voted to affiliate with a national section of the International Workers Dramatic Union giving it a still deeper Communist flavor. The Workers Theater became the official organ, the name of which publication was changed in 1933 to the *New Theater*. The contributing editors enlisted included Sidney Howard, John H. Lawson, Anita Block, Joseph Freeman, Virgil Geddes, Lee Strasberg, Mordecai Gorelik, Paul and Claire Sifton, most if not all of whom are of the Communist John Reed Clubs; Paul Peters, of the central committee of the Communist Party; Prof. H. W. L. Dana, teacher in the Communist schools in Boston; and Hallie Flanagan, then of Vassar Experimental Theatre and on the advisory committee of Moscow Institute and now head of the Works Progress Administration Theatre project.

One of the first results of the new and broader movement was providing the Vassar Experimental Theater with *Can You Hear Their Voices?* an agitational play written by Hallie Flanagan and Margaret Clifford. Other agitprop productions followed. Next came the Theater Union, among the sponsors being Sherwood Anderson, Blanche Yurka, Paul Muni, Sidney Howard, and others. This was regarded as a great step forward from the Workers Laboratory Theater. The Drama Union was organized in Chicago, the Contemporary Theater in Los Angeles, and the New Theater in Detroit. Others of a similar stripe followed. Next was brought forward the idea of the Group Theater to be a permanent company of players to produce agitprop plays. The Workers Laboratory Theater became the Theater of Action. Its growth has been rapid.

The New Theater League was formed in 1935. It was said to be dedicated to a "struggle against war, facism, and censorship." It secured the sponsorship of four Congressmen for the production *Waiting for Lefty*, an agitprop play. They were Representatives Amlie, Schneider, Lundeen, and Marcantonio, the latter who lost reelection to Congress when he became the Communist Party candidate. The national advisory board for the league was made up to include Walter Pritchard Eaton, of the Yale School of Drama, Barrett H. Clark, Clifford Odets, Virgil Geddes, Langston Hughes, Lee Strasburg, Conrad Seiler, Michael Gold, Rose McLendon, Moredcai Gorelik, Prof. H. W. L. Dana, Paul Robeson, Benno Schneider, and Paul Peters, sort of a united front of "reds" of varied shades. Today the New Theater League is the mainspring of the agitprop theater movement. Among the groups allegedly in the league are the Theater of Action, Artof, Theater Collective, all of New York; New Theater of Philadelphia; Chicago Group Theater; Boston New Theater Players; and Los Angeles Contemporary Theater. Other groups are the New Theater Players, Brooklyn Labor Theater, Ukrainian Dramatic Circle, Negro Peoples Theater, Theater Advance, all of New York; Unity Players, New Haven; Peoples Theater, Cleveland; Newark Collective Theater; Pittsburgh New Theater Group; Workers Dramatic Club of Gary; New Theater Union of Detroit; the Chicago Collective Theater; New Theater Group; Artes and Vanguard Players; the New Theater Players of Hollywood; and the Negro Peoples Theatre of the South, opened by the Southern Negro Youth Conference. The league seeks to proselyte among players and theatrical groups whenever and wherever possible. (For above history see Ben Blake's *The Awakening of the American Theater*).

A report of the First National Theater Workers Conference (mentioned above) in the May 1932 issue of the *Workers Theater* declared that the "basic tasks of the workers theater are now to spread the idea of the class struggle, to participate actively in the class struggle, by raising funds for campaigns, and for the revolutionary press, and by recruiting workers into the revolutionary unions and mass organizations, and especially to arouse the workers for the defense of the Soviet Union against the coming imperialist attacks.

The *Workers Theater Council*, of Chicago, was formed January 22, 1933. Sponsors of the Chicago *Workers Theater* were: Sherwood Anderson, Waldo Frank, Prof. Eustace Hayden, Prof. Scott Nearing, Prof. Louis Wirth, Malcolm Cowley, Michael Gold, Mary McDowell, Dr. Curtis Reese, Prof. James M. Yard, Jacob L. Crane, Albert Goldman, Prof. Harold Lasswell, Prof. Fred L. Schumann, Prof. Robert M. Lovett, all radicals of varied shades.

The production committee includes Alice H. Ettinger, formerly with the University of Chicago Dramatic Association; Manford Ettinger, of the communistic Commonwealth College Experimental Theater; Louis Gitlis, Cleveland Playhouse and Jewish Institute Players; Tom Ireland, Cleveland Players and Goodman Theater; Joseph Kasper, 9 years with the Jewish Peoples Institute Players; Rose Krupnick, scene designer, Jewish Peoples Institute Players; Kathryn McKenna, University of Pittsburgh Pitt Players; George Robbins, young Communist journalist; Mitchell Siporin, scene designer, Artof Theater, New York, said to be a young Chicago Communist with a police record; Irving Tombach, New York dramatic director (memorandum on *Workers Theater*, Chicago, March 31, 1933).

Another Chicago member of the New Theater Guild is the Chicago Repertory Group. Among the sponsors are: Robert Abbott, editor of the *Defender*, a colored newspaper; Norman Alexandroff, a "red" lecturer; Van A. Bittner, C. I. O. regional director in the Chicago area; Lillian Hirstein, who was in 1928 secretary-treasurer of the American Committee on Information about Russia; Harold Lasswell, University of Chicago, and a lecturer at the Chicago Communist school; Meyer Levin, widely known radical; Curtis Reese, head of Lincoln Center; T. V. Smith, a former State senator, and professor of University of Chicago; Sophinsha Breckenridge, of the American Civil Liberties Union; Ernest W. Burgess, professor of University of Chicago; his sister, Roberta Burgess; Morris Childs, district organizer of the Communist Party of Illinois; John Schmies, C. I. O. organizer and district organizer of the Communist Party in Detroit; Frederick Schumann, dismissed from the University of Chicago; Carleton Washburne, head of Winnetka school system; Carl Haessler, Federated Press; Louise Hamburger, of the American League Against War and Fascism (*Chicago Repertory Group Pamphlet*).

In our capital city of Washington, the New Theater Group has been active in producing agitprop plays. In 1936 it proposed to present the play *Private Hicks*

in the annual one-act play tournament by the community-center department. The group was banned from the tournament because of the agitprop type of the play. A year later it produced at the Odd Fellows Hall, Ninth and T Streets N. W., the play *Protest*, by Alfred Hayes, Thomas Richardson, and Earl Robinson. It was given for the benefit of the American Friends of the Spanish Democracy; and *Waiting for Lefty*, allegedly a bit of communistic propaganda, the showing of which was banned in several cities, was given by a group of amateur players, some of them Federal employees. Its promoter was Morris Weissburg, an examiner of the Civil Service Commission. (See clippings of *Washington Star*.) The program issued for this play carried a number of advertisements of Communist organizations.

The organ of the agitprop theatrical and cinema movement is the *New Theater*. Among its contributing editors are: Prof. Em Jo Basshe, Michael Blankfort, Anita Block, John E. Bonn, Sam Brody, Nathaniel Buchwald, Edward Calman, John R. Chaplin, Lester Cohen, Victor Cohen, Prof. H. W. L. Dana, Heinrich Diamant, Harold Edger, Harry Elion, Alice Evans, Hallie Flanagan (head of the Federal Theatre project), Joseph Freeman, Virgil Geddes, Lester Glass, Michael Gold, Mordecai Gorelik, James Shelley Hamilton, Sidney Howard, Anne Howe, Langston Hughes, Stephen Karnot, Alfred Kreymburg, John Howard Lawson, Meyer Levin, Jay Leyda, Louis Lozowick, Vesevolod Meyerhold, Dorothy Mitchell, Leon Moussinac, Paul Peters, Edwin Piscator, Lexi Popov, Romain Rolland, Scki Sano, Alfred Saxe, Benno Schneider, Paul and Claire Sifton, Edward Seigel, Ralph Steiner, Lee Strasburg, Sergei Tretyakov, Gustav Wangenheim, and Frederick Wolfe. (See *New Theater*.)

An offspring of the *New Theater League* and its organ is the *New Theater School*, which was organized in 1935 for the purpose of producing artists to write and produce agitprop plays. Among those assisting in the development of the movement were Clifford Odets, John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Irwin Shaw, Paul Peters, Albert Bein, George Sklar, Paul and Claire Sifton, Sydney Howard, Sidney Kingsley, Robert Sherwood, S. N. Behrman, and Paul Green. The school board includes Harry Elion, director; Victor Cutler, managing director; members, John E. Bonn, Margaret Larkin, John O'Shaughnessy, Nadya Ramonov, Irwin Swerdlow, and Mary Tarczi; Lasar Galpin, faculty representative; Morris J. Kaplan, counsel. The faculty includes Howard Bay, John E. Bonn, Helen E. Cross, Mildred Dana, Harry Elion, Florence Erskine, Julian Freedman, Frank Freudenthal, Lassar Galpern, John W. Gassner, Virgil Geddes, Irving Gordon, Georgia Graham, Richard Huey, Henry Intled, Reyzl Krupnick, Margaret Larkin, Dorothy Millard, John O'Shaughnessy, Laurence Moore, Dorothy Patten, Herta Pauly, Helen Peabody, Nadya Ramonov, Jean Rosenthal, Dan Russell, Alfred Saxe, George Sklar, Moi Solotaroff, Irwin Swerdlow, S. Syrjila, Mary Tarczi. Guest lecturers include Philip Barber, Michael Blankfort, Mordecai Gorelik, Norris Houghton (author of *Moscow Rehearsals*), Herbert Kline, Mark Marvin, Benno Schneider. (See *New Theater School* pamphlet.)

Another organization closely allied to the theater movement is the *National Committee Against Censorship of Theater Arts*. Its principal activity is fighting efforts of local censors to curtail plays dealing with suggestive or subversive material, and so make the path easier for agitprop productions. The members of the committee are: Charles Angoff, Brooks Atkinson, Roman Bohn, Madeleine Brennan, Michael Blankfort, Bruce Bliven, Anita Block, John Bonn, Fannie Brice, John Mason Browne, William Boehnel, Nathaniel Buchwald, Ben Blake, Stanley Burushaw, Prof. George S. Combs, Victor Cutler, Bennett A. Cerf, Malcolm Cowley, Edward Dahlberg, Alice Evans, Harry Elion, C. Fraenkle, Clifton Fadiman, Mary Virginia Farmer, Lester Glass, I. Garelik, Sam Grisman, Virgil Geddes, Hattie Green, Michael Gold, Anne Howe, Leo Hurwitz, Joseph Wood Krutch, Edward Kerns, Herbert Kline, Alfred Kreymborg, Lawrence Langner, Russell T. Limbach, John Howard Lawson, Mark Marvin, Albert Maltz, Raleigh Mattis, Clifford Odets, Edna Oeko, Linton Oak, Paul Peters, Dorothy Patten, Elmer Rice, Robert Riley, George Sklar, Paul Sifton, Claire Sifton, Alfred Saxe, Helen Timonson, Herman Shumlin, Augustus Smith, Helen Thompson, Molly Day Thacher, John Wexley, Richard Watts, Jr., Elaine Whitelaw. It is very friendly with the "red" defending American Civil Liberties Union, and the members, as you will note, are composed chiefly of the before-mentioned organizations. (See *Censor* pamphlet.)

Closely allied with the agitprop theater movement is the "red" cinema movement. It has been the aim of the leading film producers in America to produce pictures for amusement and not for propaganda, as is the chief purpose of Russian cinema and Communist cinema, although subtle efforts have been made

at times to inject subversive propaganda into important films, and in Hollywood there are numerous players and other artists strongly sympathetic to communism. The "reds" in the United States, however, because of the general ban against propaganda films by responsible producers, have been compelled to use the same methods for the cinema that have been in vogue for the speaking stage. And they have made much progress in the way of producing and showing films, the latter principally of foreign make, in certain large city theaters and in small houses or out-of-the-way motion-picture theaters in other localities. Publicity has of course not been neglected. One of the principal publications of the agitprop cinema is called *Film Front*. It is issued twice a month by the National Film and Photo League in New York City. It contains such articles as *The Russian Cinema Before the Revolution*, conducts reviews of subversive film "news" from Hollywood, etc. (See *Film Front*.)

One organization which has done pioneer work is the Film and Photo League, —which in addition to mixing in the cinema has produced subversive and revolutionary photographs for sale and distribution (*Left Front*, October 1934).

The Communist John Reed Club has worked hand in glove with the Film and Photo League. The Film and Photo League presented John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*, the so-called spectacular "eye-witness account" of the "red" Russian revolution, in commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of Reed's death. The tie-up with Russian was shown in the radiogram "greetings" sent from Moscow:

"On fifteenth anniversary soviet cinema editorial staff Soviet Sko Kino and Cinema Workers send warm comradely greetings to the New Theater and Workers Cinema League. Congratulations on first all-soviet issue. Forward with united front against fascism and war; for revolutionary art.—Yukoff, Artshera, Andreeva Eisenstein, Tesse Pudovkin, Dovjenko, Schub, Irens, Vertoff" (*New Theater*, January 1935).

The American Prolet Kino advertises itself as the "first film-producing organization of the American workingman." Its address is 1324 New Hampshire Avenue, Hollywood, and it is in direct charge by Seymour Stern. It is made up of "proletarian cameramen, technicians, and scenarists," all those employed being "class conscious workers" (*The Left*, spring 1931).

The Film and Photo League encourages the production of subversive films through its branches. For example, it has a theater at 5225 Harold Way, Hollywood. Agitprop films have been produced at intervals in Belasco's Theater in Washington, D. C., and at other places. For example, the Russian Film Group, so-called, presented the *Diary of a Revolutionist*, a Russian film, at the Masonic Temple Auditorium (colored), Tenth and U Streets, in Washington, D. C. Other productions followed. Tickets were on sale at the International Book Shop, 806 Eye Street NW (See leaflets.)

On June 4, 1936, the Washington Times editorially criticized the production of "Communist approved films" by the *March of Time*. The pictures were said to have been photographed in Russia by Julian Bryan, a professional lecturer on Soviet Russia, and a member of the national committee of the Communistic Friends of the Soviet Union in 1933.

Bryan gave an illustrated lecture at Washington Irving High School in New York, May 15, 1936, under the auspices of *Soviet Russia Today*, the organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union, a communistic movement headed by Corliss Lamont, son of the partner of Morgan, the Wall Street banker.

Russian films are furnished for "red" picnics and outings by Garrison Film Distributors, 1600 Broadway, New York City.

New Russian films listed in the official Communistic Party organ, the *Daily Worker*, July 4, 1938, page 9, by Garrison, for distribution in the United States, include *People of Cumberland*, *Lenin in October*, *Country Bride*, *Youth Pushkin*, *Life and Loves of Beethoven*, *Wedding of Palo*, *Stop Japan*, *Spanish Earth*, *China Strikes Back*.

Films that are showing in the United States of America or have shown recently include *Potenkin*, *Roar China*, *We Are From Kronstadt*, *Tsar to Lenin*, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, *Storm of Asia*, *The Deserter*, *A Day in Moscow*, *Old and New*, *End of St. Petersburg*, *Ivan, the Terrible*, *Three Songs About Lenin*, *Year by Year*, *Mother*, *Unlucky Truck*, *Morzko*, *Dorovoz*, *Moscow Laughs*, *Petersburg Nights*, *New Gulliver*, *The Young Go First*, *Parade*, *The March of Time*, *Revolutionists*, *Prisoners*, *Battle Hymn*, *Peasants*, *Songs of Happiness*, *Son of Mongolia*, *The Greden Mountains*, *Broken Shoes*, *Three Women*, *Soviet Russia*, *Private Hicks*, *Cain and Artem*, *No Help Wanted*, *A King Is Made*.

Blockade, while produced by a Hollywood movie house, is widely heralded by the "reds." They have organized a revolutionary committee throughout the Nation to defend the showing of this "red front" Spanish propaganda films in the United States and have urged its membership to "organize theatre parties" in all cities where it is shown. In Washington the ultrapacifist societies also sent postal-card notices out to thousands urging support of the film.

Tobacco Road is another film taken from a pro "red's" book by Erskine Caldwell. Other films *If War Comes Tomorrow* (Mostilms Documentary of the Future), *Peter the First*, *Gypsies*, *Men of the Navy*, *Lincoln Battalion*, *Lonely White Sail*, *Golden Song*, *Waiting for Lefty*, *Moscow May Day*, *In the Far East*, *Natalka Poltanka*, *Pugachev*, *Return of Maxim*, *International Youth Day Parade*, *Lower Depths*, *Moscow Day, 1938*, *Latest Soviet News*, *Marching Song*, *Chapayev*, *Road to Life*, *The Wave*, *The Baltic Deputy*, *Youth of Maxim*, *Breaking the Chains*, *The Road*, *Transport of Fire*, *The General Lives*, *An American Tragedy*, *The Treason Trial of Moscow*, *Thunderbolt*, *Wings Over Soviet Russia*, *Call to Arms*, *Russia Reborn*, *Madrid Document*, *The Ballad of Cossak*, *Golota*, *War Against the Centuries*, *Diary of a Revolutionist*, *The Last Night*.

Test Pilot, while not a Communist film, is taken from a book written by the Communist test pilot ————.

Farewell to Arms is another film made from a pro-Communist author's book, Ernest Hemingway.

The Communists have other avenues for movie and theater propaganda developments and distribution, namely the Workers Theatres, through the cultural movement: the Workers International Relief, which is known as the Workers Laboratory Theatre, and through which propaganda is propounded through the Workers Chorus; the John Reed Clubs; the Revolutionary Prolet-Buchue (German); the Blue Blouses Drama Studios; the Jewish Workers Club's drama sections; the Workers Dancers League; the Jack London Drama Club; the Ukrainian Dramatic Circle; the Red Players; the Workers Film and Photo League; the Left Theatre; the New Theatre League; the Workers Drama League; the American Proletkino; Workers Films; the Experimental Cinema; the Workers Cultural Federation; Anokino; Friends of New Masses; and others.

According to the official organ of the Communist Party (*Daily Worker*, June 6, 1938), recent films from Russia showing in the United States have been endorsed by the C. I. O. unions and the C. I. O.'s political party movement, the Labor's Non-Partisan League, which have just "purged" several American Congressmen from reelection lists. Strangely enough, Congressman Coffee, of ————, who is on the "must defeat" list of the C. I. O. political dictators and who in return denounced the Labor Non-Partisan League as under control of Communists, also endorses the soviet films, according to the Communist organ.

The Communists have just held an international film festival in New York City to promote the use of its films in the United States of America and to help boycott non-Russian films.

The "reds," May 20, 1938, reported in their official organ that 450 American theaters showed Soviet films during the last year; this they compare with the showing of German-made films in only 21 American theaters.

The American Music Alliance and the Manhattan Songs, according to the official Communist organ (*Daily Worker*, May 24, 1938), supplied a chorus of 500 voices and training for 20,000 delegates and audiences to the Tenth Annual Convention of the Communist Party in New York City.

Vietrola records is still another avenue for Communist propaganda. Those are made available to all members, red music, red songs, red speeches, red lectures, and lessons in Russian language. Some of the song titles are *On the Picket Line*, *Hold the Fort*, *Solidarity Forever*, *Casey Jones*, *The Internationale*, *United Front*, *Rise Up*, *Soup Song*, etc. The words to these are, of course, communistic and revolutionist, some such as *Hold the Fort* and *Solidarity Forever* are to gospel hymns. Hanns Eisler personally supervised the productions and Marc Blitzstein was the conductor.

The "reds" have a committee against censorship of their plays and films and an organized front to wage boycotts against anti-Soviet and anti-Communist films. Mike Gold, John Howard Lawson, Clifford Odets, Edward Dahlberg, Anita Bleck, Prof. George S. Counts, and others compose the anti-censorship committee. In Philadelphia, Mrs. Palmer, wife of the late Attorney General Palmer and who is a member of the Pennsylvania Board of Censors, claimed recently that attempts had been made by Communists to throw

acid in her eyes and that her life had been openly threatened by Communists because she, as a member of the Board of Censors of Pennsylvania, led out in the censorship of a Communist film recently.

There have been instances where producers and theater managements have been openly threatened with boycott by the Communists for proposing to manufacture and show anti-Russian films.

Music and dancing are by no means neglected by the radicals and their allies for the purposes of subversive propaganda. One magazine devoting attention to art is *Tac*, manned as follows: Editorial board, Edna Oeko, chairman; members, Les Koenig, Herbert Levine, Floyd Miller, Seymour Roman; art editor, Gus Bundy; business staff, Herbert Levine and Alice Adams. *Tac* advertises Federal theater projects and such films as *Return to Life* announced to be a new film on Spain. It quotes Marc Blitzstein, the director of Communist Musical Events as saying: "The political cabaret was a feature of predictor Europe, familiar to every nation. It's *Tac's* job to see that the political cabaret, at least, is a feature of at least one city in every State in the Union."

The music and dancing groups are of course closely allied under the general heading of "Art." A principal exponent of the "red" musical program is the Workers Music League which is the American section of the International Music Bureau in Moscow and which is carrying on a campaign to organize Communist bands, orchestras, and singing clubs in all workers organizations and centers. Music is accompanied by revolutionary placards and slogans. (Party Organizer.) The International Workers Order and the Communist movement already has an 82-piece orchestra, bands and drum and bugle corps organized.

The Workers Music League has put out a series of song books used at various "red" meetings and demonstrations. These books include such songs as *United Front*, *Into the Streets May First*, *Song of the Pickets*, the *Internationale* and songs written especially for Negroes and youth as well as for strikers and demonstrators. The list includes a choral repertoire, a beginners' chorus which includes *The Army of Hunger is Marching*, *Hunger March*, *Red Flag*, *Soup Song* by the C. I. O. attorney and "red" Morris Sugar, of Detroit, and such translations as *Banker and Boss*, *Arise You Workers*, *Chinese Red Soldier Song*, *Comintern*, *Internationale*, *Ours is the Future*, *Red Banner*, *Red Front Song of the Red Air Fleet*, and *Strength of Solidarity*.

Active in the revolutionary music work in Hanns Eisler, alien revolutionary composer, who went to Moscow for several months' inspiration. He is also director of the recordings of the above songs distributed by the *Timely Recording Co.*, in New York City. His return on a visitors' permit was widely lauded in the radical press of the United States of America. But there have been many protests to the Labor Department by nonradicals because of his acquiring permission from Secretary of Labor Perkins to reenter the country. (Arizona Peace Officers Letter.)

Another active organization is the American Music Alliance, while much group work in New York is done through the Manhattan Singers and The New Singers. (Daily Worker, May 24, 1938, p. 7.)

Closely allied with the Workers Music League is the Workers Dance League. Among the groups affiliated with it or cooperating are the "Red" Dancers, New Duncan Dance Group, New Dance Group, Theater Union Dance Group, Nature Friends Dance Group, Junior Red Dancers, American Revolutionary Dancers, Rebel Dance Group of Newark, Theater Collective Dance Group, Dramatic Dance Group of the Workers Laboratory Theater, Modern Negro Dance Group. A recital was given in the Academy of Music at Brooklyn recently, the proceeds going to the Communist organ, the *Labor Defender*. (See notes.)

Among those prominent and active in the Workers Dance League are Grace Wylie, Sylvia Hammond, Nell Anyon, Edna Oeko, Rose Miltz, Lily Verne, Ezra Friedman, Belle Shane, Rebecca Rosenberg (New Theater, August 1934, p. 29). Also see *Workers Dance League Bulletin*.

Another periodical seemingly acting as an organ of the Workers Music League and Workers Dance League is *Art Front*, the official organ of the Artists Union, published in New York City. The editorial board includes: Clarence Winstock, managing editor; members, Harry Gottlieb, James Grubbaum, Jacob Kainen, Chet La More, Ryah Ludins, Stevens Maxye, Mitchell Siporin; Midwest editors, Charmion Van Weigand, Hy Warsager; contributing editors, Grace Clements, Stuart Davis, Juan de la Fuente, Margaret Duroc, Angel Flores, Jerome Klein, F. D. Klingender, A. L. Lloyd, Louis Lozowick, Ralph Pearson, Samuel Putnam, Joe Solman; business board, Henry Rothman, business manager; Lawrence Steese, advertising manager; Golda Lewis, Louis Nisonoff.

Now to give a resume of some of the ground work originally laid by the Communists so as to put over the above widely woven cultural front movement in the United States of America, and some additional information regarding the activities and the additional movements injected into the picture by them.

The intensification of the Communist propaganda in the United States of America and its success may be traced down to 1930.

Approaching closely to the problem we can see that the American intelligentsia is under the spell of that "noble experiment" which is being demonstrated in the Soviet Union. This enthusiasm particularly is seen in the Communist activity on the "cultural front."

The "cultural front" is divided into several sections; each of them has its special leaders, theorists, and practical workers; for instance, in one section are gathered so-called revolutionary writers and artists; revolutionary theatrical workers in another; kino workers in still another; musicians with revolutionary inclination form a fourth group; and in the fifth section, dancers, who give a new revolutionary interpretation to the dance.

The boundary line of 1930 represents that particular moment in the Communist activity on the "cultural front" when all communistic-minded workers of stage, screen, literature, dance, and music became aware of the necessity to unite all these scattered activities of the different groups and organizations into leagues, clubs, and federations as described herein.

Since 1931 were created—

The Workers Cultural Federation, the Workers Theatre League, the Film and Photo League, the Workers Music League, the Young Workers Dance League, and different writers' organizations, which grouped around the John Reed Clubs, Pen and Hammer, and professional groups—all of them affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, created about 2 years ago on the territory of the Soviet Union.

An intensified activity of these Communist organizations in the last few years may be seen in "three important cultural events," as the local Communist press calls them, which are "signaling the rapid advance of the revolutionary theater arts":

1. New York Workers Theatre Spartakiade; both held by the League of Workers Theatres at the end of April 1933.

2. The First American Workers Music Olympiade, held by the Workers Music League in May 1933.

3. The First Dance Spartakiade of the Young Workers Dance League.

All these organizations, concealing their real Communist way of "mimicry" have assumed names of general character, such as the Nature Friends, the Theatre Collective, the Laboratory Theatre, the Friends of Russian Music, etc.

In taking into consideration that the writers' branch of the cultural front held its own in the international scale conference of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers in the city of Kharkov in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the end of 1930; and that the above-named Workers Cultural Federation in United States of America a few months ago terminated its conference (midwest conference in Chicago, where 64 delegates representing 38 workers' theatre groups were present) we can see even in these important cultural events a considerable success of Communist activity on the "cultural front," at least in matter of organization work.

Resolutions voted at the meetings of the workers' cultural conference in Chicago last November are interesting because they reveal those general aims which are to be followed by Communist sections, members of the Workers Cultural Federation.

Let us examine what was resolved at this conference. It was resolved "to make the workers' theater a powerful weapon of the class struggle in the basic industries."

Why in basic industries?

We get the reply from many statements of Communist leaders, quoting some of them:

"All our past experience and particularly recent events show us that this problem [of the development of new cadres of local leadership—author's remark] can and must be solved primarily in the course of developing struggles by penetration in basic industries * * *." (See Daily Worker article, Party Life, November 21, 1933.)

"* * * Is all the more necessary at the present time that our training schools should have the majority of their students from the workers in the basic industries."

"* * * we feel sure that Comrade K. A. understands and appreciates the importance of centering the major attention of the party upon the basic industries and also the necessity of training cadres of steel, metal, marine, and mine workers to carry on this work" (Daily Worker, November 19, 1933, p. 4, article Party Life).

"* * * It is idle chatter to talk about the revolutionizing of the working class by the party, unless the party conquers a firm basis for itself among the miners, metal, and steel workers, railroad workers, auto, marine, and textile workers.

"The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of all toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers" (Daily Worker, December 12, 1933).

The delegates of the above-named conference in Chicago pledged—

(a) To root the cultural movement in the American masses as an aid in their day-to-day struggles.

(b) To build the Workers Theatre until it could successfully combat the propaganda of the bourgeois and movies.

The conference in Chicago decided to put into life these resolutions by "the establishment in Chicago of a clearinghouse for working-class plays. Anyone in the Middle West who has plays to contribute was asked to send them to this clearinghouse where they are to be mimeographed and distributed among all theater groups who request them." This clearinghouse is temporarily located at the "workers' school," 2822 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, which emphasizes its participation in the activity of those Communists who created this Communist workers' school.

The participation of writers and artists in the Communist activity in the United States of America is a significant example of shattered minds of the intellectual class, lack of faith in stability of the social and constitutional structure of life, and in the belief of the decay of all life. Artists, writers, and, generally speaking, the so-called intelligentsia in all countries and in all times were the first to feel the social changes and having no stable political principles declared themselves sympathizers with so-called modern ideas. Sometimes among this intelligentsia one can see some rather gifted individuals. They are not numerous but are well known to all Americans who have an interest in policy, literature, and art. The rest of the Soviet sympathizers are hopelessly without talent, yet insolent and clamorous. In the United States of America as in every other country these leaders are in vast majority aliens.

The revolutionary writers all over the world, not excluding the United States of America, with the escorts of Soviet Union leaders are united in the international organization under the name "The International Union of Revolutionary Writers." It held a conference in Kharkov, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in 1930.

The American section of this union collaborates with all its strength, capacity, revolutionary zeal, and sympathy with a number of Communist filials which have increased openly or secretly during the last 2 or 3 years.

Let us examine these filials.

1. The John Reed clubs of the United States got their name in honor of the American writer (a revolutionary Communist and author of the book which was filmed, *Ten Days that Shook the World*) who was deported to the Soviet Union in 1917 and died in Moscow in 1921. At the end of 1933 these clubs numbered about 30 in different towns of the country. In the beginning only revolutionary writers and artists were members; but at the Midwest conference of the John Reed clubs in the autumn of 1933 three types of clubs were established:

(a) Members—only artists and writers.

(b) Members—artists, dancers, musicians, etc.: in such clubs all branches of cultural work were concentrated for a given region.

(c) Clubs, political preferably, centers of intelligentsia and white-collar workers, sympathizers with communism.

The John Reed clubs of the Middle West publish in Chicago (center of the Middle West), a magazine *Left Front*, by Bill Jordan.

In the city of New York the largest branch of this club is situated at 430 Sixth Avenue. Louis Lezovick is secretary and the most active member of the club. A group of artists of this club established an art school with Communist teachers:—Diego Riviera, Gropper, Burck, Siegel, Pass, Bart, Quint, Alfredo Grimi, Hideo Noda, who worked with Diego Riviera at Detroit and Rockefeller Center; Reginald Marsh; Nicolai Cikowsky, at the Chicago Art Institute. His

paintings are shown there, as well as in St. Louis and Pennsylvania museums; Raphael Soyer, whose work is represented in the Whitney and Metropolitan museums; Arthur Lee, known sculptor; Anton Refregier; Dilmer; Bill Sentner, artist and architect, etc. The above-named Louis Lozovick delivers now a series of nine lectures on A Marxian History of Art.

The aim of this school is to produce revolutionary art as well as revolutionary artists.

An exhibition of paintings, lithographs, and etchings by members of the John Reed clubs of the United States was held in Boston branch of the John Reed Club (825 Boylston St., Boston).

The Boston branch of the club established recently a dramatic group. The Chicago branch established a music group in October 1933 (1475 Blvd., Chicago). The Detroit branch established a dramatic group (108 W. Hancock St., Detroit).

The New York branch of art (classes for children from 8 to 10 years). Besides this speakers' bureau was organized, designated to serve the need of workers' clubs and mass organizations for Marxist lectures on art, literature, theater, cinema, and other cultural subjects. Leading revolutionary writers, critics, and artists have indicated their willingness to participate in the work of the bureau. Among those on the speakers' list are:

Joshua Kunitz, Senter Garlin, Milton Howard, Edwin Rolfe, Oakley Johnston, Robert Hamilton, Wallace Phelps, Philip Roth, Harold Edgar, H. E. Briggs, Conrad Comorovsky, Jacob Burck, Phil Bard, William Siegel, Alfred Hayes, Nathan Adler, and others.

In Detroit in October 1933 a symposium was held in commemoration of John Reed. At this meeting Louis Altschuler spoke on the Literary Significance of John Reed; Albert Goetz, on John Reed, the Revolutionist; and Dr. D. Whithorn, on the Land that John Reed Died For.

When, early in September of last year, Henri Barbusse, well-known French poet and writer and the most devoted Communist, arrived here to take part in the so-called American Congress Against War, he visited all branches of John Reed Club. At the banquet given in his honor, Barbusse came accompanied by Joseph Freeman, editor of the New Masses, a weekly Communist magazine published in New York to propagate the cause of the "cultural front", and by Prof. H. L. Dana, well-known Communist lecturer in schools.

Even from this brief statement of the activity and the name of J. Reed's clubs members it may be seen how largely the work of these Communist filials, which absorb in their vicious and destructive circle the American intelligentsia of radical leaning.

Jewish radical writers in the United States of America, have organized their own special Jewish association under the name Proletpen, which in March 1933 started publishing a new proletarian magazine Signal, 32 pages of which displayed prose and poetry of a proletarian character.

The editorial committee includes Abrams B. Fenster, and Aaron Kurtz. The latter is a marked worker of this organization and was a member of first May delegation numbering 35 members sent in 1931 to Soviet Russia by another Communist filial, The Friends of Soviet Union.

Proletpen is located at 108 East One Hundred and Fourth Street, New York City.

Another group of Jewish revolutionary writers of the United States of America created a separate writer's organization, which has a number of clubs throughout the country. This organization bears the name Pen and Hammer (114 West 21st St., New York City; 111 Forest, West Detroit).

In November 1933, in New York, a meeting was held for a revolutionary writer, John Strachey, well-known English author; at this meeting members of another group with deep Communist feeling, The League of Professional Groups (an organization of writers, artists, university teachers, architects, engineers, and other professionals) pledged their support to the Communist Party platform. The similar resolution was followed by the branch of this organization, Queens League of Professionals. Among signers were: Reuben Bramin, Yiddish writer; J. Edward Bromberg, from the Group Theater, a Communist filial; Dr. Edwin Berry Burgum, of New York University; Winifred L. Chapell, sociologist; Malcolm Cowley, literary editor of the New Republic and well-known member of a dozen radical organizations; Kyle Crighton, associate editor of Scribner's Magazine; Guy Endore, novelist; Joseph Freeman, critic, editor of the New Masses (Communist magazine); Hugo Gellert, artist; Michael Gold, novelist of the Daily Worker staff; Louis

Grudin, writer; Louis Lozovick (above named); Maxwell Hyde, architect; John Herrmann, novelist; Josephine Herbst, novelist; Isidor Schneider, poet and critic; Dr. Theodore Sheddowsky, research chemist; and Meyer Shapiro of Columbia University.

Many of these collaborators of the *New Masses* (63 West 15th St., New York City) are the above writers. It is a magazine which deals with many questions of the Communist cultural front.

If we enumerate some special Communist filials of revolutionary writers as the Hungarian Proletarian Writers, the Hungarian Workers Correspondents, we shall be able to have an idea of the work which was done by these organizations with the aim to create a special Federation of Revolutionary Writers as resolved at the conference on January 10, 1932.

Joining this organization (114 West 21st St., New York City) were Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Michael Gold, John Don Passos, Langston Hughes, Gellert, Croppert, Dorothy Bondou, Morris Mammon, Morris Colna, Mrs. Grace Lumpkin, Waldo Frank, Malcolm Cowley, Perez Hershbein, and numerous others.

Wishing, however, to unit in one revolutionary cultural front not only writers and artists, but also film workers, dancers, and musicians, the active Communist leaders of different above-mentioned filials created in the autumn of 1931 a new, large organization under the name the Workers Cultural Federation. It comprised 179 organizations of similar type in the United States of America, with thousands of members. (In 1934 the number of members is probably twice as great as at the beginning.) The general secretary of this cultural league is A. B. Magil, a ranking New York City "red." The officers of this organization, according to the Communist organ of the movement, consist of the following persons: Wm. Gropper, Alexander Trachtenberg, R. G. Glassford, K. Marmor, J. Shafer, A. B. Magil, Harry Allan Potamkin, and T. H. Li. Listed as the honorary presidium are: Maxim Gorki (Russia), N. Krupshaya (Russia), Wm. Z. Foster (United States), Theodore Dreiser (United States), Prof. Ph. Dos Passos (United States), Langston Hughes (United States), Upton Sinclair (United States), Ludwig Renn, Henri Barbusse (France), Lo Hsun, Thomas Illes, and Bella Illes. Here one finds a veritable group of skilled Communist agitators and organizers directly associated with authors, college professors, writers, and others parading as pacifists.

In order to conclude this review of the so-called "cultural organizations" with communistically-minded writers and intelligentsia of the United States of America and their activities, it is necessary to mention two new proletarian magazines which appeared in the autumn of 1933: *The Anvil* and *The Blast*, consisting of proletarian short stories for workers.

Having briefly described this cultural field, where local writers and Soviet sympathizers are fighting with pens in hand (and it has often been said "the pen is mightier than the sword"), and where flaming speeches prepared for them in the "Agit-Prop" (aganda) Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the United States of America are delivered, we are now going to picture briefly the Communist activities in other fields, to wit: Film, theater, music, and even dance.

In the first field all workers are united in the Workers Film and Photo League; the second, in the League of Workers Theaters; the third, in the Workers Music League; the fourth, in the Young Workers Dance League.

The Communist propaganda through film and kino theater is directed by a special center located in Soviet territory and called "Mejrabopomfilm." "Sovkino" produces all films of propaganda character and sends them through its filials to different parts of the world.

As our task is to show how this propaganda is being conducted in the United States of America and to what extent it has been developed, we are going to examine it mainly in the United States.

First of all, we give information taken from the Department of Commerce and there we can see that the average amount of people patronizing the moving-picture theaters in 1928 came very close to 100,000,000 in a week's time. In 1933 it dropped to 44,800,000.

The establishment in Hollywood in 1932 of a special American Proletkino may be regarded as a first attempt to start in the United States of America the production of films to propagate Communist ideas through movies.

We have already stated that the year 1930 may be considered as a turning point of intensification and development of the Communist activities in this country in general, and the same increased activities may be seen in the line

of film propaganda. This was the year Stalin himself appealed directly to the American branch of the Communist Party to whip up.

Before 1939 the local Communists made attempts to propagate their ideas through film and organized two groups which undertook to present moving pictures forwarded from the Soviet Union. The International Labor Defense, which is a subsidiary of the International Red Aid of Moscow, and the Workers International Relief, also a branch of the Moscow movement, represent these two groups and directed the film activities in the United States.

Lately these organizations have come into contact with some kino theaters and offered at a special price—sometimes without any charge—their propaganda films. It resulted in an increased number of Communist film advertisements in the local press and the quantity of such films was multiplying.

The above-named organizations took every opportunity to show films at workers' picnics, meetings, in clubs, and even in private homes before local gatherings.

As an example of advertisement we quote Daily Worker, the agit-organ of the Communist Party in the United States of America:

"Film, showing remarkable new uncensored soviet film, East New York Workers Club, 608 Cleveland Street, corner block" (Daily Worker, July 8, 1933).

The following New York theaters present pictures with Communist propaganda: Embassy Newsreel Theater, 1569 Broadway; Fifth Avenue Theater, Fourteenth Street and Broadway; Acme Theater, Fourteenth Street and Union Square; Cameo Theater, Broadway and Forty-second Street; Europe, 154 West Fifty-fifth Street; City Theater, Fourteenth Street and Irving Place; Empire Theater, Broadway and Fortieth Street. In these theaters, along with moving pictures, a special propaganda by appointed Communist agitators is conducted. At the present time more than 100 of such films are being shown. In most instances money collected for admittance goes into the pockets of the kino theater director, Soviet Government, and for world communism. We do not enumerate the names of films, for they are too numerous to do so.

Now let us examine the organizations through which the Communist propaganda for plays and films is spreading.

In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there is the International Union of Revolutionary Theatre, which has a special cinema bureau; this last organization is busy preparing films for the United States.

The International Union of Revolutionary Theatre publishes a special monthly magazine, The International Theatre; in its issue No. 5 the following articles may be found: The Moscow Central Tram, The Jewish Theatre in Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, The Poetic Drama (its place in proletarian culture), The Theatre of International Action (a revolutionary professional theater of France).

The Cinema Bureau of the International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre has been organized under the leadership of the two ablest figures in the international revolutionary film movement, Leon Moussinac and Bella Balaza. We reprint below the full text of its platform.

"Aiming to concentrate and unite the forces of film workers, professional and amateur, as well as audiences in the various countries upon a general platform, using the film as a means for revolutionary education and mobilization of the toiling masses in the struggle against fascism, political reaction threatening imperialist wars for the defense of the Soviet Union, the Cinema Bureau sets itself the following tasks:

"1. To unite the creative and technical workers of the film industry, professionals and amateurs, with the aim of forming film organizations in different countries on an international scale.

"2. To establish audience organizations to be connected with the cinema organizations.

"3. To create a united front of revolutionary film art, cultural, educational, trade union, and professional organizations.

"4. To gather all experiences for the purpose of creating revolutionary professional and amateur films in various countries.

"(a) To organize special brigades in the International Union in order to create and develop the production of 16-mm films.

"(b) To organize special shows and contests on amateur 16-mm films.

"(c) To organize technical and artistic consultations on the production of 16-mm films to popularize them and establish international as well as national film exchanges, for both 16-mm films and apparatus.

"(d) To organize research and control committees for the purpose of studying the problems of foreign film subjects in the Soviet Union.

"(c) To issue a bulletin as a review of international film problems and the discussion of technical and ideological problems.

"5. To struggle against all war, chauvinistic, pacifist, and other reactionary films, as well as the bourgeois censorship by—

"(a) Satirical criticisms of bourgeois films after special showings of these, with accompanying discussions and explanations.

"(b) By organizing criticisms and exposures in the press.

"(c) Organizing mass protest demonstrations and rallying audiences in protest against reactionary films.

"(d) Popularizing all revolutionary films.

"6. To study creative problems in the film industry and to popularize the achievements of revolutionary film art in the Soviet Union.

"7. To establish a repertory of revolutionary films by—

"(a) Selecting films for the repertory to be shown at all places where workers gather.

"(b) Producing our own films, starting with documentary, etc., films.

"(c) The selection of all suitable amateur films to be included in such a repertory.

"8. To establish a revolutionary film press correspondence.

"9. To hold international conferences on creative, technical, and political film questions."

In August 1933 in the Communist magazine, Workers Theatre (now called New Theatre) appeared an appeal from the organization committee for a National Film and Photo League: "We call upon you to join with us in organizing movies and camera clubs, film forums, better film groups in cities and towns all over the United States, for the purpose of exposing and combating the capitalist film industry."

The organizing committee included David Platt, Theodore Black, Irving Lerner, Jack Auringer, J. Buchanan, C. D. Nelson. These persons at the time of publication of this appeal represented the Workers Film Photo League of New York, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, and American Section Cinema Bureau of International Union of Revolutionary Theaters, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In that way the organizers of this well-planned organization of all Communist filials, who are working somehow or other in the film industry, created by this appeal a new large solid Communist organization whose task is already indicated in the platform of the cinema bureau.

A short time after this association was organized and since then it is working under the name the Workers' Film and Photo League (116 Lexington Ave., near 29th St., New York City). The national secretary of this league is a certain Tom Brandon.

The activity of this league has developed very rapidly. It has already opened the branches: Photo section and film section and classes in film school of the league; there are courses in theory, technique, and production. The Estonian Workers' Home (27 West 115th St., New York City) under the auspices of Workers' Film and Photo League in October 1933 was presenting private film showing of new soviet film; admission was by membership card only. Starting November 18, 1933, at the New School for Social Research (60 West 12th St., New York City) a series of film showings opened with a soviet film, Spring, never before shown in America. These showings were to be a connected series tracing the development of the soviet cinema and were supplied by lectures by Joseph Freeman, Joshua Kunitz, and Nathan Adler, the lecturers constantly appointed on the list of the propaganda department of the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States. These showings are sponsored by John Strachey (author of the *Mace to Fascism* and treasurer of British Anti-War Council, now in the United States for lectures), Joseph Freeman (editor *New Masses*, Communist magazine), Joseph North, John Wexley, Robert Cantwell, Joshua Granville Hicks, Tom Brandon, and Frank Ward (Communist lecturers).

The photo section of the league had doubled its membership by October 1933. The film section of the league has now more than 50 students in its schools.

At the present time the league is busy with production of "an important film."

As a result of the interest in the Communist films, a new institution has appeared in New York—The Garrison Film Distributors (729 7th Ave., room 810, New York City).

In addition to the propaganda through the films, the same propaganda comes from Russia through the radio. To that effect a powerful the Central Radio Station (R. V. 59, Solianka 12, Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was built in Moscow. In New York in the last autumn the local Communists formed a special group, "the Workers' Short Wave Club." Members of this club at present are trying to get the best results with the soviet broadcasts over the short-wave length. They got in touch with the above-named soviet station for regulating the time of broadcasting from Moscow. The National Broadcasting Co. (United States) announced that it was making tests for rebroadcasting soviet programs "in case of recognition." The club therefore offered to all workers to write to N. B. C. at 711 Fifth Avenue, New York City, requesting them to broadcast soviet programs even "before or regardless of recognition." Since recognition the Moscow station has offered prizes to short-wave receivers in the United States for notifying Moscow of receptions. In this way, they encourage listeners.

While the Communists do use the air to an extent in the United States, its most particular interest is to have their amateur "reds" learn to operate in short waves and to have the propaganda broadcasts from Russia. The Communist organs in the United States all carry notices that Moscow programs can be heard regularly in the United States (giving dial instructions) at 8 to 11:15 p. m.

The Workers' Short Wave Club conducts regular lessons in Morse code every second Thursday for those who are ready to build small two-tube short-wave receivers for voice and code reception of local and foreign stations.

In an effort to get clearer programs from the Soviet Union, the Workers Short Wave Club sent the following letter, signed by M. Sobel, secretary, to the Central Radio Station, in Moscow:

"I am writing to you as the secretary of the Workers Short Wave Club, which was recently organized here. The objective of this club is to receive the soviet radio stations, especially RV59, regularly.

"At our meetings the members discussed their experiences in receiving RV59 (Moscow). The results were sad. Very few picked it up and those who did could not pick it up very often. * * * We think that the best hour for 50 m reception would be from 0000 G. M. T. to 0300 G. M. T." (between 7 and 10 p. m., eastern standard time).

The meetings of this club are held in the apartments of Comrade Millman, 797 East 170 Street, apartment 5, Bronx, N. Y., and Comrade Mass, 1893 Vyse Avenue, basement, Bronx, N. Y. Comrade Goldfarb is the instructor of the club.

We purposely give "in extenso" the club secretary Sobel's letter which the club sent to Moscow because it reveals the direct connection of the club leaders with Russia.

Some months ago in the United States special organizations for Communist propaganda through theaters and for revolutionizing them (under control) of "agit-prop" section of central committee of Communist Party in the United States were created.

All the Communist activities in the "cultural field" in this country are directed from the Soviet Union through the above-named "agit-prop" section that has created the Theatre of Workers or The Moscow Central Tram.

The League of Workers Theatre represents the American section of this theater (42 East 12th St., New York City).

The league was recruited from different Communist sympathizers who took part in theatrical activities in clubs, picnics, camps, etc.

Besides this the radical students and Communist sympathizers in colleges and universities formed groups for staging "workers' plays."

In 1933 all these groups were united in the above-named League of Workers Theatre. At its first meeting in New York in the summer of 1933, about 100 representatives of 25 groups participated. Council and executive boards were elected at this meeting.

The league put as its first objective "to register all drama groups in New York as members of the League of Workers Theatre and to prepare and mobilize the New York section for the All-Eastern Workers Theatre Conference, which was held in October 1933.

This conference took place in October 1933, and the reports and resolutions of this Eastern Regional Conference of the League of Workers Theatres have been mimeographed and can be secured from the national office of the League of Workers Theatre (42 East 12th Street, New York City). The copy of this report consists of 30 pages. The purpose of this conference was to start the preparation for the National Workers Theatres Conference and Spartakiade in 1934.

Other unifying activities of this league were: New York Workers Theatre Spartakiade (April 1933) and Cleveland Workers Theatre Spartakiade (April 1933); the first Conference of Workers Dramatic Groups (November 12, 1933) in Detroit, held under auspices of Detroit John Reed Club; and the Mid-Western Conference of Workers Dramatic Groups, affiliated with the League of Workers Theatre, held in Chicago (November 16, 1933).

The very series of such conferences point to the fact that Communist leaders working in the field of "revolutionary theater" and striving to revolutionize the theatrical performances for the workers want to centralize the management of this movement. Explaining the movement, leaders of the League of Workers Theatre say that "it signifies the development of the Workers Theatre movement to a higher level; the early so-called "agit-prop" style is rapidly giving way to a short theatrical form of real artistic value, which while preserving the fundamental vigor, clarity, and militancy of the earlier period testifies to the awakening consciousness of the worker-artist that propaganda must be artistic and that the cultural demands of the worker-spectator must be also satisfied."

Theoretical and idealistic sides of this Communist undertakings were explained by its leader in a special magazine. This magazine appeared under the title "The Workers Theatre," until last autumn when the name was changed to The New Theatre. The editorial board consists of Ben Blake, Magnon Verne, Albert Gilman, David Platt, Jac. Chas. Dibner, J. Bonn, V. Cutler, A. Dour, H. Elwin, A. Howe, E. Nelson, S. Penzer, and A. Prentis.

The leaders of the revolutionary theatre thus explain their problem: "The influence of the Workers Theatre is spreading. Existing art theatres are in many ways seeking a way to social vitality. At the same time many theatres, professional and nonprofessional, are springing up. Most of these are dissatisfied with the bourgeois theater, but have no clear conception as to what is needed for a new really vital American theatre. They are yet not aware that the only hope for such a new theatre lies in aligning definitely with the revolutionary working class, which is the champion of the interests in the theatre no less than in industry and politics—of the great mass of the American people—the workers and farmers as well as of the students, intellectuals, and artists."

As to the problems of the repertoire of the Workers Theatre, the national executive committee of the League of Workers Theatre says: "Members of the League of Workers Theatre must pay serious attention to the problem of the treatment in plays of various labor and political organizations and individuals. The revolutionary theatre must call a halt to the writing and production of plays which indulge in mere name-calling and crude caricaturing of, for example, Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party, and the individuals who head the American Federation of Labor. Revolutionary plays which offer criticism and attack should deal with concrete and substantially serious material which alone can convince serious-minded workers of the correctness of the points made. Plays which concern themselves mainly with real or suggested personal mannerisms instead of sound analysis should be frowned upon. This will be an important factor in spreading the influence of the revolutionary theatre."

The connection of the leaders of the League of Workers Theatre with the Soviet Theatrical Center can be traced from the following advertisement in the Workers Theater (July to August 1933): "The League of Workers Theatre has received copies of several soviet plays (full length) and is having them translated into English. The plays include Tempo, Joy Street, Fear, and My Friend."

They will be available for production during the coming winter. Also on hand are the Russian version of Fredrich Wolfe's The Sailors of Cattaro and several scenes from Gorky's play Yegor Bulechey, and others (in Russian).

The League of Workers Theatre unified a considerable number of diverse groups consisting of professional as well as amateurs and which are practically communistic branches. Before the unification these groups worked without being directed from one center and having each its own problem.

Let us glance over these groups and at the same time notice their separate problems. One of the most significant groups in the Workers Laboratory Theatre of W. I. R. (Workers International Relief) (42 East 12th St., New York City), which organized:

(a) The shock brigade troupe of Workers International Relief—who often make their call in Communist publications and ask the unemployed workers to join their troupe, adding that experience is not necessary. The troupe has already played at 10 strike rallies. In calling for new members the shock brigade troupe plans to enlarge it for more frequent appearances, indoors and on the streets.

(b) The school of W. L. T. in New York City, started in October 1933 (42 East 12th St.).

(c) The Theater Club of W. L. T. is "an organization that will attempt to draw in everybody interested in the advance of the revolutionary theater, making them active in the actual growth, both artistic and organizational, of the drama." Mordecai Gorelik, member of the John Reed Club, is leader of this club and started the drive for membership. The leaders of this club explain their aims in the following words: "By means of symposiums, round-table discussions, and criticism of production in rehearsal, they will play the same role for the theater here as is played by the mass audience in the Soviet Union, keeping the theater as a part of proletarian mass culture and taking active part in its progress."

(d) The Theatre Collective, a section of W. L. T.: this theater started its own school.

Among the other theatrical workers, groups stand out as especially active:

1. The Group Theatre.
2. The Theatre Union—organized to present plays of working-class interest.
3. The Theatre of Action.
4. Artef—The Jewish Theatre—"the only Jewish working-class theater existing in America." It has set itself the aim of portraying the social and revolutionary struggle of workers in America, presenting (November 1933) *The Third Parade*, by Charles Werner and Paul Peter, at the Heckscher Foundation (5th Ave. and 104 St., New York City). The Artef has also staged several plays portraying both the revolution and the present program of construction in the Soviet Union. Artef started this year its sixth season.

5. Prolet-Bulme, German-speaking theater of action; one of the most active and militant of the workers' dramatic groups.

The difference between Theatre of Action and Theatre Collective, Artef and others mentioned above consists of—

(a) The Theatre of Action derives its methods from the idea of "direct action"; in the theatre one should leave the creation of atmosphere, character portrayal, and all the more complex aspects and elements of the dramatic form to the stationary theatres, such as the Theatre Collective, Artef and others.

(d) Theatre of Action are now professional groups of workers who use simple theatrical forms for purposes of agitation and propaganda at meetings, rallies, demonstrations in and out of doors.

(c) Theatre of Action, hereto (October 1933) known as the Agi-Prop Theatre. Of the other separate communistic and radical "theatrical" branches in the United States we shall mention:

(a) Russian Workers Dramatic Group (M. Gorky) in Chicago.

(b) Workers School (of central committee of Communist Party, United States of America). Theatre Group (35 E. 12th St., New York City); this is a theatrical school at the central communistic school of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

(c) The Vassar Experimental Theatre, one of the many groups founded by the students at colleges and universities in the United States as experimental theaters for the workers.

(d) The Hungarian Workers Theatres in America, they give performances in Bridgeport, Newark, Passaic, New Brunswick, and Bethlehem.

(e) Highlander Folk School Dramatics Club, its purposes, "labor plays."

(f) New Nature Friends Dramatic Group in Philadelphia; "performances at the Nature Friends camp near Reading (Pa.) is fast developing into a potential factor of the workers' dramatic movement." (D. W.)

What is this organization, the Nature Friends?

This movement came from Europe, where "hiking" has become an indispensable adjunct of the revolutionary labor movement. Daily Worker explains the aims and purposes of this organization in the following words:

"* * * the Nature Friends hiking and camping organization came to function as a social base outside the factory, which, while not affording as fruitful a unit for organization, is a splendid medium for cultural and, if necessary, underground work. In the United States we have a transplanted Nature Friends organization that is finding native soil. They have over 2,000 members in a score of branches from coast to coast. They issue a magazine, *The Nature Friends*."

The Nature Friends Agitprop Group rallies the German workers for the fight against German fascism; performs for German-speaking organizations.

(g) The Italian Drama Section of Harlem (started in the summer of 1933). Negro Workers Theatre (organized in summer of 1933) under the auspices of the *Harlem Liberator* (Negro Communist magazine).

(h) The Harlem Progressive Youth Club, Dramatic Circle or the dramatic section of the Progressive Workers Culture Club.

(i) Dramatic Club of the International Workers Order (Communist filial).

(k) The Yorkville Youth Players, anti-German Fascist plays.

(l) German Workers Club players, anti-Fascist dramatic plays.

(m) The Harlem Experimental Theatre, the New Negro Art Theatre, the Young Men's Christian Association Players, the Bronx Workers Dramatic Group, "a truly proletarian manifestation" (Daily Worker).

The field of music, singing, and the workers in this field are not neglected by the Communists and, as the result of their efforts the Workers Music League was formed. This league arranged the first American Workers Music Olympiad on May 21, 1933, and October 31, 1933, the first conference of the league was held in Chicago.

This league comprises the following different organizations, the sizes of which vary from 20 to as high as 275 members:

1. The Friends of Russian Music.
2. The International String Ensemble.
3. Freiheit (Communist Jewish daily) Mandolin Orchestra (106 East 14 St., New York City).
4. Workers International Relief Band.
5. Guils String Quartet.
6. Daily Workers Chorus, Conductor L. Adobmyan: songs of proletarian revolution (35 East 12 St., New York City, 5th floor).
7. Boro Park Chorus (1109 45th St., Brooklyn).
8. Friends of Soviet Union Balalaika Orchestra.
9. Lithuanian Aida Girls Sextet.
10. The American Workers Chorus of Roxbury, Mass., first year of existence.
11. Proletarian Symphony Orchestra, organized by the Youth Section of the International Workers Order. The orchestra is under direction of Irving R. Korenman, pianist and music director.
12. Harlem Liberator Group.
13. Chorus Group, led by S. Meidman, meets at Progressive Workers Cultural Club, 159 Summer Avenue, Brooklyn.
14. Workers Colony Music School (2700 Bronx Park East), opened November 1933.
15. American Workers Chorus in Matapan, Mass.
16. Freiheit Gesang Ferein, Jacob Schaefer, conductor, new revolutionary composition.
17. Greek Mandolin Orchestra.
18. International Labor Defense Chorus (1658 52 St., Brooklyn).
19. Composers Collective of the Pierre Degeyster Club (5 East 19 St., New York City).

Different dance groups connected with local Communists were united this year into the Young Workers Dance League, which had its own the First Dance Spartakiade.

The Party Organizer (vol. VII, No. 3, p. 25), issued by the central committee of the Communist Party, says, regarding the Workers' Music League, that "the Workers' Music League can build up its movement upon the basis of a vigorous campaign to organize bands and orchestras in all workers' organizations. Such a campaign should be started at once. The immediate goal should be not less than 25 bands in New York City by May 1. The appearance of that many well-organized bands will stimulate the entire demonstration." Observers have since counted as many as 59 bands in Communist street demonstrations in New York City. The International Workers' Order maintains an orchestra of over 80 pieces and scores of bugle corps in addition to bands.

JEWISH WORKERS' THEATER

In December 1925, 300 delegates from Jewish unions and societies in New York City met in response to a call issued by Freiheit, Jewish Communist daily publication, and formed the Jewish Workers' Theater. This is patterned after the Russian "proletarian" theaters, which present plays dealing with problems of the workers' life, according to the American Labor Year Book (1926, p. 316). Plans for the formation of the Jewish Workers' Theater were also discussed during Sunday lectures which were held at the Schildkraut Theater.

Now, let us see of what Communist culture consists. Let us take, for instance, the words to some of their songs, written by the so-called cultural groups. Many of these songs are sung to the tune of popular melodies, Maryland, My Maryland, Casey Jones, Sidewalks of New York, Hand Me Down My Walkin' Cane, My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean, Red Wing, The Battle Hymn of the Republic. You may recognize the tunes if you ever attended a "red" gathering, but not the words. The song set to the tune of The Battle Hymn of the Republic is called Solidarity Forever, the Communist song to agitate industrial unionism and to lay our world in ashes. Sidewalks of New York becomes On the Line, a strike and picket agitation song for industrial unionism, striking, and picketing. Maryland, My Maryland becomes The Red Flag, while It Ain't Gonna Rain No More becomes We Ain't Gonna Slave No More. Casey Jones retains its original title, but becomes a caution song to "scabs." Hand Me Down My Walkin' Cane becomes Union Card. The words of Soup Song, sung to the tune of My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean, were written by Maurice Sugar, Detroit Committee for Industrial Organization attorney. Red Wing becomes Working Men Unite.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to include the words to these and other songs in the record, because they are significantly revolting. (If you wish to try out some of these and others on your piano, I think I can arrange to obtain the music for you.) These are only a few of the hundreds of songs prepared by the "cultural" group of the Communists in the United States of America.

RED ARTISTS

It will be recalled that early last spring the Communist forces held a national congress in New York City of American writers, at which several hundred revolutionistic propagandizers, posing as authors, journalists, met and organized the American Writers League. Leaders immediately announced affiliation with the Moscow International. Following the Nation-wide agitational program conducted by this new Communist movement in behalf of the so-called unemployed and needy writers, a Federal relief section was established providing work relief funds which was quickly grabbed off.

Communists now announce an American Artist Congress, explaining that artists "have been considerably more hampered than their fellow workers, the writers, by the nature of their economic base," and that "this call is to these artists, who, conscious of the need of action realize the necessity of collective discussion and planning. * * *" In their published statement concerning the coming artist congress they attack the Rockefeller Center, the Museum of Modern Art, the Coit Memorial Tower, the Abraham Lincoln High School, Rikers Island Penitentiary, and other institutions for censoring and destroying Communist art, which was smeared upon the walls of those institutions by Communists on the Federal relief that the Government provided for this class.

Oaths of allegiance for teachers, investigations of colleges, for radicalism, sedition laws aimed at the suppression of liberties, discrimination against the foreign-born, against Negroes * * * are daily reminders of Fascist growth in the United States," continues the call to the artists. "We artists must act * * * individually we are powerless. Through collective action we can defend ourselves. There is need for an artists' organization on a Nation-wide scale * * *. The creation of such a permanent organization, which will be affiliated with kindred organizations throughout the world, is our task."

The artists' congress has been called to meet in New York City early in December. Permanent officers are to be selected and the program of action will be adopted. Some of the subjects scheduled for consideration are Fascism and War, Racial Discrimination, Civil Liberties, Against Imprisonment of Revolutionary Artists and Writers, For Federal, State, and Municipal Art Galleries and Centers, Federal Art Bill, Special Art Schools During Crisis, Museum Policy in the Depression, and Art Criticism.

Among the 107 so-called artists signing the call are the following: Art Young, William Siegel, William Cropper, Hugo Gallert, Russell Limbach, George Picken, Joe Jones, Arnold Blanch, Gilbert Rocke, Jacob Burck, Anton Refreigier, Raphael Soyer, Nicolai Cikovsky, Mabel Dwight, Adolph Dehn, Mitchell Siporin, Peter Blume, Margaret Bourke-White, and Eitaro Ishigaki, all of whom are contributing cartoonists and illustrators to Communists' publications. Stuart Davis has been selected as the secretary of the congress, which has opened permanent headquarters at 52 West Eighth Street, New York City.

In the meantime, the Federal Government has announced a new and special relief unit for unemployed artists, so we can be quite sure that these revolutionary artists will get in on it.

Forty-seven artists and writers were arrested in New York City recently for instigating a boisterous demonstration before a relief agency and later carrying their protests to the offices of the Daily Mirror, a daily tabloid. The Mirror criticized the Federal relief projects for artists and writers.

Henry G. Alsberg, who procured relief funds for Russians in 1922, has been appointed head of the Federal relief project for the starving writers. Alsberg has been technical assistant in charge of creating work for authors on relief and has edited the bulletins issued regularly for the past 18 months by the Federal Emergency Administration. At the same time, it is alleged, an additional fund of \$300,000,000 has been established for creative artists. Nikolai Sokoloff, Miss Hallie Flanagan, and Holger Cabill have been named technical assistants to handle the music, theater, painting, and sculpture relief work. Miss Flanagan is director of the Vassar Experimental Theater, to which Communist publications favorably refer. Miss Flanagan is reported to have said that this Federal relief project may be extended to musicians. Sokoloff is a Russian by birth. Much of the so-called relief art has been condemned.

LABOR POETS OF AMERICA, 2971 MARION AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

The Labor Poets of America was organized by the Young Communist League in 1938. Its purpose is to train and encourage young people to express their reaction to the world through poetry. Its publication is called "Sing Democracy." Officials of Labor Poets of America are: Martha Millet, president; Sam Roberts, vice president; Anita Tilkin, secretary; Lillian Altman, treasurer. Committee chairmen are: Joe Lyons, criticism; Eli Siegel, school; Frances Russak, educational.

"RED" SPORTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The Communist launched their Labor Sports Union of America, the American section of the Red Sports International, of Moscow, on January 15, 1927. The American section first organized in Detroit. There were 25 delegates present at the conference. Most of them were from the Finnish clubs. Among them, in addition to Communists, were syndicalists and Industrial Workers of the World. A national board was elected. For a short time the doors were opened to anyone, regardless of political opinions or degree of class consciousness. The movement had many rocky roads to travel since party lines were finally drawn while some preferred to belong only for the sports and not for the cause of communism. In 1928 the friction had grown to such an extent that the "reds" expelled the Industrial Workers of the World and syndicalists.

During its period of infancy, the Moscow Red Sports International, while fostering the American section for certain reasons, did not openly acclaim it as its affiliate. It was not until 1929 that the Moscow International acknowledged it as its offspring. In the meantime, many of its most prominent athletes and leaders scoured to Russia, received schooling in "red" sports leadership, and were accepted in Moscow by the world's leaders of communism. In June 1931 five delegates were sent to Berlin, where the "reds" were to hold their Spartakade. German officials objected, however, so it was held in Moscow.

In December 1931 the Third International ordered a boycott against the Olympic contests which were held in Los Angeles, calling it a bosses' affair, and held their own "red" International Workers' meet at Stagg Field in Chicago.

This was the real beginning then, of the "red" sports movement in the United States, which today has built a vertical network of sports clubs throughout the country. Their strongholds are located mostly in larger cities, such as New York, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. This does not infer, however, that their sports units are not active elsewhere, for branches have sprung up in the suburban districts adjoining these cities. The "reds" have also recently organized teams in their affiliated movements and in the Committee for Industrial Organization unions. All the Communist propaganda publications devote more space to the sports units of the "red" movement in the United States than to any other unit of the movement, except, of course, the labor and political units. So extensive is the effort to reach the youth, men and women of the country through sports, that the Communists also issue a publication solely devoted to sports. It is entitled "Sports and Play."

The "reds" boycotted the German Olympia in 1936, and attempted to spread the boycott among non-Communists. This attempt failed, however. Their own Anti-Hitler Olympiad was held in Spain that year, but since the war was then beginning, it is understood that most of the sports contests were free-for-all sprinting matches in an attempt to dodge bullets.

Basketball, baseball, football, prize fights, soccer, hand ball, sprinting, shot putting, jumping, swimming, hockey, and every other sport imaginable is engaged in, not only in the "red" gymnasiums, but also in the Communist summer camps in the United States of America. So numerous are the recruits to this section of the Communist movement that in several cities leagues have been formed. The "red" teams also engage in contests with outside, left-wing teams, and in this manner they form new acquaintances and make direct contacts for communism. After games the "reds" hold receptions and dances, to which young ladies are invited. The majority of them do not realize that they are associating with Communists, who, ever on the alert for new recruits, attempt a little mind poisoning here and there.

From the last available report we learn that the national executive board of the Labor Sports Union in the United States is composed of Arnold Maki, Si Gerson, now assistant to the borough president, Mr. Isaacs, in New York City, and formerly a Communist Party candidate for Congress, an instructor at the Communist school in New York, and a writer for the official Communist publications, and listed as national secretary of the "red" sports movement; Alma Lee, H. Van Webber, Jay Anyou, Joe Gleit, Louis Cooper, Murray Scheier, A. L. Harris, William Leakso, and Walter Annelin.

Affiliating with the Labor Sports Union are the Italian Workers Athletic Organization of Philadelphia, the Metropolitan Workers Soccer League of New York City, the Chicago Workers Soccer League, the Workers Sportsman, The Finnish Progressive Society, the Astoria Workers Athletic Club of Oregon; the Workers Sport Clubs of San Francisco and Berkeley, Calif.; the Mariners Hebrew S. L., the Alku Athletic Club, the Coney Island Workers Athletic Club, Bath Beach Workers Athletic Club, the Esthonia Workers Athletic Club, the East New York Workers Club, the East Side Workers Athletic Club, the Harlem Progressive Youth Club, the Into Athletic Club, the Haytee Athletic Club, the Marathan Athletic Club, the Metropolitan Workers Soccer League (45 teams in New York City), the Prospect Workers Athletic Club, Red Sparks Athletic Club, Red Star Athletic Club, Scandinavian Workers Athletic Club, Spartacus Athletic Club, Hero Athletic Club, Russian-American Youth Club, Bronx Park Youth Club, Toverit Athletic Club, Workers Cooperative Colony (N. Y. Y.), Yorkville Workers Athletic Club, Czecho-Slovak Athletic Club, International Labor Athletic Club, Tarmo Athletic Club, Wildcats, Ukrainian Athletic Club, Dynamo Athletic Club, Pyrinto Athletic Club, Kiva Athletic Club, Klisto Athletic Club, Sisu Athletic Club, Hill Athletic Club, McKeesport Basketball League, Yrity's Athletic Club, Peerless Workers Athletic Club, Silver Arrows Athletic Club, Brantwood Athletic Club, Heimola Athletic Club, Nashwauk Workers Athletic Club, Nabjus Athletic Club, Enlu Athletic Club, Phelps Eagles Athletic Club, Red Wing Athletic Club, Red Guard Athletic Club, Sebeka Athletic Club, St. Paul Athletic Club, Red Flame Athletic Club, Duluth L. S. U. Club, All Stars (Negro), Young Pioneers, Norwood Labor Sports Union Club, Transport Workers Athletic Club, Workers Sport Alliance, Sons of Malta, Nature Friends, International Workers Order, Lithuanian Workers Association, Cleveland L. D. S., Lithuanian Youth Committee, Fur Floor Boys, International Workers Alliance, Young Communist League, Meat Cuters A. C., San Francisco Workers Sport Club, Greek Spartacus, Youth Culture, South American, Nonpareil, Down Town Hungarians, Internationak, Dynamo, Labor Soccer League, Labor Sports Union of Upper Michigan, Arbeiter Athletic Club, Commonwealth Spark Athletic Club, Shane Ridge Coyotes, New York Youth Club, Latin-American Club, International Athletic Club, Lightning Athletic Club, and Flambeau Troopers.

Nature Friends seem to receive more attention in the official publications for the Communist sport field than any other unit. This organization is also widely organized throughout the country. It not only maintains outdoor activities, but it also operates an "agit-prop" (agitation and propaganda section, music groups, film and photo section, chess groups, gymnastic and dance groups, scouts, lecture groups, and summer camps.

As an example of the strength of this "red" sports movement, which is seldom referred to in exposing the activities of Communists, the Metropolitan Workers Soccer League of New York has 59 teams with a registered membership of 1,024.

The Labor Sports Union is a political movement, of course, as are all other Communist branches. Consequently, it advocates the "unity of workers, farmer and student athletics of all countries, races, and nationalities; for unity with Soviet athletes; against sport blockades on the Soviet Union; against the use of sports for capitalist militarism and war; against Sunday blue laws; for the appropriation of funds from city, county, and State treasuries for the building of more sport centers; for the free use of public-school gymnasiums, municipal stadiums and sport fields; for the unconditional release of Tom Mooney, and for the support of the Communist Party ticket." Delegates from the union are sent to other camouflaged communist affairs, such as the Congress Against War and Fascism, etc. Delegates are also sent regularly to Moscow to participate in the International Sports (Olympiads) (Spartakiade).

Here is a "boring within" method that is difficult for the average person to find. It is one of the most effective of the Communist machine in the United States.

Workers sports league centers are as follows: 207 Anderson Avenue, Fairview, N. J.; Queens County Labor Lyceum, corner Forest and Putnam Avenues, Brooklyn; H. Amen, 703 First Street, Carlstadt, N. J.; Hungarian Hall, corner Sixth Street and Magnolia Avenue; Labor Temple, New York City; 850 Bryant Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; Neubauer's Hall, 115 President Street, Passaic, N. J.; Labor Lyceum, 580 Paul Street, Rochester, N. Y.; 4227 Hudson Boulevard, Union City, N. J.; 6 East Seventeenth Street, New York City; 175 East Broadway, New York City; 424 West Forty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.; 386 Morning-side Avenue, Cliffside, N. J.; 1222 Elmwood Street, Evanston, Ill.; 3242 Crystal Street, Chicago, Ill.; 77 Essex Street, New York City; 2018 Brady Place, Chicago, Ill.; 5510 West Twenty-fifth Street, Cicero, Ill.; 3104 Audubon Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio; 12611 Wattersson Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio; 7949 Mack Avenue, Detroit, Mich.; 1129 Pennsylvania Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.; 3462 Morgenfond Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.; 3 West Sixteenth Street, New York City; 624 Livingston Street, Elizabeth, N. J., etc.

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS AND THE JOHN REED CLUB

(National Headquarters; 430 6th Ave., New York City)

The John Reed Club is a revolutionary organization composed of artists and writers in the United States. It was organized by Communists in memory of the American bolshevik, John Reed, who was deported to Russia and died there. His remains were placed beside those of Lenin in Moscow.

This club is affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Theatres, and is a section of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers. It has sections in all of our principal cities. The New York branch was organized in November 1929. It is said to have 32 sections in New York City. Several publications are issued by the various sections. These include *New Force*, *Left Front*, and *Leftward*. Joseph Pass was, and possibly is yet the secretary of the press committee of the John Reed Club.

The club cooperates in all Communist agitational and propaganda activities, including agitation against investigations, arrest of Communists, and the proposed enactment of anticommunist legislation. It sponsored the emergency committee for Southern Political Prisoners in 1930, of which Theodore Drieser and Prof. John dos Passos, of Columbia University, were chairman and treasurer, respectively. On this committee were Sherwood Anderson, Waldo Frank, Alfred Kreymborg, Upton Sinclair, Louis Untermeyer, Cary Van Doren, and Edmund Wilson.

The John Reed Club holds mass meetings each year on the anniversary of Reed's death. It calls itself the "workers' cultural front," although no workers are members of it. It cooperates with the Proletarian, Jewish proletarian writers group. The late Harry Allan Potamkin was its founder and secretary. Many "red" plays have been written by its members.

The John Reed Club of Art, located at 430 Sixth Avenue, New York City, not only instructs the members in revolutionary art, but also in revolutionary dance and song. Many Communist Party leaders lecture at the school. This school, with the aid of the local sections of the club, turns out most of the agitational signs and floats for Communist parades and demonstrations. The club's center in Chicago is located at 505 South State Street.

The members of the club receive a great deal of publicity, and, as a result, the public considers them great artists, great musicians, great writers, and great playwrights. This gains them a wider following than merely that provided from the inside ranks of communism. The following item, with regard to the "John Reed Club, appeared in the Daily Worker (official organ of the Communist Party), February 21, 1931, page 6:

"The club, in a little over a year of its existence, has done good work in the revolutionary movement, conducting campaigns against the anti-Soviet 'holy' crusade, cooperating in the campaign in defense of political prisoners, helping with posters for demonstrations, arranging pageants, and a portion of its members taking active part in the Communist election campaign.

"It should broaden and enlarge its present work along the lines of the program of the Kharkov conference of revolutionary writers. It should keep closer contact with the life and everyday struggles of the working class, giving more attention to the development of proletarian literature, to the development of new worker writers and artists, as well as to winning over the radicalized intellectuals. It should become a real force in the struggle for racial equality, especially for the Negro masses, and give greater effort to exposing social-fascism and pretty bourgeois tendencies to the fight against imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union."

The members of the John Reed Club carry on a campaign denouncing attacks on communists, which they call "red baiting." On May 19, 1930, the following individuals issued a signed statement in the New York Times in protest of what they called the "red scare":

L. Adohmyan	Harry A. Potamkin
Sherwood Anderson	John Cowper Powys
Enjo Basshe	Juanita Preval
Helen Black	Walter Quirt
Prof. Franz Boas	Burton Rascoe
Alter Brody	Anton Refregier
Samuel Brody	Phillip Reisman
Fritz Brosius	Rose Gruening
Jacob Burck	Carl Haessler
David Burluk	E. Haldeman-Julius
Rev. R. B. Callahan	M. Haldeman-Julius
Walt Carmon	Ruth Hale
Ralph Cheyney	Jack Hardy
N. Cikovsky	Mina Harkavy
Lydia Cinquegrana	Prof. S. R. Harlow
Sarah N. Cleghorn	Charles Y. Harrison
Ann Coles	Aline D. Hays
Harry Freeman	Arthur G. Hays
All Fruch	Lowell B. Hazzard
Hugo Gellert	Josephine Herbst
Michael Gold	John Herman
Floyd S. Gove	Harold Hickerson
C. Hartley Grattan	Grace Hutchins
Horace Gregory	Eitaro Ishigaki
William Gropper	Joseph Kaplan
Malcolm Cowley	Ellen A. Kennan
Franz E. Daniel	Rev. C. D. Ketcham
Miriam A. DeFord	Rev. Frank Kingdon
Adolf Dehn	I. Kittinge
Floyd Dell (New Deal)	I. Klein
L. A. De Santes	Alfred Kreymborg
Babette Deutsch	Joshua Kunitz
Carl Van Doran	Melvin P. Levy
John Dos Passos	Louis Lozow'ek
Robert W. Dunn	Grace Lumpkin
Max Eastman	Norman Macleod
Charles Ellis	Louis Ribak
Fred Ellis	Boardman Robinson
Ernestine Evans	Anna Rochester
Kenneth Fearing	Anna Rosenberg
Sarah Bard Field	Julius Rosenthal
Waldo Frank	Martin Russak
Nemo Piccoli	Samuel Russak

David Saposs (N. L. R. B.)
 E. A. Schachner
 Theodore Scheel
 Isidor Schneider
 Evelyn Scott
 Edwin Seaver
 Edith Segal
 Esther Shemitz
 William Siegel
 Upton Sinclair
 John Sloan
 Otto Soglow
 A. Solotaroff
 Walter Snow
 Raphael Soyer
 Herman Spector
 Prof. J. M. Stalruaker
 Genevieve Taggard
 Eunice Tietjens
 Carlo Tresca
 Jim Tully
 Louis Untermeyer
 A. B. Magil
 Jan Matulka
 H. L. Mencken

Norma Millay
 Harriet Monroe
 Prof. Frank McLean
 Scott Nearing
 Alfred H. Neumann
 Eugene Nigob
 Joseph North
 Harvey O'Connor
 M. J. Ogin
 Joseph Pass
 Morris Pass
 Joseph Vogel
 Keone Wallis
 Frank Walts
 Prof. R. E. Waxwell
 Rev. C. C. Webber
 G. F. Willison
 Edmund Wilson, Jr.
 Adolf Wolff
 Charles E. S. Wood
 Art Young
 Stark Young
 Avrahm Yarmolinsky
 William Zorach

Some of the above are in the New Deal Administration. Many are members of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

In a letter addressed to the editors of *New Masses*, a communist publication, Harry Alan Potankin, founder and secretary of the John Reed Club, wrote the following (July 1930):

"The John Reed Club has continued active on the workers' cultural front. The splendid May 1 parade from Rutgers Square to Union square included not only cartoon-posters designed and made by the artists of the John Reed Club, but also a John Reed Club division. The press committee of the club has done excellent work in support of the International Labor Defense campaign for class war prisoners. The signatures of noted writers, artists, and educators were secured to the club's statement later issued to the press. The International Labor Defense has been further supported by the John Reed Club in an entertainment arranged by the club on May 14, with Gene Schachner as chairman. Enjo Basshe directed and staged one act of *Singing Jailbirds*, with members and nonmembers participating. Gropper, Klein, Burck, entertained with satirical cartoons. An International Labor Defense benefit at Camp Nitgedaiget was attended by Mike Gold, L. Adohmyan, J. Pass, and Jacob Burck.

"The John Reed Club cooperated with the Proletpen, Jewish Proletarian writers group, in the *Freiheit's* Mojshe Nadir celebration which filled Carnegie Hall to overflow. Gropper's cartoons were well received. Edith Segal led the Red Dancers. Adolph Wolf greeted Nadir for the club. The club joined in hailing the first Chinese Soviet Congress; and in the United Front Conference Against Lynching, called by the New York district of the Communist Party.

"Interest in the club's work is evinced by letters from the revolutionary groups in China and the Soviet Union, and even from remote and esoteric Hollywood.

"The members' exhibit of paintings, drawings, and sculpture still continues at the clubrooms.

"Club members continue speaking at workers' clubs. Walt Carman spoke on literature and revolution in America, Joshua Kunitz on Russian literature, both at the Hungarian Workers' Club. The workers' summer camps will have a number of club members in their cultural work. The writers are preparing playlets for the workers vacationing in their camps.

"The cultural work will be furthered in a worker's film movement being organized, which will carry over to the United States of America a force now active in England, Denmark, and Germany. Beginnings are being made by members writing on films—especially for the *New Masses* and the *Daily Worker*; in members' activities in the making and editing of workers' films; in talks to workers' clubs; in cooperation with working class organizations like the Workers' International Relief and the International Labor Defense; and in

support of meritorious pictures, such as that given by the club to the Vostokino's Turksib. The work will be correlated and integrated this coming fall, and a film group will be mobilized for the study of the technique of picture-making and the education of workers in the cinema as an ideological and artistic medium.

"Publishers are adding to their lists the work of club members. Charles Yale Harrison's "Generals Die in Bed" has appeared in England, Canada, and is issued by William Morrow in New York. It will appear soon in Soviet Russia, Germany, and Japan. Michael Gold's children's story, Charlie Chaplin's Parade, with illustrations by Otto Seglow, is on Harcourt, Brace's list for the fall. William Gropper's circus story told in drawings, film style, comes out this fall with Coward McCann.

"Many of the revolutionary writers and artists have emigrated for the summer to work on paintings for fall exhibitions and forthcoming books."

In 1933 the John Reed Club in Boston held one of its regular meetings at which John Croll spoke against the National Recovery Administration. A proletariat dance followed. Books and pamphlets were collected from among the revolutionists for the Lawrence Workers' Circulating Library. The Little Red Stars, composed of Lawrence children of communist belief, sang rebel songs.

The national officers of the John Reed Clubs were:

Harry Alan Potamkin	John W. Lawson	Gilbert Rocke
Bill Sentner (C. I. O.)	Kenneth Fearing	Eugene Gordon
Jack Conroy	Joshua Kunitz	Leon Dennen
Alan Calmer	Joseph Freeman	Wallace Phelps
Lester Glass	Phil Bard	Robert Pfanner
Duna Morell	William Siegel	Phillip Stevenson
John Wexley	Alan Calmer	Bob Reed
E. Rolfe	Edward Dahlberg	

The "John Reed Club" authors have been listed as follows:

J. S. Balch	Hugo Gellert	John Howard Lawson
Tillie Lerner	Edward Newhouse	Maxwell Bodenheim
Bob Reed	M. Shulmison	Clifton Cuthbert
Muriel Rukeyser	John C. Rogers	Ben Field
Warren Huddleston	Richard Right	R. Miller
John Wexley	Thomas Jordan	A. Abramowitz
Paul Peters	John Gregory	John Dos Passos
Melvin Levy	Sam Gasper	Jacques Roumain
Grace Lumpkin	Helen Moore	Eugene Clay
Leon Dennen	Miriam Clark	

In addition to the publications previously mentioned, the John Reed Club issues the Anvil (Moberly, Mo.), Blast (New York City), Cauldron (Grand Rapids, Mich), Left Review (Philadelphia), Partisan Magazine (Hollywood, Calif.), and Partisan Review (New York City). International Literature is the international journal of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, with which the John Reed Club is affiliated (J. R. C. Bulletin, May-April 1934, p. 12).

The principal branches of the club are located in New York City; Chicago; Philadelphia; Hollywood; Indianapolis; Detroit; Boston; St. Louis; Grand Rapids; Milwaukee; Hartford, Conn.; Santa Fe; and Mena, Ark. (Commonwealth College). It is understood that the leading lights of the Chicago section are members of the Chicago Artists Equity.

The Detroit branch operates a John Reed Club of Art with Bill Fanning as instructor. The New York branch also operates a John Reed School of Art, with H. Glinkenkamp, Louis Rebek, Louis Lozowick, William Gropper, Alfredo Grimi, Reginald Marsh, Hidoe Noda, Robert Minor, Nicolai Clkovsky, Hugo Gellert, Raphael Soyer, David Alfaro Siqueros (Mexican), William Siegel, Mordecai Gorelik, and Anton Refregier as instructors. The Boston John Reed Club also operates a school of art, of which Arthur Esner is secretary. The school is located in Brookline Village.

Orrick Jones, member of the club, painted the communistic murals on the Works Progress Administration in the old courthouse at St. Louis which caused so much furor. Many of the club's "class struggle" paintings have been exhibited in the Communist museums in Russia.

Edward Dahlberg, Kenneth Burke, Horace Gregory, and Joshua Kunitz are lecturers at the John Reed Club Writers School in New York City.

All of the John Reed Club leaders are engaged in revolutionary activities, either in propaganda or agitation and organizational work. Some of the leaders are:

Scott Nearing	Bill Jordan
John Van Zant	Edith Margo
Joe Hoffman	William Pullin
Bill Sentner	Carl Haessler
Jan Wittenberg	Paul Barnes
Morris Topchevsky	Merle Colby
Pauline Roumaine	Frank Rudnick
P. Paul	Joseph Rusocol
Stanley De Graff	Oskar Margolin
Bill Browder	Harold Wolcott
Ralph Munson	Mary Heaton Vorse
Mark Marvin	H. W. L. Dana
Sam Gasper	Harry Carlisle
Norman MacLeod	Jacob Friedland
Max Axelrod	Gertude Fleischman
Eugene Leslie	Hugo Koch
Herb Klein	Charles Friend
Joseph Kalar	Ben Shalom
R. C. Lorenz	A. Markoff
Maurice Leon	Meyer Shapiro
A. Zimmerman	Lewis Mumford
Morris Merlin	Aaron Goodleman
Mitchell Siporin	

In 1935 (April 26-27) there was proposed a national convention of American revolutionary writers. The call for the convention was signed by Earl Browder (national secretary of the Communist Party), Michael Gold, Granville Hicks (Communist professor at Harvard), Theodore Dreiser, Nathan Asch, Lester Cohen, Edward Dahlberg, John L. Spivak, Nelson Algren, Arnold B. Armstrong, Maxwell Bodenheim, Thomas Boyd, Bob Brown, Fielding Burke, Kenneth Burke, Robert Coates, Erskine Caldwell, Alan Calmer, Robert Cantwell, Jack Conroy, Malcolm Cowley, Guy Endore, James T. Farrell, Kenneth Fearing, Ben Field, Waldo Frank, Joseph Freeman, Eugene Gordon, Horace Gregory, Henry Hart, Clarence Hathaway, Josephine Herbst, Robert Herrick, Langston Hughes, Orrick Johns, Arthur Kallet, Lincoln Kirstein, Herbert Kline, Joshua Kunitz, John Howard Lawson, Tillie Lerner, Meridel Le Sueur, Melvin Levy, Robert Merse Lovett, Louis Lozowick, Grace Lumpkin, Lewis Mumford, Edward Newhouse, Joseph North, Moissaye J. Olgin, Samuel Orititz, Myra Page, John Dos Passos, Paul Peters, Allen Porter, Harold Preece, William Rollins, Jr., Paul Romaine, Isidor Schneider, Edwin Seaver, Claire Sifton, Paul Sifton, George Sklar, Lincoln Steffens, Philip Stevenson, Genevieve Taggard, Alexander Trachtenberg, Nathaniel West, Ella Winter, and Richard Wright. You will note that these are all John Reed Club leaders.

The call stated that the League of American Writers would be affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, as was the John Reed Club. The call further stated there was need for a further organization of revolutionary writers to convince the people of the necessity of the struggles against capitalism and for the institution of Marxism, as well as to fight "Fascist tendencies" in the United States.

The Congress of American Revolutionary Writers was held on April 26, 1935, at Mecca Temple, New York City. The League of American Writers was born there. Waldo Frank was elected chairman of the league. The members of the honorary presiding committee for the congress chosen by the American writers included prominent Communists of foreign countries, including Henri Barbusse, Roumain Rolland, Ludwig Renn, Heinrich Mann, Maxim Gorky, Feodor Gladkov, Mikhail Sholokhov, Sergei Tretjakov, Sergei Dinamov, Jacques Roumain, Hu Lun Chi, Kirshata Kuralara, Juan de la Cabada, Juan Marinello, Rafael Alberti and Giovanni Germanetto.

Messages and greetings to the Congress were received from the following: Agnes Smedley (China), Johannes Berber and Anna Seghers (both in exile in Paris), Boris Pilnyak, Sergei Tretjakov, Feodor Gladkov, Dinamov, Apletin, and others from the Soviet Union; Andersen-Nexo, the Danish novelist; China League of Left Writers; the Union of Soviet Writers; Madame Sun Yat-Sen, in China, and Prof. Granville Hicks, of Harvard.

Michael Gold was introduced to the delegates attending the Congress as "the best-loved American revolutionary writer." In his address he alluded to the huge

audiences which the Theater Union and the Group Theater command; to the huge editions of novels, plays, and poems published in Russia and circulated by the Communist writers in the United States, and the huge editions of nonfiction pamphlets and books published by International Publishers. He said: "Our writers must learn that the working class which has created a great civilization in the Soviet Union is capable of creating a similar civilization in this country (United States of America)." He referred to the "red" writers in America as "artists in uniform."

Friedrich Wolf delivered the first address of the congress. He said he brought revolutionary greetings from the secretariat of the International Union of Workers' Theatres and from the German section of the Union of Revolutionary Writers. He said that many of its members had been placed in concentration camps and jails by Hitler and urged the writers to help free them. He charged that Hitler had burned their books. Wolf called for united protests.

Ludwig Renn, exiled German, also spoke. He said: "I was a Communist. I am a Communist. I will remain a Communist, even if it means death." At the expression of these sentiments he received uproarious applause. He told of the death of Erich Muhsam, a writer in Germany, and said his dying song was the Internationale.

Harry F. Ward, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, a leader of the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Methodist Federation for Social Service, greeted the congress. He warned that attempts were being made to attack Russia, and that these should be thwarted. Matthew Josephson spoke on the Role of the Writer in the Soviet Union. M. J. Olgin selected the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers as his topic for discussion. Malcolm Cowley's address was on What the Revolutionary Movement Can Do for a Writer. Earl Browder discussed Communism and Literature and the importance of propaganda for the Communist cause. Waldo Frank spoke on Values of the Revolutionary Writer; Prof. Granville Hicks, Dialectics of the Development of Marxist Criticism; Clarence Hathaway, The Revolutionary Press and the Writer; Alexander Trachtenberg, Publishing Revolutionary Literature.

Prof. Corliss Lamont delivered greetings from the Friends of the Soviet Union. Robert Gessner and Martha Campion, of the Young Pioneers, also spoke. Herbert Kline reported on the New Theater League, while Peter Martin reported on the Theater of Action.

The following nominees were included in the list for the executive committee of the League of American Writers:

Kenneth Burke	Matthew Josephson
Harold Churman	Alfred Kreymborg
Malcolm Cowley	John Howard Lawson
Waldo Frank	Albert Maltz
Joseph Freeman	Isidor Schneider
Michael Gold	Edwin Seaver
Henry Hart	Genevieve Taggard
Joesphine Herbst	Alexander Trachtenberg.
Granville Hicks	

The following were elected to the national council:

Nelson Algren	Orrick Johns
Michael Blankfort	Joshua Kunitz
Maxwell Bodenheim	Tillie Lerner
Van Wyck Brooks	Meridel Le Sueur
Sterling Brown	Robert Morss Lovett
Fielding Burke	Grace Lumpkin
Alan Calmer	Lewis Mumford
Robert Cantwell	Moishe Nadir
Harry Carlisle	Clifford Odets
Eugene Clay	M. J. Olgin
Merle Colby	Joseph Opatoshu
Jack Conroy	Paul Peters
Edward Dahlberg	Rebecca Pitts
Leonard Ehrlich	William Rollins, Jr.
James T. Farrell	George Sklar
Kenneth Fearing	Agnes Smedley
Angel Flores	Lincoln Steffens
Horace Gregory	James Waterman Wise
Robert Herrick	Richard Wright
Sidney Howard	

Resolutions were adopted demanding the release of "revolutionary intellectuals" in Germany and other parts of the world.

In 1938 the League of American Writers promoted jointly with the Communist American Student Union and the Communist Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade a story contest. They offered \$1,000 in prizes for the best manuscripts written on revolutionary subjects. The judges for the contest were Elliot Paul, Donald Ogden Stewart, Jean Starr Untermeyer, H. V. Kaltenborn, Robert Morss Lovett, and Clifford Odets.

The following information with regard to the League of American Writers is to be found on an "Application for membership in the League of American Writers":

"Membership is open to all writers whose work has been published or used with reasonable frequency in channels of communication of more than local scope, including magazines, newspapers, the radio, the stage, and the screen. Membership in good standing is contingent upon the acceptance and observance of the aims as set forth below, and upon payment of dues."

AIMS

"To enlist writers in all parts of the United States in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction.

"To defend the political and social institutions that guarantee a healthy atmosphere for the perpetuation of culture; to insist on the democratic rights of education, freedom of thought and expression.

"To stimulate the interest of other writers in our program, and to offer younger writers in particular our fraternal interest and help.

"To support progressive trade-union organization, especially among professionals and in the liberal arts.

"To effect an alliance, in the interest of culture, between American writers and all progressive forces.

"To support the people's front in all countries.

"To cooperate with similar organizations of writers in other countries."

DUES

"Members at large: \$5 a year, payable on admission to membership, and thereafter on January 1st, to the national office." (Writers living where no chapters exist are elected as members at large.)

"Members of chapters: Up to \$5, payable as above, but to chapter treasurers."

Writers Take Sides is a pamphlet published this year (1938) by the League of American Writers, and in it 418 radical writers uphold the Spanish "red" front.

BROOKWOOD COLLEGE

Brookwood College was established in 1921, under the leadership of A. J. Muste. Muste's record is as follows: Member of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; vice president, American Federation of Teachers; national council, Committee on Militarism in Education; chairman, Conference for Progressive Labor Action; vice president, Labor Age; executive committee, League for Independent Political Action; national council, League for Industrial Democracy; chairman, Manumit Associates, Inc.; vice president, Pioneer Youth of America; national committee, War Resisters League; contributing editor, The World Tomorrow; vice chairman, Fellowship of Reconciliation; advisory board, National Religion and Labor Foundation; Committee on Labor Injunctions; New York committee for Progressive Miners Relief; representative of Conference for Progressive Labor Action in Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction; arrangements committee, United States Congress Against War; lecturer, Camp Conawopa, and summer institute, Mohegan Colony House, Crompond, N. Y.; vice chairman, National Sacramento Appeal Committee; contributor, Common Sense.

In May 1933 the long-expected break in the radical Brookwood College of New York City became an actuality. Contention between the right and left wings had existed for some years. As a result, the left-wingers, Muste and Tippet, resigned. The student body split with the two factions, and the majority of the students went with the left-wingers. The usual battle for supremacy that grows with the advocacy of such revolutionary dictatorship theories again arose, and it was rule or ruin, with the odds in favor of ruin.

The December 1, 1928, issue of International Labor News, official organ of the American Federation of Labor, contained the following article:

"LABOR COLLEGE IS REVEALED BY WOLL AND GREEN AS FRIEND AND ADVOCATE OF COMMUNISM

"Thrown into the arena after a long list of constructive policies had been developed in action on committee reports, Brookwood Labor College served as the piece de resistance for those whose fighting energies had found no other bones to rend.

"And Brookwood, to put it all concisely, got it in the neck. It was socked on the jaw, in the solar plexus, on the corns, in the small of the back, in both eyes, and, as has been related, in the region of the esophagus. At the end it was a dangling wreck of a thing, its few friends gazing in sorrow at the shadow of what once had pretended so mightily.

"Vice President P. J. Shea, of the Street Car Men, arose to ask what was all the fuss about Brookwood and what were the facts. He did this during a report on a proposal to plan for a labor college, to be guided by the federation. He said Brookwood had been condemned, but the evidence had not come forth, and he, for one, thought it proper to know all about the business. The car men have had their troubles with the 'red' and 'pinkish' brethren.

"Vice President Woll got up, and he stayed up for fully an hour, and they learned about Brookwood from him. To single out a few of the high lights of Mr. Woll's address, he said that Brookwood had three Communist members on its faculty, including A. J. Muste, its head, and Arthur C. Calhoun, who taught in the New York Communist school.

"He read a letter signed by Calhoun pledging his vote to Foster and Gitlow. He said Brookwood celebrated none of the labor holidays, none of the national holidays, but did celebrate May Day and the anniversary of the Soviet assumption of power in Russia, at which times the main hall was draped in red, with pictures of Lenin, Trotsky, Marx, and Ruthenberg gazing down benignly upon the assembled boys and girls.

"Mr. Woll said the organ of the American Federation of Teachers had printed a letter signed by Abraham Lefkowitz saying the executive council had 'too much confidence in the integrity of Matthew Woll,' who was delegated by President Green to investigate Brookwood and report. Social psychology, as taught at Brookwood, Woll said, was mainly about sex behavior and similar matters. Economics, he said, was taught by Tom Tippet, Communist, while foreign labor history was mainly about the Red Internationale.

"President Green said the revelations had 'shocked and amazed' the council. He said that at Brookwood they 'damned Sam Gompers, Bill Green, and John L. Lewis,' and that Muste, in a lecture, had likened the American Federation of Labor to 'a gigantic company union.' John H. Walker said no more capable confidence men have ever operated, adding that they were experts in the art of seeming to be 'as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves.'

"The college had its defenders, one being Charles L. Reed, of Salem, Mass.; another Tobias Hall, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Brookwood would seem to be finished, as far as trade-union support is concerned."

The officers and directors of Brookwood College were as follows: Labor directors, James H. Maurer, Fannia M. Cohn, Abraham Lefkowitz, John Brophy, Phil E. Ziegler, and A. J. Kennedy; faculty chairman, A. J. Muste; business manager, Clinton S. Golden; extension director, Tom Tippet. Officers: James H. Maurer, president; A. J. Muste, vice president and treasurer; David J. Saposs, secretary. Executive committee of board of directors: Labor members, Fannia M. Cohn, A. Lefkowitz; faculty members, A. J. Muste, Josephine Colby, David J. Saposs, Helen G. Norton, Clinton S. Golden; graduate members, Mary Goff, George Croch; student member, August Danielsson.

Brookwood College has received about \$75,000 for operating expenses from the American Fund for Public Service, a million-dollar fund distributed by a board consisting of Communists and Socialists.

The following item was taken from the July 15, 1926, issue of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party:

"TEXTILE 'PROBLEMS' TO BE DISCUSSED AT BROOKWOOD COLLEGE

"KATONAH, N. Y., July 13.—Problems of organizing the textile industry will be discussed at the textile institute which opens at Brookwood Labor College today. The United Textile Workers' executive committee will hold its annual

meeting in connection with the institute. About 40 persons will attend the institute.

"Speakers will include Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor; Edwin Newdick; Spencer Miller, Jr., Ethel M. Smith, of the Women's Trade Union League; George Soule, A. L. Bernheim, and Stuart Chase, of the labor bureau; and John Sullivan, president of the New York Federation of Labor. Discussion of organization problems will be led by Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun, instructor of economics at Brookwood."

The following appeared in the August 9, 1928, issue of the Star, Washington, D. C.:

"BAN LABOR SCHOOL AS COMMUNISTIC—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ASKS UNIONS TO WITHDRAW SUPPORT OF BROOKWOOD COLLEGE

"ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., August 9.—Intellectual 'boring from within' has been dealt its first hard blow by the American Federation of Labor by the ban which the executive council has ordered placed on Brookwood College, at Katonah, N. Y. Brookwood is patterned after famous Ruskin College and has been called the seat of labor learnings in America. All labor organizations are now asked to withdraw support to the college. Unions which have established scholarships are asked to withdraw them.

"Dr. A. J. Muste is the head of Brookwood's faculty. Another leading member is David J. Saposs (now serving the National Labor Relations Board in an official capacity). Several trade-union officials, including James Maurer, for years president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, are officers and members of the board.

"The charge against Brookwood is, of course, that it is out of accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, which means that its teachings are Communist.

"Action followed the filing of a report made by Matthew Woll under direction of President Green. In the report it is charged that three members of the Brookwood faculty also are lecturers in a New York Communist school. It is further set forth that the teaching in sociology deals chiefly with sex.

"The significance of the action on Brookwood is that it presages a drive to root out the influence of a sizeable group of 'intellectuals' of 'left wing tendencies' and Communist affiliations. It is known, for example, that Brookwood leaders have not been entirely free from connection with Communist efforts in the Pennsylvania coal fields and in the New Bedford textile strike.

"The Workers' Education Bureau, endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, does not in any sense share the stigma placed on the institution at Katonah."

Students of Brookwood have taken part in many labor and college strikes. The philosophy of Marx influences all of the subjects taught at the labor college.

The following is a list of the endorsers of Brookwood: Dr. John Dewey, Columbia University; Prof. Paul H. Douglas, University of Chicago; Dr. John L. Elliott, Ethical Culture Society; Prof. George S. Counts, Columbia University; Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Teachers College; Prof. Broedus Mitchell, Johns Hopkins University; Prof. Henry R. Mussey, Wellesley College; Prof. John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin; Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, College of the City of New York; Dr. Everett Deam Martin, Peoples' Institute; Prof. LeRoy Bowman, Child Study Association; Prof. Paul F. Brissenden, Columbia University; Prof. Jesse H. Holmes, Swarthmore College; Dr. Abram K. Harris, Howard University; Miss Alice Hanson, industrial department, Y. W. C. A.; Miss Eleanor Copenhaver, industrial department, Y. W. C. A.; Miss Mary C. Barker, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss Selma Borchardt, Washington, D. C.; Prof. John A. Fitch, New School of Social Work; Prof. William M. Leiserson, Antioch College; Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Columbia University; Prof. E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin; Prof. Alfred D. Sheffield, Wellesley College; Miss Hilda W. Smith, director, Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers; Prof. George A. Coe, Columbia University; Miss Lucile Kohn, Women's Trade Union League Conference; Dr. E. C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work; James H. Maurer, ex-president, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers; A. J. Kennedy, president, Amalgamated Lithographers' Union; John P. Burke, president, Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers; Dr. Henry R. Linville, president, American Federation of Teachers; J. B. S. Hardman, editor of official journal, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Robert

Fechner, vice president, International Association of Machinists; Miss Fannia M. Cohn, educational department, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Abraham Lefkowitz, vice president, American Federation of Teachers; Justus Ebert, editor of official journal, Amalgamated Lithographers; Powers Hapgood, Columbia Conserve Co.; Walter Ludwig, director, Pioneer Youth of America; Julius Hochman, vice president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Phil E. Zeigler, editor, official journal, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Oscar Cooley, executive secretary, Cooperative League of America.

AUTHORS, EDITORS, AND PUBLICISTS

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor, the Nation; Bruce Bliven, editor, the New Republic; Devere Allen and Kirby Page, editors, the World Tomorrow; Edmund Wilson, The New Republic; Sara Bernheim, Labor Bureau, Inc.; F. J. Schlink, Consumers' Research; Carl Brannin, editor, the Vanguard; Harry W. Laidler, League for Industrial Democracy; Freda Kirchwey, the Nation; Sinclair Lewis; Stuart Chase; Paul Sifton; Vida Scudder; Walter Frank; Arthur Garfield Hays; Mrs. John F. Moore; R. W. Heubsch; Upton Sinclair; Clare Sifton; Frederick V. Field; Elizabeth Gilman; Evelyn Preston; George Soule; Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Bishop F. J. McConnell, Dr. John H. Holmes, Reinhold Niebuhr, Charles C. Webber, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, William Adams Brown, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Bishop Paul Jones, Sherwood Eddy, Francis A. Hanson, J. B. Matthews, William B. Spofford, Prof. Jerome Davis, John-Nevin Sayre, James M. Myers.

Tucker P. Smith, new head of Brookwood College, is also head of the C. I. O. auto union offices in Detroit.

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, 7 EAST FIFTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

The Rand School of Social Science was organized in New York in 1903. Its purpose was to instruct leaders in socialism and labor organization. Each session the school has had enrolled over 1 000 students. Its operation expenses run from \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year. It has 6,000 books in its library. Many C. I. O. unions have contributed financially to the school. It maintains a publishing house which has printed numerous books and pamphlets on socialism.

The officers of Rand School of Social Science are Algernon Lee, president; Dr. William E. Bohn, educational director; and Henry Aotheker, manager. The instructors are Jack L. Afros, former director of the Young Circle League of the Workmen's Circle; David I. Ashe; Ethel B. Bellsmith; William E. Bohn; Karl M. Chworowsky, August Claessens, member, New York State Assembly, 1918-22; N. Bryllion Fagin; Esther Friedman; Louis P. Goldberg; Mordecai Grossman; Dr. Ernst Harnis; Rebecca Jarvis, formerly educational director, Women's Trade Union League; Adele T. Katz; Algernon Lee; Siegfried Lipschitz; Bela Low, well-known authority on Marxian economics; Sandor Lorand; John O'Brien; Harvey Pinney; Solomon P. Rosenthal; Frederick Shulman; Tony Sender, member, German Reichstag, 1920-33; Emanuel Stein; Elias L. Tartak; and George B. Vetter.

Rand School was raided by the Government during the war. Its leaders were convicted under the Espionage Act.

The school also operates Camp Tamiment in Pennsylvania.

WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, DULUTH, MINN.

The Work People's College was organized by radicals in 1904. Its curriculum includes courses in class struggle, revolution, and I. W. W. organizational methods (American Labor Year Book, vol. XI, p. 188). The school was first operated by the Finnish Federation of the Socialist Party. Classes range from 150 to 300 a season.

SPANISH RED FRONT AID IN THE UNITED STATES

At the outbreak of the Fascist rebellion in Spain, the I. L. D. (International Labor Defense) in the United States swung into action, and it was this action which became the basis for the great solidarity movement organized in the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau.

The I. L. D. began to collect medical aid, and to accomplish this, it set up committees involving doctors, nurses, professionals, and all sorts of people friendly to the Spanish cause, whom we had never reached before. National Conference Report of International Labor Defense, Washington, D. C. June 19, 20, 21, 1937.

The interest of the "reds" in the war in Spain centers around the creation of another soviet. Evidently their efforts to aid countries against facism is double-edged in that they desire to organize the aliens into the Communist Party, as will be noted in the following statement which appeared in *Imprecor* (p. 965, No. 37, vol. 15, Aug. 20, 1935):

"It must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of toilers, a 'workers' and farmers' party', must serve as a suitable form. Such a party should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks. * * * But it will have to be an anti-fascist party and not an anti-Communist party."

William Z. Foster, in his report to Moscow *Imprecor* (No. 36, vol. 15, p. 934), said:

"The Communist Party of the United States of America must expose the demagogues of facism, must organize strikes and combine the struggle against facism with them. This party cannot rise spontaneous, it must be created in the struggle against the capitalist parties and against facism. The united front opens our path to the broad masses of workers and farmers. The program of the new government must contain the demand of a workers' and farmers' government as a 'people's front' government."

On page 950 of the same issue, Earl Browder's statement appears:

"The Communist Party has already laid the foundation stone for the building of a workers' and farmers' party."

The Communists started the ball rolling on this question in 1936. (See I. L. D. statement above.) The Third International at Moscow issued a call for international aid to the Spanish "red front" government. Russia immediately began to furnish direction, manpower, arms, airplanes, tanks and money to the Spanish "red front" cause. Of course, the Communists in all other countries began to propagandize against the Franco element in Spain and to furnish aid to the so-called "Loyalists," the "red front." A movement was launched in the United States at once. It was known as the United Committee in Support of the Struggle Against Facism in Spain. This was set up by Charles Krumbein, of the central committee of the Communist Party, and Frank N. Trajer, New York State secretary of the Socialist Party, who served as chairman and secretary, respectively. A hundred or more radical union, fraternal, and political delegates were called to participate in the national conference, and they were asked to assist in formulating a Nation-wide campaign of aid to the "red front." C. I. O. unions immediately appropriated large funds from their treasuries. The miners (Lewis unit of C. I. O.) pledged tens of thousands of dollars. The Communist movements appropriated equally as large amounts. The first \$100,000 was oversubscribed within 3 weeks.

Other organizations were then set up, and to date over a million and a half dollars have been collected in the United States by the "reds" of various shades for the Spanish "red" cause. Thousands of American boys and men have been recruited and sent to France, where they are permitted to violate the American neutrality laws and cross the border into Spain, swelling the ranks of the "red front" army. In fact, so many Americans are fighting on the Spanish "red front" that there are a number of battalions composed exclusively of recruits from the United States. One of these is known as the Abraham Lincoln Battalion. American women are in Spain, where they are relieving men of office and other types of work in order that they may be used on the firing lines.

The set-up of these "red" armies in Spain are patterned exactly on the Red Army of Russia. The leaders are known as commissars. They are of the dictatorial type and are very much disliked by the rank and file who are, however, compelled to obey orders. The tanks, camps, etc., are named after leading Communists—Stalin, Lenin, etc.

But that is not our affair. We must stick to that which is, i. e., aid from the United States in support of the "red" front. At the present time there are in this country 28 national organizations, most of which have State and local sections working for the Spanish cause in the United States. In addition to these there are thousands of organizations interlocked by representation of their officers on the national and State committees of the Spanish aid movements. Leaders of these movements include a number of New Deal office-

holders in Washington, D. C. Among them is the newly appointed Maritime Commission official, Dr. Louis Bloc; Leon Henderson, of the Securities Exchange Commission; David J. Saposs, of the National Labor Relations Board; and Robert Marshall, of the Forestry Service.

The Marxian bishop, Francis J. McConnell, is chairman of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Rev. Herman F. Reissig is executive secretary. Reissig attended the recent national convention of the Communist Party which was held in New York City. A report was made to the convention with regard to the progress of the Spanish-aid movements.

A State Department report shows that these Spanish-aid movements have raised over \$1,000,000 since Congress compelled them by law (May 1, 1937) to submit a statement showing the total amount collected. Possibly another million dollars was raised from July 1936 up to the time the law became effective. Out of the million dollars reported by these organizations over \$300,000 was spent in the United States for "propaganda, propagandists and campaigns." These organizations cooperate with Communist movements.

The following are a few of these Spanish-aid movements: North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Social Workers' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, Ben Leder Memorial Fund, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children, and Companeros Anti-Fascistas.

Officers of the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy are:

Waldo Frank, chairman; vice chairman, Paul Crosbie; secretary, John Howard Lawson; executive secretary, Rebecca Grecht; treasurer, Abraham Unger.

Members of the board: Michael Blankfort, Van Wyck Brooks, Lester Cohen, Malcolm Cowley, Kyle Crichton, Joseph Freeman, Ben Gold, Henry Hart, Lewis Mumford, George Sklar, Alexander Trachtenberg.

Philadelphia committee: George Martin, chairman; Joseph Schiffer, secretary-treasurer; Herbert Jennings, J. Majetti, Mary Beckman, Dr. M. R. Steinberg, Dr. H. Finkelstein, Philip Dorfman, Saul C. Waldbaum.

Officers of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy are:

Philadelphia executive committee: M. V. Leaf, chairman, Maxwell Searf, vice chairman; Madeline Blitstein, secretary-treasurer; Beatrice Feldman, assistant secretary; I. Boguslaw; Samuel Cohen; Nathan Colton; E. Finkelstein; Herman Gold; William H. Goodman; Sara Kaplan; Eli Marcovitz; Matthew Moore; William Myerson; Harry Seidman; M. Steinbach.

Philadelphia committee: Mrs. Francis Biddle, Christian Brinton, Mrs. David Dubinsky, John Edelman, David H. H. Felix, Rev. Frederick R. Griffin, Alice Hanson, Rev. Thomas L. Harris, Jesse Holmes, Francis F. Kane, Wilmer Krusen, Mary Lewis, John F. Lewis, Mrs. I. Albert Liveright, Rev. J. A. MacCallum, Louis F. McCabe, George McKenzie, John R. Moore, Rev. E. Palmquist, Anne Pennypacker, William Robertson, Rev. Marshall Shepard, Karl Scholz, William Teller, Clair Wilcox, Lucy Wilson, A. D. Winspear, Col. Frank Woodbury.

National officers: Bishop Robert L. Paddock, chairman; Prof. John Dewey, vice chairman; W. W. Norton, treasurer; Natalie Hankemeyer, secretary; Prof. Samuel Guy Inman, chairman, executive committee; Rev. Guy Emery Shipler, vice chairman, executive committee.

Executive committee: Mildred Adams, George Backer, Roger N. Baldwin, Eleanor Copenhaver, Hubert C. Herring, Rev. John Paul Jones, Corliss Lamont, Helen G. Murray, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Josephine Schain, George Soule, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Rev. William B. Spofford, Maxwell Stewart, Katharine Terrill.

Committee: Devore Allen, Newton Arvin, Harry Elmer Barnes, Carlton Beals, Stephen Vincent Beuet, Mrs. Francis Biddle, Alfred Bingham, Algernon D. Black, Bruce Blyven, Mrs. W. Russell Bowie, Dr. Dwight Bradley, Rev. Raymond B. Bragg, Herschel Brickell, Heywood Broun, Charles C. Burlingham, Prof. Morris R. Cohen, Malcolm Cowley, Dr. Edward T. Devine, John Dos Passos, Prof. Paul Douglas, Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Sherwood Eddy, John Edelman, John L. Elliott, Prof. Henry P. Fairchild, Dr. D. J. Fleming, Mrs. Cuthbert Francis, Waldo Frank, Francis J. Gorman, Pres. Frank P. Gorman, L. O. Hartman, Rabbi Edward Israel, Matthew Josephson, Francis Fisher Kane, Paul Kellogg, Freda Kirchwey, Max Lerner, Prof. Robert M. Lovett, Dr. J. A.

MacCallum, Benjamin C. Marsh, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Prof. C. H. Mellwain, Archibald MacLeish, Dr. John Mackay, Vito Marcantonio, Herbert A. Miller, Lewis Mumford, William A. Neilson, Prof. Frederick Nussbaum, Prof. Harry Overstreet, Bishop Edward Parson, William Pickens, Herbert I. Priestley, Dorothy Rose, Charles Edward Russell, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Leland Stowe, Alan Swezey, Mary Van Kleeck, Willard Uphaus, Oswald G. Villard, Lillian D. Wald, Rev. David R. Williams, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The progress of the North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy was reported to the tenth annual convention of the Communist Party in May 1938 by Hermann Reissig, national officer of the North American committee, while John Sherman reported the progress of the North American committee's medical aid section.

The officers of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy are: Prof. Paul H. Douglas, honorary chairman; Frank G. Spencer, chairman; Mrs. Alfred Hamburger, executive secretary; Charles Wesley Burton; Bishop Francis McConnell, national chairman; Dr. Hermann Reissig, national director; Charles S. Bacon, M. D., Dorothy B. Blumberg, Thyra Edwards, Ralph Eisendrath, Florence Eldridge, Arthur G. Falls, M. D., Alfred Fisher, Mrs. Julia Follansbee, Rabbi George Fox, Jean Friedberg, Mary Gilson, Arnold Gingrich, Annette Greenspahn, Nicolas M. Hernandez, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Lillian Herstein, Paul Hutchison, Elmer Johnson, Miss J. Elizabeth Johnstone, Dr. H. T. Kahn, Rev. Harold M. Kingsley, Bernard C. Kirby, Rev. R. W. Lambert, Rabbi Gerson B. Levi, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, Frank W. McCulloch, Arthur McDowell, Maurice E. Moore, Nathaniel Moore, Kenneth Parks, George Paz, Luis Perez, Rev. Dr. Curtis Reese, Mrs. Kenneth Rich, Dr. Phillip Seman, Senator T. V. Smith, Lillian Summers, Dr. Eric von Schroetter, Dr. James E. Yard.

Advisory committee (partial list): Devere Allen, Prof. Jerome Davis, Dorothy Detzer, Prof. Paul H. Douglas, Prof. Albert Einstein, Francis J. Gorman, Dr. Hubert C. Herring, Joseph Lash, Bishop Robert L. Paddock, A. Philip Randolph, Paul Robeson, Rev. Guy Emery Sipler, Upton Sinclair, Rev. William Spofford.

Officers of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy: (a branch of the North American committee to aid Spanish democracy).

National committee: Dr. Walter B. Cannon, chairman, national executive committee; Dr. William J. Crookston, executive secretary; Dr. John Guttman, treasurer; Witter Bynner, Van Wyck Brooks, Kyle Crichton, Countee Cullen, Babette Deutsch, Edna Ferber, Marjorie Fischer, Yanda Gag, Lewis Gannett, Virgil Geddes, Martha Gellhorn, Granville Hicks, Langston Hughes, George S. Kaufman, Rockwell Kent, Sinclair Lewis, Archibald MacLeish, Clifford Odets, Dorothy Parker, Elliot Paul, Elmer Rice, Upton Sinclair, Donald O. Stewart, Paul Strand, Ernst Toller, Art Young.

National Medical Committee: Dr. Thomas Addis, Dr. Percival Bailey, Dr. Ernst P. Boas, Dr. Frederick A. Collier, Dr. David J. Davis, Dr. Haven Emerson, Dr. Evarts A. Graham, Dr. Samuel J. Kopetsky, Dr. Phoebus A. Levene, Dr. John P. Peters, Dr. E. C. Rosenow, Dr. Florence R. Sabin, Dr. Bela Schick, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist.

Officers of Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are:

National officers: Phil Bard, executive secretary; Paul Crosbie, chairman; William D. Lieder, treasurer; Jack R. Miller, national organizer.

Sponsors: Helen Arthur, Cong. John T. Bernard, Clyde Beals, Asa Bordages, Remo Bufano, James Cagney, Abram Chasins, Muriel Draper, Louis Fisher, John Housman, Henry Hart, Fred Keating, Julia Church Kolar, Arthur Kober, Archibald MacLeish, William Rollins, Jr., Carl Sandburg, Wallingford Reigger, Isabel Walker Soule, Upton Sinclair, Donald Ogden Stewart.

Officers of the Motion Picture Artists (Spanish aid) Committee, affiliated with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy are:

Executive Board: Herbert Biberman, Sidney Buchman, Humphrey Cobb, Florence Eldridge, Lewis Milestone, Dudley Nichols, Samson Raphaelson, Madeline Ruthven, Donald Ogden Stewart, Franchot Tone, Charles Page, Secretary.

Sponsors: Dr. Herbert Alexander, Sherwood Anderson, Richard Arlen, Edward Arnold, Richard Connell, Melvyn Douglas, Paul H. Douglas, Theodore Dreiser, Antonio Entenzo, Martha Graham, Fannie Hurst, Judge Robert Kenny, Sinclair Lewis, Archibald MacLeish, Philip Merivale, Paul Muni, Sylvia Sydney.

International Sponsors: President Cardenas, Mexico, honorary chairman.

France.—Edouard Herriot, Sen. Henri Rollin, Remoin Rolland, Andre Malroux.
 England.—Duchess of Atholl, Countess of Oxford and Asquith, Rt. Hon. Clement
 Attlee, M. P., David Lloyd George, Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., Earl of Listowel,
 Lady Gladstone, Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Carverdale, Lord Hastings, Lord
 Farrington, Sir Walter Layton, Viscountess Hastings, Viscountess Rhondda,
 George Bernard Shaw, Rosamond Lehmann, Sweden.—Senator Branting.
 Hungary.—Princess Odessalcki, Belgium.—Mme. Emile Vandevelde, Ger-
 many.—Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger.

Officers of the Social Workers' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy are:
 Executive committee: Harold H. Lund, chairman; Helen M. Harris, Wayne
 McMillen, vice chairmen; A. Gordon Hamilton, treasurer; Mary E. Boretz,
 M. Antoinette Cannon, Mildred Fairchild, Jacob Fisher, Ben Goldman, Harry
 Greenstein, Peter Kashis, John Kingsbury, Walter Pettit, Mary Van Kleeck.

National committee: Bishop Francis J. McConnell, chairman; Helen W. Gif-
 ford, treasurer; Rev. Herman Reissig, executive secretary; Leon Henderson,
 chairman; Lillian D. Wald, Edith Abbott, Hershel Alt, Maurice Bernstein,
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 Neva Deardorff, John B. Dillencourt, Douglas Falconer, Leah Feder, Benja-
 min Glassberg, Harry L. Glucksman, Sheldon Glueck, Paul Goldblatt, Helen
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 H. Levy, Morris Lewis.

Local sponsors: Rev. William S. Abernathy, Robert S. Allen, Isadore M.
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 Smiler, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin S. Smith, Leland Stowe, Hon. Henry G. Teigan,
 Roy Anson Thornley.

In the November 1937 issue of *Imprecor*, official organ of the Third (Communist) International, page 1171, No. 48, volume 17, a statement was made to the effect that plans were laid on that date in the United States to increase the aid for Spain. The campaign, it states, fall into three general phases. The first was that of the trade-union committee, with David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Francis Gorman, of the Textile Union (both C. I. O.) as heads. This committee was to raise \$500,000. The Spanish Confederated Societies was also set up as a clearing house for committees and other organizations, clubs, etc., composed of Spanish-speaking people. Its subsidiary organizations have over 60,000 members, and it had raised at that time over \$222,496. The article further stated that the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was next in line. It was organized in October 1936 as a federated body of many left-wing organizations. The article said that "prominent and active members of the North American Committee are the American League Against War and Fascism, the American Student Union, the Book and Magazine Guild, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the League for Industrial Democracy, the International Labor Defense, the International Workers' Order, the Italian Anti-Fascist Committee, the Progressive Women's Council, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the youth organizations. It also says that the Quakers are also affiliated with it, as are various other organizations.

The Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to the article, was organized in October 1936, and it has now become affiliated as a section of the North American Committee. It has organized chapters in numerous cities among professionals, writers, artists, lawyers, and engineers, as well as doctors and dentists.

From the same article we learn that the youngest of the Spanish aid organizations is the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which sends comforts to American volunteers. The brigade is transforming its organization into one of dues-paying members.

According to this article, the first million dollars was "raised mostly from left-wing organizations of all sorts from Communist sympathizers and more progressive labor forces." It reports that a motion-picture star said a Spanish-aid movement was in progress, and that Franchot Tone and Nancy Carroll were heading it.

The statement is made in *Imprecor*, page 1206, No. 44, volume 16, that "the International Coordination and Information Commission in support of the Span-

ish Republic, which was set up August 13, 1936, has organized splendid solidarity activity in the various countries." It adds that it was necessary to call an international commission of the above movement to coordinate the activities. This was held September 7, 1936, in Europe. Representatives from the World Committee Against War and Fascism, the League of Human Rights, etc., were present. Harry F. Ward, of the United States, was the official American delegate representing the Spanish "red" aid movements in this country.

It would be well to note the official personnel of the few Spanish-aid movements mentioned herein in order to see the interlocking of all of these organizations in the United States. Officers and committeemen of these Spanish-aid movements hold important positions in at least 200 of the major organizations, extending from pacifist groups to Socialist and Communist movements. They are representatives of Friends of the Soviet Union, International Labor Defense, the American Labor Party, the C. I. O., the Church League for Industrial Democracy, Methodist Federation for Social Service, etc., including pacifist and alien defense movements. These organizations admit in their reports to the State Department that the lion's share of the million and more dollars raised in the United States is spent for propaganda and organizational work.

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is an organization which was formed at a general meeting of furloughed American members of the Spanish "red front" army at the Mecca Temple, New York City, on December 18, 1937. The membership rules of the organization provide that the membership is "open to all Americans who served in Spain in the International Brigade and who left Spain with the permission of the International Brigade."

Fifty furloughed veterans of the International Brigade met in New York City to organize the movement. They announced that its purpose is to make the organization a "major force for peace and against fascism in the United States." This policy would appear to be inconsistent with the activities of the members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who have crossed the Atlantic to fight for the "red front" in Spain. The major portion of the program of the veterans is devoted to assisting "the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in their work of providing the Americans (on the "red front") in Spain with comforts and in their work of rehabilitation: to help to rally the support of the democratic people in America to the democratic ("red front") people of Spain; to cooperate with any and all organizations working for peace and democracy; to affiliate and cooperate with organizations formed in other countries by veterans of the International Brigade." The International Brigade is the "red" army of Spain, composed of radicals of all countries, but chiefly of Russian "red" troops.

Officials of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade announced that chapters would be set up in each community in the United States where "10 or more veterans" habitate: that "elsewhere members are to be affiliated directly to State, regional, or the national organization."

Candidates for office in the organization, at its first convention which was held in 1937 were: For post commander, Paul Burns, one of the editors of the radical publication *Leftward* in 1934, and an organizer of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in 1937; Steve Nelson (elected), Communist Party candidate for the Pennsylvania State Legislature, 1936; Communist Party organizer, Luzerne County, Pa., 1936; active in Communist Party national convention, New York City, 1938. Adjutant commander, Cy Stone, Communist Party member; Douglas Roach (elected), Negro member of the Communist Party in Massachusetts; a county-fair circuit wrestler. Executive secretary, Dennis Jordan (elected), Steve Dąduk, and Bill Wheeler. Publicity director, Bob Klonsky, former manager of Communist book store in Brooklyn, N. Y. Treasurer, Walter Garland, a New York City Negro who was wounded on the "red front" in Spain; Bill Harvey. Twenty additional candidates, not named, also entered into the race for official positions in the organization.

The delegates attending the convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade voted to empower the executive committee with the right to bestow honorary membership on the nearest relative of Americans killed on the Spanish "red front."

The veterans, contrary to the law forbidding Americans to enlist in the ranks of foreign forces or risk losing their citizenship, have seen that each of those they sent to Spain has been able to return to this country at will and resume his original status as a citizen.

Prominent in the front ranks of those participating in the communist May Day demonstrations in the principal cities of the United States were squads of returned "red front" fighters, dressed in the Spanish "red front" uniform. These men were the center of attraction at the tenth annual convention of the Communist Party of the United States, which was held the latter part of May (1938) at Madison Square Garden in New York City. Steve Nelson took an active part in this convention.

The officers and members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have taken part in anti-German, anti-Italian, and anti-Japanese demonstrations. In all of their demonstrations they carry the Spanish "red front" flag, although they contend they are Americans. Their salute is the raised clenched fist, similar to that used by Communists.

The veterans held a convention, February 12 and 13, 1938, at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington, D. C. At that time 3,200 Americans were reported fighting in the "red front" ranks in Spain; 200 were reported wounded (having returned to the United States), and a thousand or so were reported to be killed or missing. Milton Herndon, brother of Angelo Herndon (Georgia Negro Communist leader and vice president of the Young Communist League), was among those reported killed in action, as was Daniel Hunter, New York City attorney for the (Communist) International Labor Defense, and John Gordon Honeycombe, of Los Angeles, United States seaman, who was active in Communist Party work in California.

According to a pamphlet issued by the Works Progress Administration Teachers Union Chapter of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, over 453 Works Progress Administration teachers volunteered to serve in the Spanish "red front army." Among them were David M. White, a former professor at Brooklyn College; Joseph Streisand, former Works Progress Administration research professor at the Speyer School, New York; Robert Rennert, formerly connected with the Youth Service Division, Works Progress Administration, and City Projects Council, New York City; Malcolm McDonald Chisholm, former Works Progress Administration project illustrator of children's books on the New Reading Materials and former professor at Highlander Folk School (Tennessee); Milton Young, Works Progress Administration, Pennsylvania; Leo Grachow, former Civilian Conservation Corps member and Works Progress Administration teachers project worker in New York City, and editor of the DeWitt Clinton (New York City) high-school journal, Magpie; Leonard Lamb, former social service worker of the Emergency Home Relief Bureau and Youth Service Division of Adult Education Project in New York City; Marvin Stern, former Works Progress Administration education project worker, New York City.

A report issued by the Massachusetts branch of the Communist Party in 1937 stated that scores of its members were fighting in Spain in the "red front" army. Among those mentioned in its In Memoriam column were Robert W. Norwood, Abraham Cohen, and John Lenthier. It also refers to "100 men and young men" who had volunteered and were seeing service in "international solidarity." It referred to the following Massachusetts leaders fighting in Spain: Dave Jones, Ed Flaherty, Henry Grossman, Charles Flaherty, Robert Allen, Raymond E. Bell, Homer Chase, Robert Taylor, Paul A. Burns, William Hathaway, Mike Aronberg, Jean Bronstein, Abe Cohen, Alfred Goldenberg, Milton M. Levin, Walter Straus, DeWitt Parker, Douglas Roach, Frank Zeldman, Marcus Alper and numerous others, many of whom were members of the C. I. O. white collar and relief workers unions. The report further states that "thousands of Communists and Young Communists have been killed in battle."

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade cooperates with the Communist Party, the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion (organization in the United States which supports the Americans fighting in the "red" army in Spain), and the scores of Spanish-aid movements in the United States.

William Flaherty, Phil Bard, and Samuel Stember, all members of this organization, spoke at the meeting which was held at the Hippodrome in New York City, June 23, 1937, at which Robert Minor, widely known Communist Party leader, was the headliner. The brother of Congressman Ambler, of Wisconsin, a member of the veterans, is a captain in the "red front" army. He addressed a meeting of the organization in Chicago on April 10, 1938.

Eugene Bechtold, Communist Party candidate for the United States Senate from Illinois in 1938 and an instructor in the Communist Party School in Chicago, is alleged to be a recruiter in the ranks of the "red" army in Spain. This was reported to the United States Government, since recruiting in armies

of foreign countries is inviolation of Federal laws, but nothing was done about it. In fact, the October 16, 1937, issue of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party in the United States, stated that the United States Department of State was interceding in behalf of "24 young American volunteers fighting in the Spanish Loyalist ("red front") Army recently captured by the Franco (anti-communist) forces, all of whom face execution by firing squads." Bechtold is secretary of the Illinois Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion.

Francis Gorman, C. I. O. Textile Union leader, is head of the Trade Union Rehabilitation Committee of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. A pamphlet issued by this committee, signed by Gorman as chairman, states that the committee consists of leaders of 48 C. I. O. unions.

According to the State Department's report of May 25, 1938, the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion (Spanish "red front" Army) raised, between May 1937 and April 1, 1937, \$142,089.94 in the United States, spending \$41,316.15 for administration, publicity, affairs, campaigns, etc. This amount does not include funds received prior to May 1, 1937, before the law compelling the submitting of reports was enacted by Congress. Paul Crosbie, active Communist Party leader in New York City, is chairman of this organization.

On December 9, 1937, the Communist Party, through Earl Browder, general national secretary of the party in the United States, announced a membership drive for "50,000 members of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion," the membership dues of which are \$1 a year. The receipts from April 20 to November 30, 1937, of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were reported officially to be \$61,738.28. (See *Among Friends*, Winter, 1938, edition, organ of the organization.) The report of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion to the Department of State indicated that its revenues from May 1937 to November 30, 1937, were \$61,612.28. (See Department of State Press Release, December 29, 1937.)

Congressman John T. Bernard is a member of its sponsors committee. Phil Bard, executive secretary, has been active in Young Communist circles in the United States for a number of years. The California branch is headed by O. H. Jordan, C. I. O. leader. The Brooklyn, N. Y., head is Robert Kionsky, former manager of the Communist book store there.

These movements are all interwoven in the Communist movement in the United States.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, 100 FIFTH AVENUE,
R. 1409, NEW YORK CITY

The membership of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is made up of all shades of liberals, such as Heywood Brown, writer for the Communist paper, *Mid-Western Record*; Winifred Chappell, supporter of the Communist Party politically; Herman F. Reissig, head of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Roger Baldwin, leader of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Vito Marcantonio, head of the International Labor Defense.

The announced purpose of the organization is to "combat all discrimination against foreign born held for deportation because of political opinion or trade union activities". It cooperates to a great extent with Communist movements. It viciously attacked congressional legislation aimed to give preference on relief to World War and Spanish-American War veterans over aliens, and claimed that such action would cause 120,000 or more aliens to be taken off the relief projects.

The program of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as found in its publication, the *Foreign Born in the United States* is: "To reestablish by law the right of asylum in America for political and religious refugees; to repeal the laws requiring deportation for political opinion; to enact laws preventing the destruction of families by deportation; to amend naturalization laws; to abolish discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, or political opinion, and to supply the process and lower the fees; to eliminate all discrimination against resident noncitizens and foreign-born citizens in jobs, relief and compensation, and to ultimately repeal all deportation laws."

Among the hundreds of cases in which they have taken a leading part, according to their reports, are the following: Opposition to the deportation of Fortunato Eria, Brooklyn Italian, who was ordered deported for illegal entry; Stella Petrovsky, born in Poland, charged with being a member of the Communist Party, who, it is alleged, advocated the overthrow of the Government

by force and violence; Ray Carlson, a Swede, who is a member of the Communist Party; Oscar Mannisto of Finland, a member of the Communist Party; Alfred Miller, a German, editor of a Communist newspaper; Erich Becker, a German, and member of the Communist Party; Otto Rechter, a German, deserted ship; Sol Goldband of Poland, member of the Young Communist League; Dave Agalos, a Greek, member of the Communist Party; Gus Sagerquist, a Swede, member of the Communist Party; Jack Schneider, Rumanian, Communist labor agitator; Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto, Italians, allegedly connected with anarchists in the United States; Louis Bebrits and Emil Gardos, said to be Communists, and Editors of the Communist Hungarian daily, Uj Elore; Phillip Giambattista, Communist labor agitator among coal miners; Todor Antomoff, Bill Murdock, and Pat Devine, said to be Communist Party textile and auto strike agitators; John Ujeck, Austrian, Communist agitator in Northwest.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born defends the Communist Party as a "legal" party, and resents the deportation and withholding of citizenship to aliens belonging to it. It claims that "voluntary departure is no solution" of the situation; that the "American masses, the unity of native and foreign born must win for them the right to remain in the United States." It demands equal rights for all foreign born, but evidently refuses to demand of the foreign born "equal loyalty" to our institutions, as required of the American born.

The officers of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born are: Roy, Herman F. Reissig, chairman; Mariquita Villard; James Waterman Wise; Helen Arthur; vice chairmen; Dwight C. Morgan, secretary; Irving Novick, assistant secretary; Gifford A. Cochran, treasurer; Abner Green, publicity.

ADVISORY BOARD

Louis Adamic, Roger N. Baldwin, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Heywood Broun, Hon. Emanuel Celler, Winifred L. Chappell, Prof. George S. Counts, Anna Damon, Prof. John Dewey, Donald S. Friede, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Sidney Howard, Inez Haynes Irwin, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Carol King, Walter Lowenfels, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Irving Schwab, Isaac Shorr, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, L. Hollingsworth Wood, Charles S. Zimmerman.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has received considerable financial assistance from the "red" Garland fund (American fund for public service), which has given tens of thousands of dollars to Communist and extreme radical movements.

The International Labor Defense, International Judicial Association; Workers' Defense League; League for Mutual Aid; Workmen's Benefit Fund; Nature Friends, International Workers' Order; Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit; League for Protection of Greek Immigrants; Progressive Women's Council, Desteptarea, Rumanian newspaper; German-American League for Culture; German-American Club; German Workers' Club; Deutsches Volksecho, German weekly; National Committee for People's Rights, formerly National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners; Italian Committee for the Defense of Immigrants; Finnish Workers' Federation; and United Ukrainian Toilers sent greetings to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on the occasion of its second annual conference, held in New York City in January 1938.

At the conference of the organization it acknowledged "the cooperation or financial support received during 1937" of the following organizations:

American Artists' Congress, Inc.; American Friends of the Chinese People; Ethical Culture Schools; Foreign Language Information Service; International Juridical Association; International Workers' Order; Nature Friends; Social Economic Foundation; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Workmen's Circle; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund; American Civil Liberties Union; Arbeiter-Saengechor; Followers of the Trail; German-Jewish Club; International Labor Defense; National Commission for People's Rights; Progressive Women's Council; Williamsburgh Workers' Club; Workers' Defense League; Workers' Educational Association; Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference.

At the second annual conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, January 9, 1938, the speakers, according to the Daily Worker, January 4, 1938, page 3, were Congressman Emanuel Celler, Congresswoman Caroline O'Day, Prof.

Bernhard J. Stern, Rosika Schwimmer, and Joe Jones, of the antidiscrimination committee of the American Artists' Congress.

In the report of the Third (Communist) International, entitled: "From the Fourth to the Fifth World Congress," the following statement, which may have some bearing on this movement, is to be found on page 77:

"A second very important activity was the fight against the exceptional laws which the American Government is planning against the foreign-born workers of America, who comprise the lowest strata of the proletariat. The Workers' (Communist) Party was the only political party which concerned itself with the struggle, and the councils for the defense of the foreign-born workers, which were organized by the party, have developed into organizations that embrace hundreds of thousands of workers."

The original alien defense movement in the United States was the National Council for Protection of Foreign Born, with headquarters in New York City. Its officers were J. Dean, president; Henry Hunt, legal advisor; Nina Samoroden, secretary-treasurer; Max Orlowsky, vice president; P. Pascal Cosgrove, second vice president. The national committee included Joseph Brodsky, Max S. Hayes, Timothy Healy, James Maurer, William Cohen, Maurice Allman, Rebecca Grecht, Carl Appel, John Brahtin, John Szesesky, Maurice Sugar, Anna Scoeik, and Paul J. Foretich. Members of the advisory board were Adolph Blumfeld, Louis B. Boudin, Louis F. Budenz, Stuart Chase, Solon de Leon, Scott Nearing, Arthur Calhoun, Horace Liveright, Ludwig Loren, Joseph Freeman, and John Dos Passos.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 23 EAST TWENTIETH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

The Anti-Imperialist League is a section of the International League Against Imperialism, sometimes referred to as the League Against Imperialism and League for National Independence. The organs of the Anti-Imperialist League are *Upsurge* and *Anti-Imperialist Review*, edited by Martin Kaye. The officers of the league are: William Simons, national secretary; Robert W. Dunn, national chairman; E. P. Greene, research director; Florence Rauh, assistant national secretary; J. Briano, secretary, New York branch. The honorary presidents at one time included Henri Barbusse, deceased French Communist; Mme. Sun Yat-Sen; Upton Sinclair; and Maxim Gorki, deceased Russian Communist.

The following are writers for *Upsurge*: Donald Henderson (now head of the C. I. O. Agricultural and Cannery Union), L. Perry, E. P. Greene, C. Young, Martin Kaye, William Simons, John R. Perry, Manuel Marsal, and Alberto G. Gomez.

Active comrades in the league are given instruction on the subject of colonial issues. Classes are under the direction of E. P. Greene. Lecturers include Louise Thompson, of the International Workers' Order; James Allen, of the Negro section of the Communist Party; Robert W. Dunn, of the International Labor Defense; Harry Gaines, member Communist Party; and Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party.

The Anti-Imperialist League cooperates with the Communist Party. It assists the Communist Party in Mexico, Cuba, and other Latin and South American countries. It helped finance the Sandino rebel revolution in Nicaragua. When revolutions break out in other countries, the league carries on a propaganda campaign in the United States, and advocates a "hands off" policy and the withdrawal of the United States Navy and marines, if they are in the vicinity of the revolution. It is apt to take sides in behalf of the existing government against the revolutionists.

The league carried on a vicious propaganda campaign in Cuba and the United States for the overthrow of the Machado Government of Cuba. There is a section of the organization in Cuba which is known as the Anti-Imperialist League of Cuba. The league carried on a campaign in the United States against American interference in Cuba. Some of the slogans adopted were "Fight against intervention in Cuba," "Hands off Cuba," "Call to action," "Down with American imperialism," "United States imperialism in the Far East and South America," "The Monroe Doctrine of United States plunder," "Organize protest meetings," "Flood Roosevelt with telegrams condemning his action in Cuba." On one occasion, William Patterson, of the International Labor Defense; Harold Hickerson, of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League; John Larence, of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union; Gibby Needleman, of the United Front

Supporters; and Manuel Marsal, of the Anti-Imperialist League, came to Washington to protest Cuban interference, but President Roosevelt refused to see them.

The Communist publishing houses in New York City print and circulate the league's literature. The league issues agitational strife in foreign countries who may be in foreign waters during revolutionary strife in foreign countries.

The international has sections in practically every country in the world, but the American section has branches in Cuba; Puerto Rico; Brooklyn and Harlem, N. Y.; Philippines; Haiti; Venezuela; China; and Nicaragua. All of these have offices in New York with the United States section, in order that they might coordinate their activities.

Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, was expelled from the Anti-Imperialist League for supporting Gandhi against the "anti-imperialist forces of India," according to the league documents.

Like other radical organizations, while defending revolutionists in other countries, it carries on a campaign of defense for the Soviet Union and Soviet China, and calls for "solidarity" with those countries.

The program of the Anti-Imperialist League, according to its publication, The Anti-Imperialist Review, is as follows:

1. The complete national independence of the colonial and semicolonial peoples.
2. The full right of self-determination for all oppressed nationalities.
3. The removal of the imperialist armed forces from all colonial and semi-colonial countries.
4. Complete freedom of movement for all national-revolutionary organizations, and in particular for all revolutionary working class and peasant organizations.
5. The confiscation without compensation of all undertakings, mines, banks, plantations, lands, etc., at present in the possession of the imperialists and the nationalization of the same. The abolition of all debts to the imperialists and the abolition of all reparation payments.
6. The confiscation without compensation of all lands at present in the possession of rich landowners and the distribution of the same amongst the working peasants.

"First congress of oppressed nationalists, left wing, and Communists held February 10-15, 1927, with representatives of 40 countries, founded the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence" (p. 248, American Labor Year Book, vol. 10).

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER, NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 80 FIFTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK CITY

William Weiner, head of the International Workers Order, reported its progress as well as the progress among aliens (national groups work) at the Tenth Annual Convention of the Communist Party in New York City in May 1938. (See convention reports, Daily Worker).

The International Workers Order was launched in the United States in 1930. Its membership in this country in 1938 was 150,000. Until 1934 it permitted adults only to join, but now has a youth section today with a membership of 21,451, according to its official convention report issued in April 1938. (See official organ, New Order, May 1938, p. 39.)

The following quotation is taken from a statement of purposes issued by the national executive committee of the International Workers Order (A New Workers' Stronghold, p. 9):

"The International Workers Order assumes the point of view of the class struggle. It realizes that present-day society is divided into classes. The two major classes of our times are the capitalists and the workers."

The International Workers Order is critical of certain other so-called workers' societies, which it names in the same document, none of which is Communist:

"There was a time when they admitted only such workers as would assume the point of view of the class struggle, i. e., workers who realized that society is divided into classes and that the class of the workers must overthrow the rule of the capitalist class and establish socialism."

The above statement in itself indicated that that was the purpose of the International Workers Order itself.

On page 10 of the same document we find this statement:

"The International Workers Order maintains that capitalism is bankrupt. * * * The International Workers Order realizes that the workers must

organize to advance against capitalism. * * * The International Workers Order realizes there is no way out for capitalism. * * * The International Workers Order views with pride and joy the Soviet Union, which is the only country where there is no crisis. * * *

"The International Workers Order realizes that only under a system similar to the soviet system there is no exploitation of the working class. * * * The International Workers Order therefore appeals to the workers to join the struggle against capitalism and for a system where all power belongs to the working class. * * *

"The International Workers Order realizes that the only party that leads the working class in the struggles against capitalism is the Communist Party, which unites the best and proven members of the working class, and which is bound to become even stronger until the moment will come when the workers under its leadership will overthrow the capitalist system and establish soviets. It follows, therefore, that the International Workers Order is part of the battle front of the working class. * * *

"We find that the Communist is the only party that fights for the workers' interests. We therefore endorse the Communist Party. We appeal to all workers to vote for the Communist Party. We aid the party in its struggles. * * *

"It (International Workers Order) aids in strikes conducted against the bosses. The International Workers Order supports such strikes both with money and sympathy and with appeals to its members for aid. We have just said that the International Workers Order is part of the battle front of the working class. * * *

"Still another struggle on the calendar of the working class is the struggle to defend the Soviet Union. Soon we may be called to fight against the Bolsheviks under one pretext or another. It is the task of the International Workers Order to offer the most powerful resistance to these plans. * * **

According to statements made in the document from which the above quotations were taken, the International Workers Order maintains schools for children throughout the country in which are enrolled "over 4,000 children" (p. 15). It maintains musical and dramatic societies, sports clubs, and camps. It also maintains a national school in which it trains organizers and speakers. The International Workers Order publishes two organs, *New Order* and *The Spark*. (See same document, p. 15.) It has over 1,000 branches and lodges in the United States.

The income of the International Workers Order is exceptionally large. Its financial report of December 31, 1937 (see *New Order*, May 1938, p. 43), showed that its balance in the treasury on January 1, 1937, was \$1,015,698.90; that its income for 1937 was \$1,176,609.63. On December 31, 1937, it had a balance on hand of \$1,192,186.33. The International Workers Order spent in the United States, in 1937, \$1,000,122.20. At the same time, the report showed ledger net assets of \$1,232,514.26, which included the value of real estate (\$48,507.13), mortgage loans on real estate (\$294,338.06), stocks and bonds (\$569,075.40), interest on accrued mortgages and bonds (\$16,827.93), furniture and fixtures (\$23,500), etc. The June 1938 issue of the *Communist* (p. 542) shows a "reserve of \$1,243,512.01" was attained by the International Workers Order since 1930, at which time it showed a reserve of only \$31,018.41. The juvenile branch of the International Workers Order had a balance January 1, 1937, of \$39,527.91; receipts in 1937, \$43,740.86; assets, \$51,713.50.

The International Workers Order has fraternal and insurance angles which attract members. The members are bound together, therefore, not only politically, but also fraternally.

This Communist organization has contributed large sums of money to the Communist Party (*Daily Worker*, September 25, 1937, p. 5) and to the Spanish "red front" forces (*Sunday Worker*, April 10, 1938, p. 9), but has refused aid to the opposite side in Spain (*Daily Worker*, January 24, 1938, p. 5). The International Workers Order has also helped finance Communist publications (*Daily Worker*, October 1, 1937, p. 3).

The International Workers Order maintains birth-control centers (*Daily Worker*, March 5, 1938, p. 9). It maintains an aviation school in New York City where workers are trained in flying and airplane maneuvers (*Daily Worker*, May 16, 1938, p. 8; February 1, 1938, p. 8; March 5, 1938, p. 10; February 28, 1938, p. 8; February 23, 1938, p. 8; March 17, 1938, p. 10). In connection with the aviation school, the International Workers Order claims to have covered New York City in the skies with a score of planes during the 1938 "red"

May Day demonstration in that city. It has promoted sham battles over New York City (Daily Worker, May 7, 1938, p. 8). It sponsors adult bands and orchestras, as well as children's bands (Daily Worker, January 29, 1938, p. 8).

In 1938 the International Workers Order attempted to inveigle non-Communist fraternal groups to join with it in a united front "fraternal week." It claims to have succeeded to a degree (Sunday Worker, May 20, 1938, p. 9).

The International Workers Order agitates for "free medicine" (Daily Worker, March 7, 1938, p. 3). It recruits for the Communist Party (Daily Worker, February 24, 1936, p. 6). It names its local units in honor of Communists, i. e., John Reed branch, Newark, N. J.; Henri Barbusse branch, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Ernst Thaelman branch, 585, New York City (New Order, April 1935, p. 20). A bust of Lenin was the membership prize awarded in 1935 (New Order, April 1935, p. 20). The International Workers Order provides plays and scripts of a revolutionary Communist nature for youth. One of its books on this subject is entitled "Twelve Plays for Boys and Girls."

In October 1936 the International Workers Order set up, with the aid of C. I. O. leaders, a Fraternal Orders Committee, with headquarters located at 1209 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh (proceedings of the Fraternal Orders conference), to bring into the strikes the aid of Fraternal Orders members. At the conference, according to the above-mentioned "proceedings," "there were present more than 500 delegates from 17 national and more than 240 local fraternal organizations, representing in total 593,085 people." The meeting was held in Slovenian Hall, Pittsburgh. Among the radical Communist and C. I. O. leaders present were B. K. Gebert, Nicholas Kovac, August Seiler, Max Bedacht, Vinko Vuk, Margaret Cowl, Stephen Zeman, Jr., Richard H. Lawry, Leo Krzyaki, Philip Murray, Clinton Golden, Henry Gross, George Witkovich, B. K. Gebert was made national chairman; Henry Roth, vice chairman; J. Gasimvas, treasurer; George Witkovich, secretary; Nicholas Kovac, Vinko Vuk, Max Kumer, John Dechman, Joseph Mankin, and J. Redic, national committeemen. Gebert was district organizer of the Communist Party in Illinois in 1934; a member of the national convention committee of the Communist Party in 1936. He was a member of the central committee of the Communist Party in 1937. Others in the group are left-wingers and Communists.

In Why Every Worker Should Join the International Workers Order (p. 7), published by the International Workers Order, it states that in its organization it has "Jewish workers and Italians, German, Polish, Russian, Mexican, Slovakian, and Hungarian." It absorbed the membership of the Hungarian Mutual Education Federation, the Russian Mutual Aid Society, and the Slovakian Workers' Society some years ago (ibid., p. 8). In this document it says that the Soviet Union is "the only country in the world where the workers are their own masters," that "there are no capitalists in the Soviet Union," that "the system of private profits has been done away with," and that "the International Workers Order holds to the view that a system of society similar to the one in the Soviet Union should and can be established also in the United States and in all capitalist countries. * * * The working class must build up its own political party, its own unions, its own leadership, to direct its struggles against the capitalist class. * * * The International Workers Order helps organize its members and other workers and takes part in the larger struggles and mass campaigns throughout the country."

On page 11 of Why Every Worker Should Join the International Workers Order, the statement is made that the International Workers Order "raised the sum of \$150,000" for "strikes in coal mines in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky, textiles in New England and in the South, the strikes of the needle trades in various localities. * * * The International Workers Order participates in the movement to set class-war prisoners free * * * for the defense of the rights of the Negroes and foreign-born workers * * * The International Workers Order conducts various educational activities for the purpose of teaching workers how to organize and how to fight for improvement of working and living conditions. * * * The International Workers Order supports the workers' press," and has contributed "\$55,000 for the support of the workers' press during the last 2 years. * * * The International Workers Order publishes books and pamphlets" for the "workers" in English, Yiddish, Greek, Italian, Ukrainian, and Hungarian.

The International Workers Order lists as its publications: Funk (Yiddish); New Order (English), and Organizzazione (Italian).

The International Workers Order criticizes our public schools and "higher-education institutions" as "part of the capitalist state," and says these schools teach "patriotism" and "respect and admiration for the Army and Navy." These institutions, in the opinion of the International Workers Order, are therefore prejudiced in favor of capitalism. It reports that "the International Workers Order conducts educational activities" and devotes its energy towards educating the "workers' children in the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the interest of the working class," and that "the International Workers Order has founded over 100 schools for children in various parts of the country * * * and brings the children to the true meaning of aims of capitalist armies and navies and capitalist sport organizations and contests, and tells them the truth about the Soviet Union, encouraging the defense of the Soviet" (Why Every Worker Should Join the International Workers Order, p. 14).

Another International Workers Order booklet, A New Stronghold, lists The Spark as another of its publications. It claims "over 2000 branches in the United States" (Protection, International Workers Order pamphlet, p. 15).

In Convention Proceedings, May 1938, page 12, the International Workers Order states that "the order is affiliated as a body and participates in the life and activities of the American League for Peace and Democracy"; that "many members of our order voluntarily went to Spain and have fought and are still fighting in the ranks of the People's Army" ("red front"). On page 8: "Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party and a member of the International Workers Order" made one of the outstanding speeches at the Pittsburgh (1938) national convention of the International Workers Order. Other speakers were Miss Miriam Bogorad, of the American Youth Congress; Miss Anna Louise Strong, prominent writer for Communist publications; Miss Eleanor Brannan, New York City, chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy; Alexander Trachtenberg, of the International Publishers; Carl Bradley, of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion; and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the central committee of the Communist Party.

The Jewish section of the International Workers Order, according to the Convention Proceedings, is the largest section of the order. Rubin Saltzman is national secretary of this section.

Emanuel Levin is the national educational work director of the International Workers Order. He reported the distribution by the International Workers Order of 10,000 copies of the collected poems of Langston Hughes, Negro Communist, in 1938 (Convention Proceedings, p. 29).

Echo is the organ of the Bronx, N. Y., section of the International Workers Order (Convention Proceedings, p. 32). Lodge No. 536, Bronx, was the first International Workers Order youth lodge in the United States. Lodge No. 691, Harlem, N. Y., claims over 300 members. It reports it has established a "Harlem labor center" for a meeting place.

The official organ of the International Workers Order (New Order, April 1935, p. 7) states that the International Workers Order distributed 101,000 pamphlets and 9,000 books in 1934 and that it opened a book store in New York City.

The national headquarters of the International Workers Order are located at 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City. District offices are located at the following addresses: 184 West Washington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; 5 Harrison Avenue, Boston, Mass.; 139 South Tenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; 326 Fourth Avenue, R. 31, Pittsburgh, Pa.; 912 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio; 2111 Woodward Avenue, R. 1101, Detroit, Mich.; 429-31 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md.; 830 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.; 40 Clinton Street, R. 501, Newark, N. J. (International Workers Order pamphlet, Protection per Tutta La Famiglia).

The following is an incomplete list of International Workers Order centers in New York City and vicinity:

4 West Eighteenth Street, New York City; 1239 Southern Boulevard, Bronx, N. Y.; 66 Clinton Avenue, New York City; 1218 Union Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 98-09 North Boulevard, Corona, N. Y.; 1529 Madison Avenue, New York City; 1425 Central Avenue, Far Rockaway, N. Y.; 683 Allerton Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; 1177 Wheeler Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; 1602 Avenue D, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 381 Rockaway Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 49-10 Forty-third Avenue, Woodside, New York City; 1239 Southern Boulevard, Bronx, N. Y.; 570 Freeman Street, Bronx, N. Y.; 821 East One Hundred Sixtieth Street, Bronx, N. Y.; 361 Rockaway Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 294 East Ninety-eighth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 3200 Coney Island Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 290 Willis Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; 5222 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 98 Forsythe Street, New York City; 742 East

One Hundred Eightieth Street, Bronx, N. Y.; 3109 Surf Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 1270 Forty-seventh Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 4408 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 3230 Bainbridge Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; 66 East Fourth Street, New York City; 2528 Broadway, New York City; 285 Rodney Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 301 East Seventeenth Street, New York City; 870 Freeman Street, Bronx, N. Y.; 290 Willis Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; 608 Cleveland Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 821 East One Hundred Sixtieth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 37 Clinton Street, Yonkers, N. Y.; 317 West One Hundred Twenty-fifth Street, New York City; 108 East Fourteenth Street, New York City; 11 West Mount Eden Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; 107 East Burnside Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; White Plains Road and Lydig Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; 1141 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 89-28 Merrick Boulevard, Jamaica, N. Y.; 116 West Twenty-first Street, New York City; 698 Cleveland Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 169 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 37 Clinton Street, Yonkers, N. Y.; 1207 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 241 West Forty-sixth Street (fifth floor), New York City; 1218 Union Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 1529 Madison Avenue, New York City; 116 West Twenty-seventh Street, New York City; 785 Forest Avenue, Ridgewood, N. Y.; 2075 Eighty-sixth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 2723 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Bay Parkway and West Forty-seventh Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 40 East Seventh Street, New York City; 1148 Saint Nicholas Avenue, New York City; 23 Second Avenue, New York City; 14 Troy Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 608 Cleveland Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 1041 East One Hundred Eighty-first Street, Bronx, N. Y.

On February 7, 1938, the International Workers' Order opened a "national training school" at which to "train leaders." This is located at the Broadway Central Hotel in New York City. Peter Chaunt is in charge of the school (Daily Worker, February 2, 1938, p. 5). Another "training school" for organizers was opened in New York City in April 1938, the Israel Amter Training School. Israel Amter is State (New York) chairman of the Communist Party. Other International Workers' Order schools are included in the list of Communist schools named elsewhere in this report. The officers of the organization teach at the Workers' (Communist) schools. It maintains a gymnasium at 2075 Eighty-sixth Street, New York City, and borough training schools in all sections of the city.

Max Bedacht, general secretary of the International Workers' Order was editor of The Communist in 1930; Communist candidate for Congress from New York; author of Workers (Communist) Library Publishers' books; contributing editor of New Pioneer, Young Communist publication, in 1931; member, central committee of the Communist Party, 1933; Communist candidate for Senate, 1934 and 1936; member, national executive committee, American League Against War and Fascism, 1935-37; national committee, International Labor Defense, 1937; Communist Party Convention Committee, 1936; advisory council, Book Union, 1936; and editor of the New Order.

Officials of the International Workers' Order, 1938: William Weiner, president; John E. Middleton, vice president; Max Bedacht, general secretary; Louise Thompson, recording secretary; Peter Shipka, treasurer; Ann Spivak, assistant treasurer; Ben Gordon, national organizer; Sam Pevzner, national youth director; Jerry Trauber, junior director; Rubin Saltzman, national secretary, Jewish section.

General Executive Board: Phil Gardner, George E. Powers, Mamel Vilone, Charles Kellner, Sam Mittleman, John Derevnuk, Rose Meiliss, George Primoff, Anthony Krehmarek, Andrew Porylo, Richard H. Lawry, George Vocila, James Germano, Dave Greene, Rubin Saltzman, Nathan Shaffer, J. Sultan, L. Candela, B. Fields, Sam Nikolank, G. Sandler, Jerry Trauber, Louise Thompson, John E. Middleton, Sam Pevzner, Joseph Landy, William Weiner, Irving Eisner, Max Bedacht, Joseph Brodsky, Alexander Wright, Peter Shipka, Fylyp Richynsky, Joseph Schiffer.

Sol Vail, educational director (also head of International Workers' Order Aviation School, N. Y. C.)

Convention committee: Ily Travis, Helen Sugarman, Ann Spivak, Esther Gardner, Esther Lacy.

National committee: Louise Thompson, Emanuel Levin, George Powers, Dave Greco, Sam Pevzner, Mac Senhouse, Ernie Rymer, Charles Matson, N. Polak, Esther Posner, Miriam Brenner, Nathan Shaffer, Louis Eis, Thomas Goodwin, Joseph Landy, George Primoff, Irwin Stein, Louis Hyman.

Local leaders (not complete): Ben Gordon, district secretary, Philadelphia; Phil Gardner, west coast organizer; J. Schiffer, district secretary, Detroit;

A. Krehmarek, secretary, Cleveland section; John Schmies, district secretary, Chicago; Joe Landy, district secretary, New Jersey; Sam Mittleman, district secretary, anthracite section; Bernard Morrison, field organizer, Buffalo; Frank Poster, district secretary, Pittsburgh; Ida Kopka, chairman, Croatian section; Charles Matson, secretary, West Harlem section; Lelia Taylor, secretary, Berkeley, Calif., section; Frank Williams, secretary, St. Louis section; Earl Allen, secretary, Tacoma, Wash., section; Sam Beruan, secretary, Jersey City section; Alex Wright, secretary, Norfolk, Va., section; David Kuhn, chairman, Philadelphia section; Gertrude Wagner, secretary, Canton, Ohio, section; Helen Blody, secretary, Bronx, N. Y., section; Nathan Averoff, district secretary, southern California; Ben Fields, district secretary, northern California; Jack Karas, Boston youth section; Dick Lawry, Pittsburgh district president; Nathan Fine, Connecticut field organizer; Paul Orr, district secretary, Los Angeles; Harry Spitzer, Jr., director, Pittsburgh and east Ohio; Bill Caminker and Nat Rosenfeld, Los Angeles organizers.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' ORDER

In July and August 1937 the International Workers' Order instituted a campaign among its 150,000 members to donate a "day's pay" to Spain and many of these carried out the order, as is shown by numerous lists of donations of \$10 per member on down to \$2 each.

THE FEDERATION OF CHILDREN'S ORGANIZATIONS

It is believed that the Federation of Children's Organizations came into being late in 1936. The national headquarters were formerly located at 479 Sixth Street, New York City. The present address is 239 West Twenty-fifth Street. Miss Seth Dansky and Elsie Lerner are the secretaries of the organization. A number of radicals—communists, socialists, and pacifists—are the sponsors thereof.

Affiliates of the federation include Free Acres Colony of New Jersey; Golden Bridge Colony, New York City; International Workers' Order, junior section, New York City; International Workers' Order, Jewish Section, New York City; Camp Kinderland, New York; Progressive Women's Councils, New York City; Spartacus Community Center, New York City; Modern Sunday School Camp, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Pioneer Youth, New York City; Vanguard Community Center, Bronx; Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, New York; and the Workmen's Sick and Benefit Fund of Brooklyn. These are chiefly communistic and socialistic enterprises.

The announced aims of the federation are to stimulate the creation and maintenance of clubs and experimental centers for children in the field of art, dramatics, writing, discussion, dancing, and singing under the guidance of trained leaders of progressive or experimental education, and to maintain centers where adults can be trained for leadership; to develop courses in parent and adult education; to provide literature arising out of an active program; to equip children for authentic, intelligent, and active participation in great progressive movements, and to invite children's organizations to join on the basis of the need for a centralization of such movements. The federation criticizes the so-called luxury of private schools.

The federation promotes hikes, trips, dramatics, etc. It is said that it is supported financially by about 200 sustaining members, as well as from fees derived from affiliated groups. Sponsors of the federation are reported to be Ben Gold, Communist political leader in New York City; Waldo Frank, contributing editor of the Communist publication, *Labor Defender*, and an open supporter of the Communist Party in the 1932 and 1936 campaigns; Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Prof. Margaret Schlauch, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Frankwood Williams, Prof. Edwin B. Bergum, Prof. Mark Granbard, Prof. Mary Reed, Prof. Goodwin Watson, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. Lawrence D. Hoyle, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Arthur Garfield Hays, Rosetta Hurwitz, Elizabeth Irwin, and Margaret Naumberg, all radicals and so-called progressives.

This organization claims that a vast majority of children receive a schooling which is repressive and which retards their development; that life is active, and children should be given the opportunity to participate in a program which helps them to become useful members of a changing society.

The teachers' staff of the federation includes Adele Siegel, of Teachers College, New York City; Eleanor Gold, New York University; Norma Rosen, of

Teachers College; Sybil May, Highlander Folk School and the Pioneer Youth Camp; Irving Reizes; Jule Bouchard; Henry Avery, of Temple University; George Granich, Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society; Sara Eastburn; and Mary O. Johnson, formerly of the University of Michigan, whose exhibits have been shown in Moscow.

Party Organizer No. 8, volume VIII, page 14, says that special plans were made by the National Council of the Federation of Children's Organizations to take action during the Boy Scout Jamboree to issue 100,000 copies of a social document among Scouts and other children, which was designed to slander the Scouts as a capitalist and not a poor man's boy organization. It is said that this would have the cooperation of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League and that six branches of the Lithuanian organization and 45 branches of the Finnish Federation had attended this meeting to prepare the campaign.

THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

(National headquarters: 112 E. 19th St., New York City)

The membership of the American Student Union is approximately 30,000. It is a section of the World Student Union, now the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom, and Culture. Its organ is the Student Advocate.

The American section (World Student Association for Peace, Freedom, and Culture) was organized at a joint meeting of the (Communist) National Student League and the (Socialist) Student League for Industrial Democracy, held in the Young Women's Christian Association at Columbus, Ohio, December 28-29, 1938. Their report of this congress stated that nearly 500 delegates from 113 schools and colleges in the United States were present. The Communist unit had inveigled the Socialist youth into participating in the congress, usurped the leadership of the organization, and have used it as an adjunct to the young Communist movement all during its short life.

The program first adopted by the American Student Union advocated the right to education and security; in defense of academic freedom, peace, protection of minority races, and a struggle against the oligarchy of high finance, industry, and politics. It immediately set out to fight the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Civilian Conservation Corps, and national defense. It supported an effort for youth relief appropriations. At first the movement adopted a pledge to refuse to defend the United States Government in any war (defensive or aggressive), but as soon as Spain and China became involved in warfare, they rescinded this action and sent some of their members to the "red" front.

In a report to Moscow, the Communists refer to the American Student Union as one of its greatest triumphs in the United States. Joseph P. Lash was made national secretary of the organization. Lash has since resigned from the Young Socialist Party League, stating that it was too tame. He has become active in many other Communist-influenced movements. George Clifton Edwards, Jr., was named national chairman, and Serril Gerber, executive secretary. The National Board of the Union included:

Bruce Bliven, Jr., Jeffrey Campbell, Lewis Cohen, James Cox, Harold Draper, Frances Franklin, Maurice Gates, Albert W. Hamilton, Alvaine Hollister, Leo Koutouzas, Mertz Lewis, Harold Lebras, Virginia McGregor, Katherine Meyer, Walter Relis, Dorothy Rockwell, Warner Shippe, Julius Sippin, Hamilton Tyler, Monroe Sweetland.

These came from Ohio State University, Los Angeles Junior College, Southern Methodist, Columbia University, Swarthmore, Harvard, University of Louisville, University of Virginia, Antioch College, St. Laurence University, Young Men's Christian Association College of Chicago, Depaw, Temple, Vassar, Oregon University, University of Chicago, University of Minnesota, Brooklyn College, Occidental, and other prominent schools.

An advisory board was set up which included:

Roger Baldwin, Prof. George Counts, Mary Fox, Francis Gorman, Louis Hacker, Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Quincy Howe, Julius Hochman, Freda Kirehwey, Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, Prof. Goodwin Watson.

The immediate action of the American Student Union was to launch student strikes throughout the Nation on April 22 of each year. It claims to have influenced around 500,000 to walk out on this date each year in the United States.

It has sections in nearly every college and university in the country and in many of our high schools.

The following are officers which were elected at the December 1937 congress of the American Student Union:

Robert E. Lane (Harvard), president.

Joseph P. Lash (City College, N. Y.), executive secretary.

Molly Yard (Swarthmore), organizational secretary.

Lloyd James (University of Chicago), director of publications.

Agnes Reynolds (Vassar), treasurer.

Britton Harris (Wesleyan), assistant treasurer.

District secretaries: Kenneth Born (University of Kansas), Chicago; Howard Lee (College of Ozarks), South; Louis Burnham (City College, New York), South.

National executive committee: Kenneth Born (University of Kansas); Ruth Brod'e (Carnegie Tech); Robert Buckles (Purdue); Jack Chasson (University of Los Angeles); Clifton Davenport (Wesleyan); Tony Grosio (Smith); Robert Huffcutt (Cornell); Lloyd James (University of Chicago); Frances Estelle Jones (Bennett); Robert E. Lane (Harvard); Joseph P. Lash (City College, New York); Manuel Manfield (City College, New York); Florence Myers (Wayne University); Agnes Reynolds (Vassar); Sol Rosner (Temple); Al Rubio (University of Illinois); Charlotte Russell (Hunter); Boone Schirmer (Harvard); Katherine Scudder (Vassar); Oliver Stone (Wesleyan); Celeste Strack (University of California at Los Angeles); Mary Symons (Oberlin); Herbert Witt (New York University); Florence Yard (Swarthmore); Molly Yard (Swarthmore).

High school: Nolan Bell (Central High, Cleveland); Cornelia Brangman (Wadleigh High, New York); Evelyn Elkin (Central High, Detroit); Leon Wofsie (New Haven High).

The American Student Union has cooperated directly with other Communist movements in many avenues in the United States. Its last convention was held at Vassar College, December 27-31, 1937, at which time it took on a direct political tinge by resolution. The union also resolved to boycott Japan and to help the Spanish and Chinese "red" fronts. It especially favors the Nye-Kvale bills to abolish military training in schools and colleges. It passed a resolution eulogizing some of its members fighting on the Spanish "red" front. George Watt and Paul MacEachron are among those fighting in Spain. The union upheld the Mexican confiscation of American properties; it denounced American interference in Puerto Rico and the arrest of revolutionists there, demanding their release; it endorsed the World Youth Congress, to be held at Vassar in August 1938; it urged the liberation of the Communist, Luis Carlos Prestes, now held by officials in Brazil; it urged the passage of the antilynching bill; the abolition of poll tax; it supported the Harrison-Black bills, the Southern Negro Congress, the Scottsboro Negroes. The union adopted resolutions opposing theater owners banning Negroes in movie houses of the South. It ordered its members to cooperate in labor struggles. It endorsed the C. I. O. and the sharecropper movement in the South; it endorsed cooperative and consumer movements (with Charles Saphirstein in charge of this work). It denounced the jailing of labor agitators, and criticized colleges and universities expelling students and discharging professors for radical activities.

The American Student Union set up the United Student Peace Committee in 1938, through which it has a wider range in organizing strikes in American schools. Molly Yard is organizational secretary of this committee. Through it they claim to have influenced 17 national youth movements to become affiliated with it. These include the International Intercollegiate Christian Council (Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association student councils), the American Youth Congress, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the Emergency Peace Campaign, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Joint Committee on United Christian Youth Movement, League of Nations Association, National Council of Methodist Youth, War Resisters' League, National Student Federation, Student Department—Foreign Policy Association.

On March 24 the American Student Union called a strike, at which time, according to the Daily Worker, March 22, 1938, page 5, it called on Secretary of State Hull to follow the Soviet peace policy against the fascist aggressor. Of course, that policy was to supply money, men, and arms to the "red" fronts, thereby injecting the country into the fracas. The organization then took up support of the Jerry O'Connell peace amendment.

The April 24, 1938, issue of the *Sunday Worker* published an article which stated that the Young Communist League created the American Student Union and is the main inspiration behind the student peace activities that rocked America on April 27, 1937. It also said that the Young Communist League can likewise be proud of its loyal and energetic cooperation in the American Youth Congress.

On February 4, 1938 (*Daily Worker*, p. 6), the American Student Union thanked the official organ for the fine publicity and support it gave the union's Vassar convention.

In New Masses, April 19, 1938, the union announced trips to Russia. The organization issued a call for a closed shop on the campus early in 1938. The call is published in a booklet issued by the organization. Joseph P. Lash was the writer thereof. This demands that the students cooperate with unions of professors and teachers in running the educational institutions of our land and to prevent the expulsion of either. On page 7 of this booklet the following statement is made: "We reaffirm that society as presently constituted cannot give us economic security." In this statement the union shows its "red" face again.

In this pamphlet the union also reviews the definite activities of the organization in various colleges and universities, and it names scores of institutions in which it is organized, from New York City to San Francisco; from Detroit and Chicago to Texas and Florida.

One of the originators of the union, Robert Burke, was expelled from Columbia University. He took part in Ohio steel strikes and was sentenced on charges of syndicalism in the C. I. O. strike activities in 1936.

In one of its publications, the union stated: "Student bodies and faculties are becoming organized and articulate. They will demand more control over the university."

In *Toward a Closed Shop on the Campus* the union said: "At Oxford our experiences in the American Student Union contributed toward bringing about the Socialist and Communist student unity in Europe."

Earl Browder and other leaders of the Communist Party have addressed the members of the organization at various meetings.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The Young Communist International was organized at a meeting of 19 delegates from 14 countries on November 26, 1919. Its program is the same as that of the Third (Communist) International with which it is affiliated. The Young Communist League of the United States of America is a section of the Young Communist International of Moscow, and it is bound, as a section thereof, to follow the rulings of its international executive committee and the international congresses in Moscow. The Young Communist League of this country was organized in 1922. The first convention was held on April 22, 1922; the second convention in May 1923, at which time it became affiliated with the Young Communist International and adopted its program and regulations.

G. I. Green, national president of the American section of the Young Communist International, is a member of the executive committee of the international. He attends all of its congresses and meetings, and reports regularly on the activities of the American section.

While the Communist Party in the United States fathers the Young Communist League, the league fathers the Young Pioneers, the American Student Union, the American Youth Congress, the World Youth Congress, the Young Liberators, the youth section of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the International Workers' Order. The Young Communist League is organized in many schools and colleges in the United States and issues many publications and pamphlets. Several hundred of its members have joined the Spanish "red" front army. The league carries on agitation and sponsors mass demonstrations in this country.

The Young Communist League claims members in the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Guard, and the citizens military training camp. Its chief targets are the Boy Scouts, the Catholic youth movements, and the Reserve Officers Training Corps. The activities of the league in schools and colleges center around strikes against regulations and for demands for free lunches, free tuition, and free books. It demands that student boards claim a voice in the operation of the schools. It sponsors strikes against the dismissal of certain teachers and professors, and, in other instances, in support of the dismissal of faculty members.

The membership of the league is comparatively small because of the fact that when a member reaches the age of 21 he graduates into adult groups. In this way, the membership of the league is kept at about 30,000, but it has tens of thousands of allied members and followers.

The bylaws of the Young Communist League are as follows:

"YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE'S BYLAWS

[From "We Take Our Stand," by Young Communist League, New York City, May 1937]

"ARTICLE I. NAME

"SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the Young Communist League of the United States of America.

"ARTICLE II. MEMBERSHIP

"SECTION 1. All young people, regardless of race, color, nationality or religious belief, between the ages of 16 and 30, who are interested in any of the activities of the Young Communist League, and in building the Young Communist League, are eligible for membership in the Young Communist League.

"SEC. 2. A member in good standing shall be one who attends meetings of any chartered branch or affiliated group and is paid up in dues. Any one who is more than two months in arrears is not considered a member in good standing.

"ARTICLE III. THE BRANCH

"SECTION 1. Charters for all branches of the Young Communist League shall be issued by the National Council.

"SEC. 2. A branch shall consist of five or more members, which meets regularly at least once a month.

"ARTICLE IV. AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS AND CLUBS

"SECTION 1. Clubs or organizations of young people desiring to further any of the aims of the Young Communist League shall have the right to affiliate.

"SEC. 2. All affiliated clubs or organizations shall have the right to preserve their own names, constitutions, and programs so long as these are not contradictory to the declaration of principles and bylaws of the Young Communist League.

"ARTICLE V. INITIATION OF NEW MEMBERS

"SECTION 1. Each new member shall be inducted by the branch after such initiation and ceremony as decided upon by the branch membership.

"ARTICLE VI. DUES

"SECTION 1. All branches and affiliated organizations shall be required to pay per capita for all their members.

"SEC. 2. Per capita payment shall consist of 10 cents a month paid in monthly installments. Payments shall be made to the State or regional office, 50 percent of which is to remain in the State or regional office, and 50 percent forwarded to the national office. Additional assessments for publications shall be determined by the branch organizations.

"SEC. 3. All branches and affiliated organizations may decide on their own local dues, out of which the above per capita is to be paid.

"SEC. 5. The right to vote, to be elected and represented on committees and to receive all benefits and publications of the organizations, shall be accorded only to dues paying members.

"ARTICLE VII. CITY COMMITTEES

"SECTION 1. In all cities or counties where there are two or more branches or affiliated clubs of the Young Communist League, there shall be established a delegated body.

"ARTICLE VIII. STATE COMMITTEES

"SECTION 1. A state or regional council shall be constituted in all states or regions designated by the National Council, having five or more branches of the Young Communist League.

"SEC. 2. Any member of the State Committee may be recalled by a majority vote in a state referendum.

"ARTICLE IX. NATIONAL CONVENTION

"SECTION 1. The national convention shall be the highest body of the organization and shall have the power to decide upon all matters of policy.

"SEC. 6. The convention shall be ruled by the order of business and procedure proposed by the national council subject to change by a majority vote at the convention.

"SEC. 8. All decisions of the national convention with the exception of amendments to the declaration of principles and bylaws, and election of national officers, shall be made by a majority vote of the convention.

"ARTICLE XII. NATIONAL COUNCIL

"SECTION 1. The national council is to consist of the national president, national vice president, national executive secretary, and national administrative secretary, and 56 additional members.

"SEC. 5. The national council shall be the supreme body of the organization between sessions of the national convention. It shall make such decisions and formulate such policies as it deems necessary.

"SEC. 6. The national council shall elect 21 of its members as the national board, which shall meet at least four times a year.

"ARTICLE XV. FINANCES

"SECTION 1. All branches and committees of the Young Communist League shall keep financial records and shall issue financial statements periodically.

"SEC. 2. Every Young Communist League convention, whether national, State, regional, or county, shall set up an auditing committee to audit the finances of the respective leading bodies.

"ARTICLE XVII. DIVISIONS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

"SECTION 1. The national council shall be empowered to set up such divisions of the organization as it deems necessary with appropriate functions.

"ARTICLE XVII. INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

"SECTION 1. The Young Committee League of the United States of America is affiliated to the Young Communist International.

"ARTICLE XVIII. PUBLICATIONS

"SECTION 1. The national council shall issue a regular publication, which shall be the official organ of the Young Communist League.

"SEC. 2. The national council shall be empowered to issue such publications as it sees fit and to take measures to insure their circulation among the youth.

"ARTICLE XIX. EMBLEM

"SECTION 1. The emblem of the Young Communist League shall be the letters YCL in gold upon a red five point star, encircled by a golden background centered upon a red flag."

The following statements of purposes and beliefs of the Young Communist League are to be found in its declaration of principles, May 1937:

"We believe that through the maintenance of democracy today they will recognize the greater hope and vision of tomorrow—a new social order—socialism!

"We who believe in socialism love our country not only for what it is but for what it can become, not for its suffering of today but for this promise of the future—when America shall belong to the people.

"But the Young Communist League believes that real education can come only through both study and action, by combining the study of the basic sciences as illuminated by Marxism-Leninism with active participation in the labor and progressive movement.

"The Young Communist League is an organization for education, action, and recreation.

"Capitalism, and particularly fascism, its most reactionary form, denies culture to millions and degrades even that culture which is available.

"Unity alone can win the great battles that lie ahead. Because of the grave menace of war and fascism, we consider as the most important and urgent task the unification of youth in behalf of their most essential needs. We are happy to note that this is already taking place through such movements as Christian Youth Building a New World and the American Youth Congress.

"Today more than ever the onrush of war and fascism should unite Socialist and Communist youth who have declared their belief in a Socialist society.

"The followers of Trotsky have been exposed as wreckers and assassins in the land of socialism—the Soviet Union. They have conspired with fascism to defeat the heroic struggle of the Spanish People's Front.

"We will enlist the support of the youth of the Nation to insist that the American Government adopt an effective peace policy in cooperation with the peace efforts of the Soviet Union. We are unalterably opposed to the reactionaries of this Nation who would draw us into another war in alliance with the Fascist powers.

"We oppose the expenditures of billions of dollars for armaments in America and propose that these funds be used to help young people secure education and employment. We favor the nationalization of the munitions industry. We stand for the abolition of the Reserve Officers Training Corps and the elimination of all Army influence and personnel from the Civilian Conservation Corps camps. We pledge our aid to the annual student peace strike.

"We condemn American intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin-American countries and the Philippines, and we support the Puerto Rican people in their fight for independence. We support the struggles of the oppressed peoples the world over.

"The Young Communist League gives its support to the first land of socialism—the Soviet Union.

"Real democracy flourishes and is extended under the new Soviet Constitution.

"We hail these triumphs as a challenge and an inspiration to Americans, as a forecast of what socialism can mean in our land. The Soviet Union can record these achievements because it has remained true to the principles of internationalism, and has been guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

"We will support all measures aimed at the curtailment of the usurped, autocratic powers of the Supreme Court."

The following is a list of the officers of the "Young Communist League":

Gil Green, national president.

Angelo Herndon (Negro), national vice-president.

Henry Winston, national administrative secretary.

Carl Ross, national executive secretary.

Celeste Strack, national student director.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Jack Kling, State executive secretary, Illinois.

Clarence Prence.

Frank Cook.

Dave Doran.

Henry Winston (Negro).

Lloyd Brown, State secretary, western Pennsylvania.

Celeste Strack.

Mac Weiss, State organizer, Ohio.

Tony Morton, Harlem, N. Y., organizer.

John Little, State secretary, New York.

Irving Herman, Chicago organizer.

Jack Olsen, Los Angeles organizer.

Frank Curry, Birmingham, Ala., organizer.

Eula Lee, Talapoosa County, Fla., organizer.
 Helen Petras, Illinois State organizer.
 Jack Barry, organizer, western Pennsylvania.
 Claude Lightfoot, Cook County, Ill., president.
 Charles Wilson.
 Serril Gerber, California organizer.
 Nydia Barkin, Milwaukee organizer.
 Leo Turner, State secretary, Minnesota.
 Frank Carlson, State secretary, California.
 Jim West, New Jersey organizer.
 John Marks, State secretary, Illinois.
 Joe Clark, national educational board, New York.
 Leon Kaplan, State organizer, Wisconsin.
 Lil Dinkin, California organizer.
 Enlalie Mendez, chairman, New Bedford Branch.
 Mincola Perry, Chicago organizer.
 Ellen Allen, Chicago organizer.
 Arvo Holbert, chairman, Youngstown, Ohio.

STATE, LOCAL, AND DISTRICT LEADERS

John Little, executive secretary, New York State.
 Dave Grant, Boston.
 May Himoff, Connecticut.
 Catherine Stone.
 Harry Kaye, Hartford, Conn., chairman.
 William Shentone, Connecticut, educational director.
 Sid Taylor, New Haven, Conn., chairman.
 Carolyn Hart, Western Pennsylvania bureau head.
 Al Stern, State secretary, New Jersey.
 Bill Levinson, educational director, Connecticut.
 Archie Brown, San Francisco, organizer.
 Charles Hill, president, Hollywood branch.
 Ralph Glick, district organizer, Philadelphia.
 Charles Waters (Negro), president, Philadelphia branch.
 Mary Johnson, Cleveland organizer.
 Fred Keller, Wisconsin organizer.
 Marye Stanton, Wisconsin educational director.
 Carl Ross, Minnesota organizer.
 Ruby Cooper, Cook County, Ill., organizer.
 Vera Tracey, industrial secretary, Manhattan.
 Sophie Stern, educational director, Queens County.
 Catherine Hefner, New York State organizer.
 Helen Katz, Fort George, N. Y., organizer.
 Sam Kaplan, Fairplay, N. Y., organizer.
 Bob Schanz, educational director, Bronx, N. Y.
 Dotty O'Brien, educational director, Stuyvesant.
 Benny Insalaco, president, W. S. branch, New York.
 Tommy Covelli, president, Jimmy Collins branch.
 Rose Ludner, president, Victory Barron branch.
 Seymour Wolfert, vice president, Kings County branch.
 Hickey Heisler, president, Stuyvesant branch.
 Mike Saunders, executive secretary, Washington Heights.
 Murray Gordon, New York City organizer.
 Beulah Oshen, organizer, Office Workers' branch, Manhattan, N. Y.
 Svec Katz, W. S. County, N. Y., secretary.
 Sol Perry, president, Prospectus branch, New York.
 Willie Stone, president, West Bronx branch.
 Adolph Ross, city project council executive committee, New York City.
 F. M. Graham, New England organizer.
 Max Shafer, Bronx, N. Y.
 Rudy Haber, E. S., New York organizer.
 Dave Smith, Chelsea, Mass., organizer.
 Karl Masters, Western New York field organizer.
 Phil Schatz, district director, New York, shop papers and publicity.
 Sam Bank, administration secretary, New York.
 Hal Storm, executive secretary, Queens County, N. Y.
 Herb Parker, New York State organizer.

- Al Steele, executive secretary, Bronx, N. Y.
 Ray Clark, director, industrial district, New York.
 Ruth Watt, New York director student division.
 Hesh Klein, New York educational director.
 Rudy Ellis, V. C., New York section.
 Lillian Youngelman, president, Department Store branch, New York City.
 Henry Nehman, president, Flushing, N. Y., branch.
 Ida Gersh, president, Industrial Worker Order branch, New York City.
 Gertrude Gonchar, president, Corona branch.
 Ethel Kayton, president, John Reed branch, New York.
 Dorothy Green, president, Beehive branch, New York City.
 Hy Wolf, business manager, New York County section.
 John Sherman, president, Cooperative branch, New York.
 Sammy Allen, Hunts Point branch president, New York City.
 John Du Relle, president, Jack London branch, Binghamton, N. Y.
 Adele Porter, organizer, Binghamton, N. Y.
 Mike Russell, president, Harlem Youth Center branch, New York City.
 Clara Tommler, president, Pioneer branch, New York City.
 H. Rapp, president, Coney Island branch.
 Theresa Levin, secretary, New York State Student Union branch.
 Ben Black, Middle Village, New York organizer.
 Dora Lopez, president, Centro-Juvenile branch.
 Max Schaeffer, president, Milt Young branch.
 Leo Packer, financial secretary, Bronx.
 T. H. McGregor, administrative secretary, Harlem branch.
 Leo Miller, Nellie Clark branch, New York City.
 Rudy Ward, president, Maritime branch.
 Ruth Gill, president, Patrick Henry branch.
 Jack Kabiens, organizer, South Brooklyn, N. Y., branch.
 Ada Chery, secretary, Erie County, N. Y. branch.
 Frosh Chapel, president, Student Council New York City.
 Milton Whitman, president, Brighton Youth House branch, New York City.
 Lou Balis, president, James Monroe Evening H. S. branch, New York City.
 Lee Gerst, Bensonhurst New York branch, president.
 Neil Polidora, president, Garibaldi branch.
 Sam Schwartz, chairman publicity department, Kings County.
 Josephine Martini, New York State committee.
 Seymour Schuster, New York State secretary.
 Tony Morton, Harlem organizer.
 Mike Saunders, Kings county executive secretary.
 Helen Vrable, State Bureau, New York National Committee.
 Rudy Haber, chairman, E. S. New York branch.
 Aaron Shmr, president, Tri-Boro section, New York City.
 Lillian Mann, president, Hunter College branch.
 Johnny Stassinov, president, George Washington branch, New York City.
 Lottie Rosen, president, Dan Shlay branch, New York City.
 Marion Mann, New York City, organizer.
 Ralph Rodriguez, chairman, Centro-Juvenile, Lower Harlem, New York City.
 Adeline Kohl, educational director, Manhattan.
 Ruth Josephs, administrative secretary, Queens County, New York.
 Dot Sims, president, Scottsboro branch, New York City.
 Mike Anderson, acting educational director, Manhattan, New York City.
 Isadore Krizzman, president, Retail Men's Lodge, Manhattan branch.
 Dotty O'Brien, president, Stuyvesant Club branch.
 Arthur Silverstein, president, 23rd St.; evening session branch of City College, New York City.
 Tony Morton, chairman, N. Y. branch.
 Louis Haas, secretary, Westchester, N. Y., branch.
 Dave Barnett, chairman, Westchester branch.
 Murray Savage, president, Bath Beach branch, Kings County, N. Y.
 Nettie LeRoy, president, Ben Leider branch, New York City.
 Mac Werner, New York, director, literature.
 Jack Hallerhan, president, Richmond Hill branch, New York City.
 Bill Duff, Queens County, N. Y., organizer.
 Mike Feline, president, Corona branch, New York City.
 Dave Davisk, Bronx student director.
 Helen Segal, secretary, Richmond Hill branch.

Freddie Morrison, president, Bronxville branch, New York.
 Mickey Hans, New York dues secretary.
 Jimmy Harrison, East Side New York branch, membership director.
 Charles Pine, president, Astoria branch, New York.
 Custodian Esperanza, president, Tom Paine Club branch, Harlem, New York.
 Lou Grant, student director, New York City.
 Walter Donaldson, president, Yorkville, N. Y. branch.
 Belle Fishamm, Bronx membership director.
 Harry Liebowitz, president, East Side New York, section.
 George Sherman, educational director, Renaissance branch, New York City.
 May Himoff, administration secretary, Bronx branch.
 Arthur Sherwood, County trade union secretary, New York City.
 Abe Shtob, organizer, Manhattan branch.
 James Barker, Manhattan organizer.
 Frank Cestaire, Kings County organizer.
 Jim Dale, Syracuse, N. Y., organizer.
 John Notos, New York State national committee.
 Al Teresman, East Side New York, coordinator.
 Elmer Hallbeck, Maritime branch, New York City.
 Leo Turner, acting State, Minnesota organizer.
 Clara Wernick, district organizer, St. Louis.
 Archie Brown, president, water front branch, San Francisco.
 Mike Saunders, executive secretary, Kings County.
 Al Steele, Bronx executive secretary.
 Sam Banks, New York administrative secretary.
 Lou Sarti, New York trade union director.
 Jim Gary, Bronx administrative secretary.
 Jessie Taft, girls director, New York.
 Ed. Alexander, State, California educational director.
 Margaret Campbell, Los Angeles county cultural director.
 Irene Paull, Minnesota organizer.
 Herschel Alexander (Negro), president, S. S. branch, Los Angeles County bureau.
 Frank Carlson, California administrative secretary.
 Jim Barker, Manhattan executive secretary.
 Hal Storm, New York educational director.
 Barney Harris, Queens County executive secretary.
 Carl Geiser, Bronx educational director.
 Lou Rosser, Los Angeles youth survey, commissioner and educational director.

NATIONAL COUNCIL COMMITTEE

Dorothy Lewis.	Archie Brown.
Lil Dinken.	Jimmy Collins.
Newell Johnson.	Dan Ginsberg.
Jane Martin.	Carl Leonard.
Jane Grey, Los Angeles membership director.	George Hitchcock.
Dick Criley.	Herschel Alexander.
Ben Dobbs, administrative secretary.	Vivian Levin.
Jack Olsen.	Andy Charles.
Mat Pelman.	Bella Nelson.
Jim Hayes.	Charlie Hill.

The publishers of Young Communist League literature are the New Age Publishers, Station D, P. O. Box 28, and Youth Publishers, P. O. Box 28, New York City. However the Vanguard Press, International Publishers, Workers' Library Publishers, and numerous other publishing houses and organizations supply literature to the League.

The Young Communist Review, one of the numerous organs of the League, is edited by Joseph Starobin, Francis Franklin, Gil Green, Angelo Herndon, Karl Ross, Celeste Strack, and Harry Winston. International Youth is another of its publications. This is edited by H. McDuff, Joel Remes, J. J. Maranz, and H. Sternberg. The Young Worker is edited by Frank Carlson, Harry Hart, and Edward Corey.

Among the organizations which have cooperated with the Young Communist League are the American Student Union, American Youth Congress, International Workers' Order, Communist Party and Young Pioneers, Natures' Friends, Bakery and Confectionery Workers International of America, Cameo Theatre,

New Theatre League, Southern Negro Youth Congress, National Negro Congress, Spanish aid movements, anti-fascist movements, Visual Education Press, Consumers Union of U. S., Inc., Labor Sports League, World Youth Congress, Finnish Workers' Federation, Finnish Women's Clubs, Fur Dyers Union of International Fur Workers' Union, Cooperatives, Communist Camp projects, Communist schools, World Tourists, Inc., Nailebu, Brooknega Corp., New China, American League for Peace and Democracy, W. P. A. Teachers' Union, Upholsterers International Union, Russian Art Shop, Inc., Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Cafeteria Workers' Union, Lamb and Rabbit Workers' Union, Progressive Women's Council, Workers' Library Publishers, New Masses, Soviet Russia Today, Furriers Joint Council of New York, International Labor Defense, Artef Players Collective, Dress Joint Board, Partisan Youth Club, Club La Pasionarie, Young Labor Poets, American Writers Congress, International Trade Union Committee for Negro Workers, Federation of Childrens Organizations, Workers' Alliance, Jewish Workers' Clubs, Lithuanian Workers' Literary Society of America, Association of Lithuanian Workers, Lithuanian National Youth Committee, Hungarian Women's Circle, Hungarian Workers' Home, John Reed Clubs, Tovarich, Youth Committee, C. I. O.; Youth Committee, Farmer-Labor Party; Youth Committee, Needle Trades Union; American Friends of Chinese People; Lakewood Youth League, Workers' Music League, Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union; American Artists' School, Hairdressers' Union, Window Trimmers and Helpers' Union, Frontier Book Shop, Workers' Radio Service, United Laundry Workers' Union, Greek Fur Workers' Union, Brighton Youth Club, Central Youth Club, Garibaldi Youth Club, Cafeteria Youth Club, Stuyvesant Club, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Civil Service Progressive League, 40 Hour Club, Harlem Youth Club, Tom Paine Club, Toppers' Club, Partisan Youth Club, Workers' Film and Photo League, Workers' Dance League, Young Liberators, Labor Sports Union, Irish Workers' Club, United Youth League, International Jewelry Union, and United Youth Club.

While patting the officials of the Young Communist League on the back for their success in "united front" tactics with religious, school, and college movements in the United States, Moscow officials of the Young Communist International have ordered the Young Communist League to speed up its campaigns of class struggles for internationalism and socialism (communism) in the United States.

The following is a portion of the orders issued by the New York national headquarters of the league to all of its branches in this country recently. It tells the story of what the young radicals have in mind for the school year.

"Immediate Young Communist League tasks outlined in memorandum: Setting as the chief task of the Young Communist League in 1937 the calling of a convention at which that organization and as many more youth groups as possible will come together to unite on a program of class struggle, internationalism, for socialism, the national conference of the Young Communist League has just issued a memorandum on the reconstruction of the League. The memorandum which was adopted by the National Conference held in New York January 11 to 13 stresses the need of drawing into this movement all organizations which accept the three principles in order to build a united mass youth movement along these lines.

"1. In carrying through the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International, our league must work to establish a united, non-party, youth organization based on a program as outlined by the Sixth Congress (class struggle, internationalism, for socialism).

"We must strive to include in this organization from the beginning the Y. C. L., Y. P. S. L. (Young People's Socialist League), Farmer-Labor youth organizations, as well as all other national and local youth organizations which will accept such a program. This united league is to be composed of individual members formed into branches, as well as the collective membership of the already existing organizations which will be merged into the new league.

"2. While carrying through this task, our league must give the maximum attention to the building of mass united front of youth around the American Youth Congress and its program. However, we must guard against any tendency to confuse the program and purpose of the Youth League with that of the Youth Congress. In no case should we try to make the Youth Congress adopt the class struggle program of the Youth League. The Youth Congress must remain and become even more the medium for the collaboration of all non-fascist youth organizations. At the same time, all organizations which will comprise

the Youth League must retain their class program and we must work to get additional individual organizations to adopt such a program.

"3. The Young Communist League should take every possible step to make clear to the youth our objective in building the new league. We must make every effort to recruit into our ranks all youth who are interested in building the new league. This means that our league must adopt new organizational forms, methods of work and educational activity, in order to draw these youth into our present league with its new outlook and perspective. In this connection, we should work to broaden out our present organization, transforming our present units into large branches, functioning in the neighborhoods, industries, and institutions (schools, settlement houses, etc.). These Young Communist League branches must take as their starting points the struggle for the economic, political, socialist, and cultural needs of the Negro and white youth, and develop within the branches all forms of activity which will satisfy the interests of the membership.

"4. The Young Communists League shall accept fraternal affiliation of all local and national youth organizations which favor the building of a united youth league and agree with such a program as the new league will be based upon.

"5. In those places where it is not possible to build the Young Communist League into a mass organization, we must build various types of clubs on the basis of a working-class program. The exact relationship of these clubs to our league must be determined on the basis of the particular conditions. In some cases, these clubs can be fraternally affiliated with our league, or other forms of close cooperation with us. We must work in such a manner that these organizations will be drawn into the new league when it is established.

"6. Our league must conduct systematic work to win the Young Peoples Socialist League and its membership to work jointly with us to build this new united league. This must be done through struggle to develop united front activity and struggles together with the socialist youth, through negotiations with the Young People's Socialist League leadership as well as contact and work with the lower organizations and membership of the Young People's Socialist League.

"7. In the South, due to the different conditions existing there (the national oppression of the Negro people, the terror and consequent illegality of the Young Communist League) our league must have an entirely different perspective than in the other parts of the country. There we must work to build among the Negro youth a mass movement based upon the aspirations of the Negro people for national liberation. The character of this movement will be along the lines of the Young Communist League resolution in its section of the tasks to be carried out among youth of oppressed nationalities. Our Young Communist League in the South must approach this task by carrying on work in the existing youth organizations and building independent youth clubs with the aim of eventually uniting all these organizations and groups.

"8. Our Young Communist League must aim as quickly as possible (latter part of 1936) to convene a convention jointly with other organizations for the purpose of establishing the new youth league.

"This of course presupposes that this will not be a convention of the Young Communists League to change its name, but a convention of the Young Communists League together with substantial numbers of youth in other organizations to form the new united organization.

"In carrying through the above tasks, the Young Communist League will be successful to the extent that we will activize our membership and carry through correct mass work in the trade unions, in the shops, among the unemployed youth, in the schools and mass organizations of the youth."

These Young Communist Leaguers of the United States in their report to Moscow, during the last World Congress of Communist Revolutionists, boasted of the success they had during the year 1935 in gaining the leadership and following in church movements, student groups, colleges, and schools in this country. They claimed to have won the following of over 1,000,000 American youth to their campaigns in 1935. Much more of this action in the way of strikes, protests, etc., will begin again this fall. The public should make it a point to keep its youth reliably informed so that they will not be snared into the red net-work through misrepresentations.

THE YOUNG POETS LEAGUE, 168 WEST 96TH ST., NEW YORK CITY

The Young Poets League was formed at the Young Communist League writers conference late in 1937. Its objective is to "stimulate and develop poetic talent" among the young reds for use in Communist propaganda activities in the United States. Branches have been set up in 10 States. The Young Poets League held two national poetry contests one, poetry for Spain; the other, a satire on Tom Girdler, head of Republic Steel. Eli Siegel is the instructor; Helen Ungar is secretary.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG YOUTH

The W. I. R. Scouts and Juniors, the Young Liberators, the youth section American League for Peace and Democracy, the Young International Labor Defense's, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the youth section of the National Negro Congress, and scores of other young communistic organizations are enumerated elsewhere in this report.

Back in 1930 there was also formed the Revolutionary Youth, an organization to contribute further to the Marxian drive in America, that was launched by Jack Rubenstein, Herberg Zam, Morris Yablon, Minnie Lurge, Rose Sacks, Miriam Silver, Eddie Welsh, Don Grey, and others. There has come into being since the following youth movements in the United States: not all are Communist, but most of them are Marxian to some degree. These were:

INTERNATIONAL SECTIONS OF WORLD REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

- Branch of Young Communist International (Third International).
- Branch of Young Communist International (Fourth International—Trotzky).
- Branch of Young Pioneers (Third International).
- Young Communist League.
- Young Communist League for Struggle, etc.—Left Opposition.
- Young Pioneers of America.
- Young Peoples Socialist League, "Yipsels" Rand School.
- Student League for Industrial Democracy, "Slid."
- League for Industrial Democracy—Intercollegiate Councils.
- National Student League (now American Student Union).
- Young Spartacus League.
- Youth section of International Workers Order.
- Youth section of War Resisters League.
- The youth section Womens International League for Peace and Freedom.
- Youth section of Womens Peace Society.
- Youth section of Womens Peace Union—Stressing kindergarten and preschool.
- Youth division of the Unemployed Councils.
- Youth section of American League Against War and Fascism.
- International Geneva Association.
- National Student Federation.
- National Student Forum.
- National Alumni Association.
- Church League for Industrial Democracy.
- Young Circle League.
- Agenda Club of Union Theological Seminary, in churches.
- Ethical Culture Young Peoples Groups.
- Green International (Green Shirts).
- Young Caravan (Green Shirts).
- New History Society (Green Shirts).
- Student Society, organized by World Peaceways.
- World Student Federation.
- United Christian Student Movement.
- Young Men's Christian Association Student (branches radical).
- Young Women's Christian Association Student (branches radical).
- Fellowship of Reconciliation—Student branches.
- Anti-Imperialist League, youth section.
- National Student Committee for Negro Problems.
- Needle Trades Industrial Union, youth section, and left wing, Union 5
- Labor Sports Union.
- Committee on Militarism in Education.

Student Council Association.
 Nature Friends and various nature cults.
 Anti-War Teachers Committee.
 Colleges Disarmament Conferences of United Fronts.
 "4A." American Association for the Advancement of Atheism and Junior
 AAAA.
 American Free Thinkers.
 New York City Youth Movement.
 American Youth Federation.
 New Economics group.
 Central Bureau of Young America.
 Young America.
 Youth section of New America.
 League for Academic Freedom, organized by Committee Against Fascist
 Oppression—Dr. Goldschmidt.
 World's Youth Congress.
 American Student Union.
 American Youth Congress.
 Young Liberators.
 Junior C. I. O.
 Junior Farmer-Labor Party.
 All Southern Negro Youth Congress.
 Junior section, National Negro Congress.
 American League for Peace and Democracy, etc.
 International Workers Order Scouts.
 W. I. R. Scouts.
 International Labor Defense Juniors; Young Labor Poets.
 Unity Youth League; Youth for a New World Order; United Peace Com-
 mittee, etc.

As usual "united fronts" or federation of these movements was engineered by the "reds," therefore the American Youth Congress, the World Youth Congress, etc.

Now a word about the Young Communist League and Young Pioneers.

The Third (Communist) International was organized in Moscow, Russia, at a conference called for March 2 to 6, 1919, by the Russian Communist Party, at which conference that party, the Communist Parties of Poland, Hungary, German-Austria, Lettland, Finland, and the Balkan Revolutionary Socialist Federation were in attendance. In addition, there were delegates of radical parties from Norway, Bulgaria, Rumania, Ukraina, Switzerland, Holland, Estonia, Armenia, Germany, United States, Great Britain, Turkey, France, Turkestan, Persia, Korea, Yugoslavia, and Bohemia. The American representative was Boris Reinstein, then a member of the Socialist Party.

Trotsky, Lenin, Bukharin, Kamenev, Techiherin, N. Steklov, Rakovsky, Shripnik, Grimlund, Sadou, Guilban, Platten, Albrecht, and Sirola engineered the conference.

A program for world revolution was formed and adopted by this conference. This program was drafted by Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Rakovsky, and Platten, and the "red fireworks" throughout the world were thus set off. The organization of Communist parties in all countries was begun.

On December 4, 1922, in Moscow, a Young Communist International was organized at a conference called for the purpose. This conference lasted 11 days.

Zinoviev, one of the instigators of the Third (Communist) International, engineered the youth conference. At the conference, the entire program of the Third (Communist) International was endorsed and adopted. Immediate organization of young Communist leagues in all countries was to begin at once. At the Third Congress of the Young Communist International, over 90 delegates, representing Russia, Europe, North and South America, Australia, and Africa, attended. An individual by the name of Shueller was elected secretary, and Lazarus Shatzkin, of the Russian Young Communist League, acted as chairman. Two delegates represented the "reds" of the United States at the conference. At the fourth congress, held in Moscow in July 1924, 108 regular delegates and 34 fraternal representatives from many nations attended. The young "reds" of the United States had three delegates and fraternal representatives present. At the congress, a report claimed over 1,000,000 members of the Young Communist International had been attained since its inception. The American section of this time was known as the American Young Workers League, organized in

1921. This group held a congress in St. Paul, Minn., June 17, 1924, and claimed a membership of over 4,000 in 150 branches in the United States.

In April 1925, at a meeting of the Young Communist International at Moscow, the first congress of the Young Pioneers was announced. This branch of the Young Communist International is the kindergarten of communism, taking members at the ages of 8 to 14. The first congress was held in Moscow in September and October 1925, with delegates present from all leading European and Asiatic countries. Reports claimed 1,500,000 members in the Young Pioneers.

The Young Communist Workers League of the United States affiliated with the Young Communist International of Moscow by resolutions adopted at its third congress, held in Chicago October 4 to 6, 1925. The officers of the American branch at the time were Samuel Darcy, national secretary; Joseph Angelo, Samuel Darcy, Samuel Don, John Harvey, William Herberg, Nat Kaplan, Valeria Metz, George Papcun, H. V. Phillips, Max Salzman, Al Schapp, Max Schachtman, Peter Shapiro, Morris Schindler, William Schneiderman, Jack Stachel, Patrick J. Toohy, John Williamson, Sam Winocur, and Herbert Zam, all members of the national executive committee. They claimed 4,000 members again split into the 2 factions. Herbert Zam was elected chairman of the league; John Williamson, vice chairman; and Morris Yusim, secretary. An official weekly organ was established, known as the Young Worker, published in newspaper style, and plans were adopted to organize training schools throughout the Nation.

The Young Pioneers League of America was organized at this conference, and an official organ for that branch was established known as The Young Comrade, a monthly magazine in style. Paul Crouch, a Communist soldier in the United States military prison at Alcatraz, Calif., was elected as honorary member of the national executive committee of the Young Workers League. This Committee was organized to contain 20 members, 10 from each of the 2 factions within the league.

On February 28, 1926, a conference was held at Bellaire, Ohio; and on March 5, one at New York City. Reports were that a national training school had been opened in Chicago with 16 students attending. Three district schools were conducted, in Superior, Wis., Waukegan, Ill., and Winchendon, Mass., with full-time courses and with over 150 students in revolutionary work training. The league reported having launched five new publications in addition to the Young Worker and Young Comrade.

The Young Pioneers reported having organized three summer camps in Chicago, New York City, and Boston, with over 800 children attending. They also reported having conducted school strikes and having established five parent organizations to cooperate.

On November 20, 1929, the Young Communist International celebrated its tenth birthday in Moscow, and in August the same year an international Communist children's congress held forth in Moscow, attended by 236 delegates of Young Pioneer members from throughout the world.

Between 1926 and 1929, the Young Workers League had factional difficulties and split definitely into impossible factions, breaking up the affair. From it emerged the Young Communist League, with 1,860 members. The split came at the same time to the major, or adult, movement. In the meantime, many of the young "reds" had been arrested and sentenced to the house of correction. Among these were Harry Eisman, who charged into a Boy Scout meeting in New York City, July 20, 1928. Many were arrested in strike activities; several for distributing revolutionary literature to soldiers and sailors; and others in riots.

In November 1930 the Young Communist League held forth in Chicago. Reports announced the inauguration of special school bulletins in public schools where nuclei had been established. There were 18 such schools in New York City alone. A number of full-time schools were mentioned, located from Massachusetts to California and from Michigan and Wisconsin to the Mason-Dixon line. Summer camps were reported to have been established near practically every large industrial center, and reports of general agitation and strike activities were made.

The present number of members in the Young Communist League and the Young Pioneers is a question. If paid membership is the basis for considering membership, then it can be roughly estimated that there are about 34,800 members in the two sections. If those participating in and believing in the activities and purposes of the two sections are considered, it can be safely estimated that the total is 300,000 or more in the United States today. In

Washington, D. C., alone, there are some 300 members in the young revolutionist ranks, and Washington is considered a "hard nut" for the "reds" to crack. In New York City as many as 6,000 youths have participated in "red" affairs; and in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Passaic (N. J.), Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Gary (Ind.), Cleveland, Akron, Wheeling, Kansas City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Plentywood (Mont.), Milwaukee, and other cities the youth by several hundreds, and often thousands, have participated frequently in Communist activities and demonstrations.

The American Student Union, a rather newly organized branch of the Communist movement, has gained considerable inroads among the "intellectual", or college and university, youths. The original head of that movement was Professor Henderson, of Columbia University (now head of a C. I. O. agrarian movement). It has engineered marches to the regions of the Kentucky coal-mine disturbance and for the Scottsboro, Ala., Negro trials, and it has engineered college and university strikes.

Still another Communist movement among the American youth is the Youth Anti-War Congress, the leaders of which include the Communist propagandists Theodore Drieser and John Dos Passos, Prof. H. W. L. Dana, of Harvard, and other intellectuals. The purpose of this movement is to break down national patriotism and build up slackerism to the United States Government, but to encourage participation in class war or war for the defense of Soviet Russia or Soviet China. This group held an international congress in Germany in 1932 and a national congress in Chicago early in 1933. This was followed by a Latin and South American congress in April 1933, to which the Communist Party of the United States sent delegates.

The numerous Socialist movements, even greater in number and more powerful than the Communist in these fields, are lending aid to the cause of breaking down the nationalism of the American people, questioning the value of our constitutional government, building up hatred to God, the family and our institutions. These Socialist movements prepare the youthful mind for the radical theories to which the Communist Party later wins them over.

One such organization, claiming to be "guiding the revolution," is organized in 445 colleges and universities in the United States.

Still other groups are working among the youth under the guise of pacifist movements. But uncovered, they are found to be headed by Socialists and ultraradicals, with other objectives than the mere promotion of pacifism.

All in all, there are some 300 or more organizations and movements centering their drive on winning over the youth to some un-American cause or purpose, and many teachers and professors have fallen in with the game and become powerful aids in poisoning young minds.

While America sleeps, the mob marches on.

Following is a copy of a membership card and pledge used by the—

YOUNG WORKERS COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

AMERICAN SECTION, COMMUNIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

District_____ Nucleus_____

City_____ State_____

MEMBERSHIP CARD, 1934

Name _____

Admitted _____ 19__

No. _____ Page _____

District Committee

Issued by national executive committee, Young Workers Communist League, New York City.

PLEDGE OF THE YOUNG WORKERS COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

I pledge myself always to fight for the interest of the working class and the toiling youth, and to do all in my power to learn to become a loyal fighter for the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and for the establishment of the rule of the workers and farmers.

YOUNG PIONEERS OF AMERICA

District _____ City _____
 State _____ Nucleus _____

MEMBERSHIP

Name _____
 Admitted _____ 19__
 No. _____ Page _____

Secretary, City Executive Committee.

THE PIONEERS' PLEDGE

I pledge allegiance to the workers' "red" flag and to the cause for which it stands. One aim throughout our lives—freedom for the working class.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I agree with and support the program of the Communist Party and hereby make my application for membership.

Name _____
 Address _____
 Occupation _____
 Where employed _____
 Age _____
 Endorsed by _____

(Application must be endorsed by two members in good standing.)

The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International, agrees to submit to the discipline to the party as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work.

PLEDGE TO COMMUNIST PARTY

We resolutely take our place in the ranks of the Communist Party and pledge to remain loyal to the cause.

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Membership book No. —

Name _____
 Date admitted to Communist Party _____
 Entered revolutionary movement _____
 District _____ City _____
 Section _____ Sub-Section _____
 Shop nucleus _____
 Street nucleus _____
 Signature of member (in ink) _____

 Signature of District Organizer
 and Party Secretary

(Initiation stamp.)

APPLICATION CARD—YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

I pledge upon joining the Young Communist League to be a loyal fighter for the everyday interests of the working class and the toiling youth. To further do all in my power to learn and become a conscientious leader amongst the young workers, wherever I may be, in the struggle against the boss class

and for the establishment of a workers and farmer's government—a soviet America.

Name _____ Book No. _____
 Address _____ Age _____
 City _____ State _____ Sex _____
 Occupation _____ Date _____
 Young Communist League _____, Post-office Box 28, Station D, New York, N. Y.

(Notice new members receive from Communist Party:)

"Today you have become a full-blooded member of the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Communist International. * * * We greet you as one who steps into the ranks of revolutionists to finish with us what they died for, the proletarian revolution. * * * We greet you in the name of the Russian Bolsheviks, whose example you are pledged to follow. * * * You must be a Communist in your work, in your shop, in your home, and in every organization to which you belong. You must fulfill your Communist duty at every post the party assigns you to. * * *"

The immediate tasks for the young "reds" as set forth for them on February 22, 1936, were:

"Setting as the chief task of the Young Communist League in 1936 the calling of a convention at which that organization and as many more youth groups as possible will come together to unite on a program of 'class struggle, internationalism, for socialism,' the National Conference of the Young Communist League has just issued a memorandum on the reconstruction of the league."

The memorandum which was adopted by the national conference held in New York, January 11 to 13, stresses the need of drawing into this movement all organizations which accept the three principles in order to build a united mass youth movement along these lines.

MEMORANDUM

"1. In carrying through the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist League, our league must work to establish a united, non-party, youth organization based on a program as outlined by the Sixth Congress (class-struggle, internationalism, for socialism).

"We must strive to include in this organization from the beginning the Young Communist League, Young Peoples Socialist League, Farmer-Labor youth organizations, as well as all other national and local youth organizations which will accept such a program. This united league is to be composed of individual members formed into branches, as well as the collective membership of the already existing organizations which will be merged into the new league.

"2. While carrying through this task, our league must give the maximum attention to the building of the mass united front of youth around the American Youth Congress and its program. However, we must guard against any tendency to confuse the program and purpose of the youth league with that of the Youth Congress. In no case should we try to make the Youth Congress adopt the class struggle program of the youth league. The Youth Congress must remain and become even more the medium for the collaboration of all non-fascist youth organizations. At the same time all organizations which will comprise the youth league must retain their class program and we must work to get additional individual organizations to adopt such a program.

"NEW FORMS

"3. The Young Communist League should take every possible step to make clear to the youth our objective in building the new league. We must make every effort to recruit into our ranks all youth who are interested in building the new league. This means that our league must adopt new organizational forms, methods of work, and educational activity, in order to draw these youth into our present league with its new outlook and perspective. In this connection, we should work to broaden out our present organization, transforming our present units into large branches, functioning in the neighborhoods, industries, and institutions (schools, settlement houses, etc.). These Young Communist League branches must take as their starting point the struggle for the economic, political, socialist, and cultural needs of the Negro and white youth, and develop within the branches all forms of activity which will satisfy the interests of the membership.

"4. The Young Communist League shall already accept fraternal affiliation of all local and national youth organizations which favor the building of a united youth league and agree with such a program as the new league will be based upon.

"5. In those places where it is not possible to build the Young Communist League into a mass organization, we must build various types of clubs on the basis of a working-class program. The exact relationship of these clubs to our league must be determined on the basis of the particular conditions. In some cases these clubs can be fraternally affiliated with our league, or other forms of close cooperation with us. We must work in such a manner that these organizations will be drawn into the new league when it is established.

"UNITED FRONT

"6. Our league must conduct systematic work to win the Young Peoples Socialist League and its membership to work jointly with us to build this new united league. This must be done through the struggle to develop united front activity and struggles together with the Socialist youth, through negotiations with the Young Peoples Socialist League leadership as well as contact and work with the lower organizations and membership of the Young Peoples Socialist League.

"7. In the South, due to the different conditions existing there (the national oppression of the Negro people, the terror and consequent illegality of the Young Communist League) our league must have an entirely different perspective than in the other parts of the country. There we must work to build among the Negro youth a mass movement based upon the aspirations of the Negro people for national liberation. The character of this movement will be along the lines of the Young Communist League resolution in its section on the tasks to be carried out among youth of oppressed nationalities. Our Young Communist League in the South must approach this task by carrying on work in the existing youth organizations and building independent youth clubs with the aim of eventually uniting all these organizations and groups.

"YOUTH LEAGUE

"8. Our Young Communist League must aim as quickly as possible (latter part of 1936) to convene a convention jointly with other organizations for the purpose of establishing the new youth league.

"This of course presupposes that this will not be a convention of the Young Communist League to change its name, but a convention of the Young Communist League together with substantial numbers of youth in other organizations to form the new united organization."

"In carrying through the above tasks, the Young Communist League will be successful to the extent that we will activate our membership and carry through correct mass work in the trade unions, in the shops, among the unemployed youth, in the schools and the mass organizations of the youth."

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE 1937

In 1937, in a colorfully decorated arena in New York City in which "red" flags were prominently displayed, thousands of young revolutionists opened the Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League at Madison Square Garden in New York City on May 2. A huge picture of a worker's fist hung in back of the red-flag-bedecked platform. Banners and slogans draped the balconies. Bugles called the delegates to order. High dignitaries in Communist ranks marched to the platform as clenched fists were raised in salute by the 20,000 or more delegates. Representatives of the Young Communist League from 35 States attended.

The convention was opened by John Little, New York State secretary of the young "red" movement. Angelo Herndon, the negro "red" from Georgia who was arrested in Atlanta for his Communist activities, served as Chairman. It is reported that the "reds" gave him a welcome given only a national hero. The cheers which greeted his appearance lasted more than 5 minutes. This was followed by the mass singing of the Red Internationale, the Communist war song. Herndon introduced William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party and a member of the presidium of the Third International of Moscow, who addressed the assembled "reds." The Young Communist League is a section of the Young Communist International of Moscow.

Throughout the session the delegates cheered and applauded when speakers referred to the "red front" Government and Army in Spain. New demands for freeing the Scottsboro, Ala., Negroes and the anarchist, Tom Mooney, were made by the Communists, who passed resolutions accordingly.

"We must march forward today for the victory of tomorrow," cried Herndon in his appeal to the young Bolsheviks. Gil Green, national secretary of the Young Communist League and a member of the Moscow presidium; David MacKenzie, of the Spanish "red army" (International Brigade); and Jacob Schaezer, of the (Communist) International Workers' Order, took an active part in the program. Schaezer led the snake dance, which lasted for half an hour, as his International Workers' Order 30-piece band played "red" selections. The convention resembled an old-fashioned political rally in heated election days. One group entertained the audience with a southern square dance while another burlesqued Supreme Court Justice Stone to the tune of the "Man on the Flying Trapeze."

The Soviet Union, the French, Spanish, and Mexican "red fronts" were eulogized, while mention of Hitler and Mussolini brought forth boos and hisses from the delegates. "When Hitler takes his first step into the Soviet Union, it will sound the final death knell to all capitalism," shouted one speaker. When William Z. Foster referred to the progress of the Lewis-Dubinsky-Hillman C. I. O. movement, the audience wildly cheered. Foster also commented favorably on the "emergence of the Farmer-Labor Party in many States," in which he said the Communist should continue "to play a leading role." Foster further stated that all of these movements "are leading to a greater popular-front movement in the United States." He called on the youthful "reds" to increase the membership of the Young Communist League "when our comrades come back from Spain." At the conclusion of his remarks the assembled delegates gave him a college-like yell: "Yeah, Foster!"

Fraternal greetings from Canada, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and England were read. The delegates attended business sessions in Webster Hall following the mass turn-out in Madison Square Garden. It took more than 3 hours for Gil Green to present his report of activity.

The presidium committee of the convention was composed of 65 members, representing 35 State delegations. Tabulations showed that delegates came from 350 American cities and towns and that 70 delegates were leaders of other youth movements not directly affiliated but cooperating with the Young Communist League. It was reported that 339 branches of the league were represented. Delegates from Mississippi, Texas, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, New Mexico, and Tennessee were among those from other Southern States. They came from as far as California and Washington. A few of the members of the presidium committee were Gil Green, Angelo Herndon, Celesta Strack, Dave Doran, Carl Ross, Max Weiss, John Little, John Martin, and Jack Kling.

Prominent among the representatives of the Communist Party attending the convention were Pat Toohy, district organizer from Philadelphia; Fred Brown; "Mother" Bloor; James Ford; John Williamson, State secretary of Ohio; Morris Childs, State secretary of Illinois; William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party; Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party; Israel Amter, of New York, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of Baltimore; Carl Ross, secretary of the Communist Party of Minnesota; Claudie Jones (Negro); Jessie Taft; Clarence Hathaway; Henry Winston; and Joseph Cohen. Visiting delegates were Henry Selson; Penny Vincent; Celesta Strack; Ruth Rosenthal, of Germany; Columbus Alston, of the Southern Youth Conference; Jack Logan, of Canada; and Velia Pallares, of Santa Fe, N. Mex. A delegate from Cuba also attended.

Carl Ross, 24-year-old Communist leader from Minnesota, was elected national executive secretary of the Young Communist League, and Gil Green, who had previously filled that position, was elevated to that of national chairman. Angelo Herndon was reelected vice president, and Henry Winston, another young Negro, was made administrative secretary of the league. Through his elevation, it is reported that Green was given more time for "international" work. He is now studying Spanish, evidently with the intention of assisting in South and Latin America organizational activities.

At the close of the convention the delegates proclaimed themselves to be better equipped to "weld the youth of America in a broad united front against

war and fascism," asserting that the "hope of our generation lies in the league's ability to unite with all other progressive sections of the population, regardless of race, color, nationality, and religion." They cited the widespread threat of war and fascism and called upon their members to concentrate on this angle in building up peace organizations, labor groups, and sport, cultural, and educational movements. The new constitution which they adopted made provision for other youth groups to become affiliated with the Young Communist League while retaining their own identity.

The delegates called for a 30-hour week, a minimum annual wage, a system of Federal apprenticeship under trade-union supervision, child-labor abolition under the age of 18, the enactment of the American Youth Act, removal of Army supervision over Civilian Conservation Corps camps, and the maintenance of civil liberties. They renewed their pledge to the Soviet Union and to the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. *Gone With the Wind*, a Pulitzer-prize book, was condemned by the young Communists as a slur on the Negro race. William Randolph Hearst and others were also criticized.

Reports indicated that most of the delegates had been active in strikes throughout the country—in anti-high-rent, anti-high-prices, milk, tobacco, domestic, textile, tenant, share cropper, auto, cigar makers, five-and-ten-cent stores, school and college, steel, coal, b. key, and mine strikes and other uprisings.

All the speakers called on the delegates to return to their respective communities more determined than ever to put over the "red" program of the revolution. "It is the duty of every young Communist to read Lenin, Marx, Engels, and Stalin to fortify his brain and equip himself to lead the struggle," said William Z. Foster, the veteran Industrial Workers of the World and Communist head in the United States.

The young "reds" voted Ella Reeve "Mother" Bloor the honor of being "the most typically American mother." God pity the women and families of America if she is worthy of that honor.

There has been some confusion between the organizations known as the Young Pioneers of America and the Pioneer Youth of America. These are distinctly different organizations, having no open relation to each other. The Pioneer Youth of America is an organization formed in 1924 to "develop the critical faculties of workers' children and acquaint them with industrial and social conditions." One hundred and forty-eight union bodies, including 12 internationals, 19 central bodies, and 117 local unions, endorse Pioneer Youth. (See p. 170, 1927 issue the American Labor Year Book.) The officers of this organization consist mainly of Socialists and radical trade-union officials. Joshua Lieberman is the executive secretary.

Excerpts from a pamphlet *The Labor Movement and Youth*, by A. J. Muste, first vice president of the Pioneer Youth of America, are as follows:

"Countless agencies infect our children with a war psychology and seek to enlist even them in war preparation. We desire our children to know the ideal of peace and the means by which just peace among nations may be established."

"Current education too often tends to make our children passive, uncritical conformists. We desire them to be critical, independent, creative."

"Many of the activities in which children and youth engage are meaningless and antisocial. In connection with strike relief, with the investigation of fire-traps housing conditions, sanitary arrangements, with peace movements, our children may find activities full of meaning and social in their effects.

"To avoid all misunderstanding, let us emphasize certain things that we do not have in mind. For one thing, though we are in the first instance concerned about the children of the workers, and this movement must achieve its aim in close connection with and not apart from the organized Labor movement, we do not intend to inspire the children and youth with bitterness or hate toward anyone. Brotherhood and good will, not bitterness and hate, are our aims."

"The teaching in connection with our camps, clubs, and classes will not be dogmatic in method or spirit. We are not interested in making machines, automata, not even good pacifist or radical or labor automata. We are not filled with the urge to impose 'isms' on our children. We want to help them become free, creative personalities."

"We propose to take the children, at least those of the masses of industrial workers, out into the open; to cultivate alert critical minds; active and generous sympathies; respect for all honest toil; the passion for justice and brotherhood—

all this by inspiring and guiding aright the all-important play activities of children and young people. What worthier cause could enlist, as this is already doing in surprising degree, the united energies of labor, educators, parents, all men and women of good will?"

This organization is alleged to have been the recipient of funds from the Garland Fund and to be the Socialist kindergartens movement for Marxism.

The fourth Pioneer Youth Labor Conference was held on March 2, 1927, at 3 West Sixteenth street, New York City. Seventy-five union heads were present at this conference.

Joshua Lieberman, in his address, stated that the growth of interest in Pioneer Youth had been phenomenal. Requests for the formation of branches have been received from all sections of the country. He stated further:

"The demands made on our organization in New York and Philadelphia by children and parents far exceed our facilities. We had to turn away nearly 200 children from our summer camp in New York for lack of room, and we could have many times our present 30 children's clubs if we but had finances enough to assure their proper development."

A controversy has recently arisen between the Pioneer Youth of America and the Young Pioneers of America.

The New Leader of May 14, 1927, reprints the following letter sent out by Joshua Lieberman to all trade-unions, which is as follows:

"Because of the frequent confusion arising out of the unfortunate similarity in name of our organization, Pioneer Youth of America and the recently developed Communist organization called Young Pioneers of America, a statement clarifying the situation must be made by us. We want to inform all the friends of Pioneer Youth that there is no relationship of any kind between the two organizations, nor similarity in policy.

"The Young Pioneers of America is definitely allied with the Communist movement and is propagandist. Our organization, known as Pioneer Youth of America, most emphatically has no connection whatever with the Communist or any political movement, and is not propagandist. Ours is an educational organization."

"We hope you will bear in mind this difference in names and not be confused by the similarity of the names in the future."

While their purposes are identical, namely, to take children and impart the seeds of socialism and radicalism in them while their minds are young and pliable, the difference between the two organizations is the same as the difference between communism and socialism, whose ultimate aims are identical to be reached by different paths.

The Young Pioneers of America is the children's section of the Communist Party of United States of America. It is the outgrowth of what was formerly the junior section of the Young Workers' League (Communist). Its purposes are to inculcate the principles of communism in the children of tender years filling them with hate for all things capitalistic and setting up Lenin and the Russian Soviets as their ideals to work for.

The first convention of the Young Pioneers of America was held in Philadelphia, May 14, 1926. At this convention the children wore flaming red mufflers. A 15-year-old boy, M. Trachtenberg, was in charge of the entertainment and stated that "The Children who attend school must be taught class hatred and it is the purpose of the Young Pioneers to do this." They sang The Internationale and other revolutionary songs. Large posters of Lenin were exhibited. A. J. Caray, representing the Communist Party, in making a Communist address, applauded the Young Pioneers and encouraged them in the teaching of class hatred.

A meeting of the sections of the Young Pioneers of America of district 8 was held in Chicago in November 1926.

C. E. Ruthenberg, Walter Trumbull, and Arne Swabeck gave addresses commending the work of the Young Pioneers as the children's group of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

Ruthenberg stressed the work of the Russian Pioneers of revolutionary days in his address, and greetings were sent to the Russian Pioneers, the Chinese revolutionary movement, and the Pioneer convention being held in Los Angeles.

The Daily Worker (official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) has been conducting the Young Comrade section page in the New Magazine of the Daily Worker which is devoted entirely to letters and com-

ments by Young Pioneers. A sample of the material used in this page is as follows:

"Y is for youth who leaders shall be.
 O is for oil which capitalists own.
 U is for union with which we agree.
 N is for nonsense which into our minds is thrown.
 G is for groups which we organize.
 R is for Russia that country of ours.
 E is for end which with capitalism will be.
 B is for bunk which teachers tell for hours.
 E is for endeavor a workers' world to create.
 L is for Lenin whose ideas we follow.
 S is for bosses' stuff which we will not swallow."

Like the Pioneer Youth of Russia whom they are copying in many respects, they are establishing summer camps for children at which they teach communism.

The following article appearing in *The Daily Worker* of May 12, 1927, is a sample of the activities of the organization:

"A unique ceremony will take place in the party hall, 802 State Street, Milwaukee, on Saturday, May 21, at 7:30 p. m.

"A party speaker in short address will expose the treacherous rôle organized religion plays in the lives of the workers from the cradle to the grave, and show the necessity of repudiating its influence from the very beginning.

"A number of new-born babies of party members will publicly receive their names and be enrolled into local branches of the Young Pioneers.

"This is to be an annual affair, and is intended to replace bourgeois christenings.

"A dance and general jollifications will round out the evenings program. All party members, close friends and sympathizers with their children, the Young Workers' League, and the local Pioneer groups, are invited to help make this a successful annual feature.

"The proceeds will be equally divided between the *Daily Worker* and the district No. 8. Admission 25 cents. All children free."

Young Pioneer organizations are formed in schools and districts which are of the same character as the street and shop nuclei of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. For these divisions, or nuclei a paper is issued under the title of the "Spark" which is devoted to revolutionary topics and class hatred.

Some months ago one of these nuclei was uncovered in the Oliver Wendell Holmes School in Dorchester, Mass. Copies of volume 1, No. 1, of *The Spark* for this nucleus were being sold at the door of the school for 2 to 4 cents each.

The official organ of the Young Pioneers was the *Young Comrade* issued monthly in most cases. Apparently this organ has been discontinued because of lack of funds, but another *Young Pioneer* is now appearing regularly.

The Daily Worker of May 13, 1927, printed an answer to an attack upon the *Young Pioneer* camp by *Jewish Forward* as follows:

"The *Young Pioneer* Camp has no intention to confuse its name with that of the *Young Pioneer Youth of America*. The *Pioneer Youth of America* claim that we use a letterhead which is similar in appearance to the one they use, and that we have names on our advisory committee of people who are known to be interested in the *Pioneer Youth of America*. As to the letterhead, we would say that that does not merit reply. On our advisory committee are Ben Gold and Louis Hyman who are known for their views and the position they hold in the labor movement. Then we have M. J. Olgin, and others who could hardly create any impression that they are in sympathy with the *Pioneer Youth*."

The *Daily Worker* of May 20 states that Scott Nearing, Bertram D. Wolfe, Dr. Ben Zion Lieber and Joe Freeman just returned from Soviet Russia will address the *Young Pioneer* Camp in New York City on the subject *Does the Present Educational System in the United States Meet the Needs of the Children of the American Workers?*

Both organizations are devoting much time to the planning and establishing of their summer camps for this year.

From the *Young Pioneer* office the following instructions were sent out:

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN—THEIR ROLE, AND TASKS OF THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

This month the bourgeois schools, papers, etc., begin repeating the propaganda of Lincoln's and Washington's greatness. Washington's work is played up, to give the idea that the American Revolution gained the masses democracy. The stories of Lincoln's "greatness" create the idea that Negroes are free and equal with others, and that no critical conditions and problems remain.

1. We must expose these illusions, of course.
2. This exposure of the two bourgeois worthies must at the same time bring in the contrasting working-class leaders, Lenin and Marx, who lead the fight for workers' conditions and democratic rights, including as an inseparable part of that, the fight for land and full equality of the Negroes.
3. Scottsboro has to be brought in, and the struggle against discrimination right in the school in the matter of relief, free clothing, etc.
4. In this way we can bring up the need of struggling right in the school, and convince our children of it. This was brought forward in the recent first national conference as one of our prime educational tasks. Point out that the fact that children have to struggle in school for food and against discrimination, proves the American Revolution did not benefit the workers and Lincoln didn't free the Negroes.
5. In contrasting working-class leaders with the bourgeois heroes, contrast them in their attitudes on religion and science also. We can thus teach the children evolutionary material and gradually undermine religious influence.

METHODS

This month we are not sending out detailed methods according to the calendar. We hope you're keeping your material on file. Look it over and decide with your executive committee on your own combination of methods, games, discussions, shadowgraphs, circle activities, etc.

We would like to propose, however, that your method and approach with all the material we sent you, should bring about continuity and not merely disconnected campaigns. To be more specific, connect the supposed work of Lincoln and Washington (February) with the situation among the Negroes and workers today, bringing in the Scottsboro boys. At the same time, compare them with Lenin (January 22) and Marx (March 14) and the Paris Commune (March 18).

One method has been used by a troop leader, which we think quite good. The troop leader had an executive committee member prepare a discussion for the troop meeting, after the January material was discussed in the executive committee. Another pioneer took the part of a kid who is still under capitalist influence and asked questions on the basis of the pioneer's report. Each pioneer was given a chance to answer his questions. Although this discussion took the form of a debate, yet it gave each an active part, which made the meeting lively, educational, and interesting. Furthermore, it gave the troop leader an opportunity to learn the development of each pioneer. If such debates or discussions are turned into proper channels, our pioneers will learn how to discuss with other children and how, instead of antagonizing them, to draw them closer to our movement. At such meetings, parents and friends can be invited to cement a better understanding between parent, child, and leader.

DRAMATICS—LET CHILDREN ACT

Let children act as if they are Lincoln, Washington, Lenin, Marx, etc. You've discussed the material. "Now let's see if we understand it. Let's act as Lincoln would. Say Lincoln is worried about the military situation during war. He walks up and down, talking to his Cabinet. 'How can we weaken the southern armies? Ah! We'll free their slaves behind their lines.' 'But,' says one, 'you're destroying their private property.' 'True,' says Lincoln, 'but we have to do it. Anything to destroy the enemy.'"

This method drives insight right home. Facts become something lived, not memorized. We suggested this method in the Thanksgiving material. A comrade writes back from Philadelphia, "We used the ideas very successfully (having the kids make up their own play about Thanksgiving, which worked out very well in most cases)."

Impersonating Marx or Lenin is a good way of swinging in the antireligious material. Let's say Marx is pacing up and down: "How to free the white and

Negro masses? Lead them to struggle. Get them away from religious superstitions which hold them back. Teach them science which disproves religion. * * *

Have a contrasting scene with Lincoln issuing some vicious decree, as ordering out the troops against the New York workers because they didn't want to be drafted into fighting, and heading it "By the grace of God, in this year of our Lord 1864," etc. The kids will appreciate the irony of this.

TABLEAUS ON NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1931

1. A town in the South: Big sign: "Nigger, don't let the sun set on you in this town." Negro stands before this sign afraid to enter. Walks away. Negroes and whites organize (whole troop acts this). Return to compel removal of sign or something similar.

2. On one side of the stage is a sign "white school." On the other side "Negro school." Two lines of school children carrying books, dressed shabbily, coming from different sides of platform, other schools, according to color. They march at a distance from each other to create impression of different sidewalks and sections of the city. Troop works out in its own way, achievement of solidarity.

Each district, as discussed in the first national conference, is to send leading comrades down to troop to see how this material works out, and send suggestions and experiences back.

MATERIAL ON WASHINGTON

1. He commanded the Revolutionary armies, spilling the blood of artisans, and poor farmers, in order that his own class in the colonies could rule. Before the British landowners and capitalists in America could exploit the workers, farmers, and Negroes. Now the rich merchants and planters could do it without profits with British ruling classes.

2. He was the richest land and slaveholder in America. He was involved in tremendous profit making from land speculation and shady deals in the Ohio Valley (Ohio Co.)

3. As President, his policies were consistently for the benefit of the ruling classes. He continuously backed Alexander Hamilton, who as Secretary of Treasury, represented capitalists as today they do Mellon, Woodin, and Morgenthau.

(a) All the worthless paper money, which was issued in the inflationary period before Washington's Presidency, was redeemed at face value. This meant millions in profit for rich speculators who bought up the paper money for a song, having received advance notice of Hamilton's and Washington's move. To pay up to the face value meant heavy taxation for the poor.

(b) A central bank was established, into which money was poured by Washington's government for the benefit of wealthy stockholders (just as today, Roosevelt's N. R. A. government does the same thing).

(c) The heavy taxes for the profits of the rich produced much discontent amongst the masses. In Pennsylvania, the farmers, were so aroused they revolted against the Washington-Hamilton government (the Whisky Rebellion, named after the whisky tax on farmers making alcohol from grains). Washington sent troops against the farmers, as today the "New Deal" Roosevelt and the Governors send them out.

4. The masses had no rights, such as right to vote or strike. Washington was not the popular idol bourgeois historians now paint him to be. Hence it is not surprising that everyone of his official promises and speeches to the masses was packed with lies.

The following letter dated July 2, 1766, was written by George Washington to a sea captain, John Thompson, sailing for the West Indies:

"SIR: With this letter comes a Negro (Tom) which I beg the favour of you to sell in any of the islands you may go to for whatever he may fetch and bring in return to me for him, one hhd. of best molasses, one hhd. of best rum, one barrel of lymes if good and cheap, one pot of tamarinds containing about 100 lbs., two small pots of mexed sweetmeats about 5 lbs., and the residue, much or little, in good old spirits.

* * * He may with your good management, sell well, if kept clean and trim'd up a little when offered for sale.

"I shall cheerfully allow you the customary commissions on this affair, and must beg the favor of you (lest he should attempt his escape) to keep him handcuffed till you get to sea or in the bay—after which I do not doubt but you may make him very useful to you.

"I wish you a pleasant and prosperous passage and a safe and speedy return, being Sir

"Yr. Very Hble Servt."

"GO. WASHINGTON."

(From Carter Woodson's *Journal of Negro History*, quoting Ford's "Writings of George Washington," vol. 11—211.)

ON LINCOLN

1. Lincoln was not opposed to slavery:

(a) In 1861 General Fremont declared the slaves of southern planters who resisted the Union free. Lincoln quickly removed him.

(b) In 1862 Gen. D. Hunter issued an emancipation proclamation, "The persons of slaves in * * * Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina are forever more declared free." Within 10 days Lincoln repudiated this. (William "History of American Negro," vol. 11, pp. 256, 257, 258.)

2. He was opposed to equality for the Negroes.

"I will say that I am not, and never have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office nor to intermarry with white people, nor say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

3. Lincoln's aim was to save the capitalist Union, not to free Negroes.

(a) "My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery."

Statement to Horace Greeley, letter from the White House, dated August 22, 1862. (See p. 254, William's *History of the American Negro*.)

(b) Same letter: "What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps save the Union; and whatever I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would have saved the Union." * * * I shall do less whenever I believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause."

(c) In reply to a letter received in 1862 by Lincoln from a citizen of Louisiana containing strong arguments against emancipation Lincoln wrote: "You must not expect me to give up this Government without playing my last card." (From James G. Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress.")

4. He used the slaves as a pawn to weaken the southern landowners and strengthen the northern capitalists.

(a) In the October 1862 elections, he told rebels they could keep their slaves if they returned to the Union by January 1, 1862 (Blaine, vol. 1.).

(b) The Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves only in rebellious States. This would not have been issued at all if Congress had not acted upon the suggestion in (a).

ON LENIN AND MARX

For Lenin material, besides the bibliography, see the *Worker's Child* and *New Pioneer* for January, and the educational material issued last month. For Marx see bibliography. Remember "Labor in a white skin cannot emancipate itself while labor in a black skin is branded."

ON EVOLUTION

(We will try to send out a little material on Evolution every month.)

If we look into the sky at night after the sun has gone down, we see numberless stars. All of these heavenly bodies are billions of miles away. Some of these stars have smaller bodies revolving around them. Such a star, having smaller bodies revolving around it, is our own sun. The smaller bodies, shining with the light they reflect from the sun are the planets, like Venus, Mars, Jupiter, etc. We live on one of them, the earth.

The earth whirls in two ways—first it turns completely on its axis once in 24 hours, causing day and night, but its second journey around the sun takes 365¼ days, causing the seasons of the year. The earth and all the teeming life upon it are dependent on the sun; life would die without it.

Millions of years ago, parts of the sun split away from the main body; these parts are the nine planets today. During these ages the earth has evolved and gone through many extraordinary changes, until at last it has come to be as we know it today. Once upon a time, the shape of the great bodies of land (continents) was different from that which the maps show now. Where land is high, it once was low, where it is cold it once was warm. Parts of the earth are now dry where it was once damp and swampy, etc.

These few facts are sufficient to disprove the Bible and a number of religious teachings, such as: (1) God created the earth in 7 days; (2) He created the sun and planets to revolve around the earth; (3) He created a heaven "up above." (There is no "up above," and space only has millions of stars, planets, and smaller planetoids, meteors, comets, etc.

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ON LINCOLN

History of American Labor Movement, A. Binba; Rise of American Civilization, Beard; Communist Position on Negro Question, 10 cents, two articles in Communist by Harry Haywood, December 1932 and January 1933 (20 cents); They Shall Not Die, International Labor Defense pamphlet, 2 cents; Land, Liberty, and Equality, L. S. N. R. publication, 5 cents; American Negro, J. S. Allen, International Publishers, 10 cents.

ON LENIN

January 1934 number of Communist, tenth anniversary edition, 20 cents; Leninism (2 volumes), J. Stalin (read chapters on national question); Foundation of Leninism, J. Stalin (read chapters on national question); Our Lenin, H. A. Potamkin and Miller, International Publications, 75 cents.

ON MARX

Special fiftieth anniversary number of Communist March 1933, 20 cents; special tenth anniversary number of Daily Worker; back March numbers of New Pioneer, 5 cents; Worker's Child, March 1933, 3 cents.

The Boy Scouts of America, being a powerfully organized movement in the United States and encouraging as it does loyalty to our institutions, is, of course, one of the main targets of the young "reds"; here is an example of the campaign they carry on against the Boy Scouts of America:

THE BOY SCOUTS IS AN ORGANIZATION FOR CAPITALIST WARS—SMASH THE BOY SCOUTS—JOIN THE YOUNG PIONEERS—FIGHT AGAINST THE BOY SCOUTS

Workers' children, comrades.—During the week of February 8 to 14 the Young Pioneers are carrying on a campaign to expose to the workers' children the bosses' plan for a new war and for militarizing the workers' children. This is our answer to Boy Scout Week, which is being used by the bosses to fool more workers' children into the Boy Scouts.

The Boy Scouts is an organization for capitalist wars.—The Boy Scout organization glorifies the wars of the bosses. Its real aim and object is to prepare the workers' children for good soldiers in the armies of the bosses. Even the very oath of the Scout pledges him to do his duty to God and to his country—which means to fight without questioning, for the wars in the interests of the bosses and against the workers.

The Boy Scouts is an instrument of the bosses for militarizing the children.—The bosses are feverishly preparing for wars. Just consider the "good will" trip of Hoover, the plan for building an American Navy "second to none," the building of 15 more cruisers—what are these but proof of the bosses'

preparations for war? At the same time the capitalists mumble a few phrases about peace, such as the Kellogg Pact, to put the workers off guard so they should forget about the war preparations.

They are trying to trap the young workers and students into the Citizens' Military Training Camps and into the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, where they are trained for the coming war.

For militarizing the children, the bosses have a special instrument. That is the Boy Scouts of America. This is the real purpose of the Boy Scout movement. This is the real meaning of the celebrations planned for Boy Scout Week.

There is only one organization of workers' children that fights for the interests of the working class and of the workers' children. That is the Young Pioneers of America.

What are the differences between the Boy Scouts and the Pioneers? Just study them and you will clearly see your duty as workers' children. We must smash the Boy Scouts, which is the organization of our class enemies—the capitalists.

Workers' children, your place is in the Pioneers—the organization of our own class, the working class. Join the Young Pioneers.

The bosses are backing the Boy Scouts.—The Boy Scout movement is supported by the richest and most powerful bosses and by the American Government which is their agent. That's why the Boy Scouts are used for the bosses and against the workers and their children. The Boy Scouts is an antilabor organization.

Scouting is training for bosses' wars.—Scouting is the means of fooling the workers' children into the Boy Scouts. Through Scouting the Boy Scout is taught all that a soldier needs to know. The whole aim of Scouting is to prepare the workers' children for the life of the soldier in bosses' wars.

Boy Scouts are for bosses' wars.—The Boy Scouts justify and glorify bosses' wars. They boast of the fact that Boy Scouts make the best soldiers and that the Boy Scouts did service to the bosses in the last World War, which was only a war for bosses' profits. And now the Boy Scouts are preparing the workers' children for the coming war.

The bosses' schools aid the Boy Scouts.—The schools which carry the propaganda of the bosses to the children, try their best to fool the workers' children into the Boy Scouts. The Boy Scouts are a great help to the bosses in doping the minds of the children. Snitching and squealing on every attempt of the workers' children to organize and fight for better conditions—that's the task of the Boy Scout in school.

Boy Scouts for child labor.—The Boy Scouts are for child labor because the bosses are for it. Boy Scouts are encouraged to slave obediently for the bosses and to be thrifty so that the bosses can use the child workers instead of the grown-up workers, pay them less wages, and in that way make more profits.

Boy Scouts take part in murder of striking workers.—Fighting on the side of the police and the bosses and against the striking workers—that's where you'll find the Boy Scouts. In the Colorado coal strike, the Boy Scouts played their part in the murder of innocent strikers.

The workers are backing the Young Pioneer.—Only the workers support the Pioneers. The Workers (Communist) Party and the Young Workers (Communist) League—organizations leading the workers in the struggle against the capitalists—are backing us. That's why the Young Pioneers fight for the workers and the workers' children all the time.

Pioneering is training for working class.

Pioneering.—Our method of sports is for the purpose of developing strong minds and strong bodies for the workers' children so that we will be better fighters for the workers and against the bosses.

Pioneers fight against all bosses' wars and militarization of children.—The Pioneers are against all bosses' wars. We say to the workers' children: Your real enemies are not the workers of any other country, but the bosses right here at home—the American capitalist class. Fight the plans of the bosses for another world war. Fight against the plotting of the American bosses against the Soviet Union—the only government of the workers and poor farmers.

Pioneers fight against antilabor propaganda and rotten school conditions.—The Pioneers are fighting against the rotten conditions in the schools in working-class neighborhoods—against the firetraps, against the overcrowding, against the part-time system. But especially do the Pioneers fight against the antilabor propaganda of the schools. We're fighting to spread the truth about the

workers and bosses among the children and to win the workers' children for the working class.

Pioneers fight child labor.—In America, which is the richest country in the world, 3,500,000 children are forced to slave while 4,000,000 grown-up workers have no jobs! We demand that child labor be abolished and that the Government take care of the children now working!

Pioneers fight with striking workers against bosses.—Fighting side by side with the workers on the picket line—that's where you'll find the Pioneers. The Pioneers organize relief for the hungry children of the strikers—so that the workers may struggle on until they win their battle against the bosses.

Boy Scouts attack workers' Russia.—The Soviet Union is a government of and for the workers and poor farmers. The Soviet Union is the worst enemy of all the bosses the world over. So the bosses hate it and are plotting war against it. The Boy Scouts are used to spread the most vicious lies against workers' Russia. When the bosses are ready to attack the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, they want the workers' children to fight for the American Government, the government of the bosses, and against the Soviet Union where the workers rule.

The Boy Scouts are for the capitalist government.—The Boy Scouts support the Government, which is always used for the bosses, against workers. It is the Government which protects the property of the rich, which jails and murders the best fighters of the working class, like Sacco and Vanzetti and Mooney and Billings. It is the Government which is responsible for the misery of the workers' children, while the children of the rich roll in luxury. It is the Government which is responsible for the wars where millions of workers are slaughtered for the profit of the bosses.

Pioneers stand by workers' Russia.—We Pioneers say—the workers and their children all over the world have only one fatherland—the Soviet fatherland, workers' Russia. We pledge support to our fatherland against the attack of the American bosses. We know that in the Soviet Union there is no child labor, workers' children go to the best schools there are, have free vacations. The children are the first care of the workers' government! The Pioneers are organizing a children's delegation to the Soviet Union to pledge the support of the American workers' children to the Soviet Union. Support the children's delegation to workers' Russia.

For a workers' and farmers' government.—The Pioneers are against this Government which is for the bosses who own everything and against the workers, who make everything but have nothing. We are for a workers' and farmers' government, where the workers will rule like they do in the Soviet Union. Only a workers' and farmers' government will do away with wars. Then only will there be an end to the misery and suffering of the workers and their children.

Workers' Children in the Boy Scouts.—Leave the Boy Scouts—the organization of our enemy—the bosses! Join the organization of your own class—the Young Pioneers! Smash the Boy Scouts! Build the Young Pioneers!

(Issued by the Young Pioneers of America, 43 East 125th St., New York City, N. Y. Read the Young Pioneer.)

A paper for workers' and farmers' children.

The Young Pioneer is the only workers' children's paper that fights—

Against bosses' wars!

Against child labor!

Against bad school conditions!

Against the Boy and Girl Scouts!

For the interests of the workers' children!

For the defence of the Soviet Union!

For a workers' and farmers' government!

It costs 5 cents a copy and 50 cents for 1 year.

Of course they are out to penetrate that group if possible, but where not they make an effort to undermine its leadership, then to destroy it. The same is true about the Communists attitude regarding the Catholic and other Christian groups.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG THE YOUTH

As far back as 1925 the youth of our land were found parading our streets with red flags and Communist banners. In February 1925 over 14,000 gathered at Madison Square Garden to hurrah for the growth of communism in the United States and to show their solidarity with Russia. They sang red In-

ternationale and waved the red flags of communism. In 1930 as many crowded into Madison Square Garden, New York City, to celebrate Christmas Day, the most sacred day of the year to the American people, the young red celebration was one of atheism and sneer. The play in which nearly all took part was an antireligious play, characters of the poor in the United States clowning, the rich were ridiculed, God was pictured as a myth and religion as capitalism.

According to information from the box office of the theater, the seating capacity of the hall in which the circus was held is 1,800 of which 1,500 seats are on the lower floor and 300 in the gallery. As there were many persons standing and about 175 paraders and actors, the total number present was at least 2,000.

About one-half of the lower-floor seats were occupied by the younger members of the Young Pioneers; so crowded, however, that the number of children greatly exceeded the number of seats they occupied. The rest of the audience consisted of the older members of the Young Pioneers, members of the Young Communist League, and adults.

Owing to the difficulties met with in obtaining a hall, it was not certain that the circus would be held until almost the last moment. Consequently, the program, as originally planned and advertised, was not carried out in its entirety.

Prior to the raising of the curtain, revolutionary songs were sung and cheers were given under the direction of "cheer leaders." Then came the parade. This was headed by a group of seven musicians who, under the direction of their leader—a young girl—played upon the kazoos, paper-and-comb instruments, and drums. Then came the parade proper—Young Pioneers grotesquely garbed as priests, rabbis, capitalists, cops, gangsters, and the like, allegedly "products of our form of government."

On the lower floor near the end of the stage stood a "revolutionary Christmas tree" bearing a cartoon of President Hoover with an apple in lieu of a head, a carton of Grover Whalen (former police commissioner), and numerous placards lampooning war, capitalism, and the police. A large \$ took the place of the star at the top of the tree.

The curtain was raised, and, for the first act, a Young Pioneer with a cigar in his hand—which from time to time he pretended to smoke—announced that a miracle was to be performed, the Star of Bethlehem was again to appear. He kept up a sarcastic monologue about the coming "miracle," until finally a "star" in the form of the \$ came down over the audience from the ceiling.

A boxing match took place between Science and Religion, the referee, Heywood Brown, in motley costume as referee. The match went seven rounds, during which time Brown received an occasional punch from each contestant. In the seventh round Science knocked out both Religion and the referee.

A "boss" appears in the form of a lion and feeds upon children labeled "child labor," "speeds ups," "wage cuts," "unemployment," "bread lines," etc. His victims were obtained by the aid of a Young Pioneer labeled "A. F. of L."

A crystal gazer sees in the crystal—of a red toy balloon—a large fire. The fire reaches, sings, and then burns up an insect which falls in its way; then other and yet still more insects receive like treatment.

(The fire was the U. S. S. R. and the insects were capitalists nations.)

A tight-rope walker, Miss "Religion," carried an umbrella weighted on one side by "ignorance" and on the other by "bosses" to enable her to "preserve her balance."

An animal trainer was whipping into subjection certain beasts: The lion was "society," the tiger was "the capitalist parties," the elephant was "the Boy Scouts and militarism," a mongrel dog was "the Socialist Party," and the bear was "religion."

"The revolutionary Christmas tree" was brought into the center of the stage and "God" in a business suit danced around the tree with a "harem of angels" consisting of priests, rabbis, capitalists, and other "dope peddlers."

During this seven-act performance two speeches were sandwiched in; presumably delivered by members of the Young Workers' League, the organization which exercises a sort of guardianship over the Young Pioneers. The first speaker, a young man, emphasized the importance of taking in hand the training of the workers' children as early in their lives as possible. The second speaker, a young woman, was bitter in her denunciation of the way governmental affairs are managed. She held up to ridicule our "Capitalistic Christmas" and the spirit of giving which goes with it, and characterized as "bunk" the religion which lies back of it. She spoke of "God, the Pope, and other politicians." She wished the audience a very "revolutionary Christmas."

The circus was closed with singing which was led, from the stage, by the music section which had headed the parade.

The above is an outline of the performance, but the alarming feature is the spirit back of the performance. The Daily Worker of December 26 thus expresses it:

"Their (the childrens') animated faces and readiness to sing and cheer their revolutionary songs and yells was as big a treat as the circus itself."

Although more than a dozen songs were sung, these hundreds of little children sang them without help of book or paper. They knew them letter-perfect. Also, when the young woman in her speech said something about meeting the opposition of their enemies and asked, "Are you ready?" these hundreds of children arose as one and, with raised, clenched fists shouted in perfect unison, "always ready." At another point in the speech they again arose with hands raised in salute, again in perfect unison, repeated their oath of allegiance to the "red flag", as follows:

"I pledge allegiance to the workers' red flag and to the cause for which it stands; one aim throughout our lives—freedom for the working class."

Moreover, it appeared that they felt what they said. They appeared bubbling over with enthusiasm "There sat near me one little girl about 10 years of age who, in particular, attracted my attention," says the lady attending the affair. "She was a pretty child, neatly dressed, rather quiet by nature and a perfect little lady in all her actions. She sang the songs, uttered the defy with clenched fist and repeated the oath of allegiance to the red flag in a manner so serious and earnest as to impress one with her loyalty and devotion to the cause of communism."

Another specific instance worthy of notice was that of a mother and her two children seated in the gallery. Not only the children, but also the mother entered with zeal into all the seditious and atheistic group activities above described.

When one realizes that these children assembled from all over Greater New York City, this letter-perfect singing and unity of action on their part together with the almost fanatical enthusiasm which they displayed, denotes an efficiency in organization and a solidarity which should awaken patriotic Americans to this menace: for, who can doubt that yesterday's performance will make a lasting impression upon the plastic minds of the children who witness it? In 1919 a radical school teacher of Boston said "Give us a generation of small children to train to manhood and womanhood and we shall set up the Bolshevik form of the Soviet Government."

NOTE 1.—The Daily Worker of December 26 made the exaggerated claim that 3,500 persons were present and that the whole lower floor was reserved for the children.

NOTE 2.—There were for sale in the lobby The Young Pioneer and the Young Worker (both denied second class mailing privileges); also the Daily Worker, the Moscow News and photographs of Soviet leaders and of "murdered" and imprisoned "martyrs."

December 26 1930.

Report compiled by Aaron I. Dotey, Dean of Boys (retired), DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City.)

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

The American Youth Congress was conceived by Viola Ilma. Founding the congress, the purpose of which she proclaimed was for "sound intellectual, spiritual, and physical development of the youth of America," the first meeting was called in August of 1934 at the Washington Square College, in New York City.

The first break to the left came several weeks before the congress was to convene, when Prof. Harvey Zorbaugh, of the Sociology Department of Washington Square College, New York City, who in the summer of 1935 served on the advisory council of Moscow State University, became irred at Miss Ilma for holding down liberal and radical organizations to a minimum representation. Professor Zorbaugh invited 12 organizations to participate in the conference, including the ultra-radical and pacifist groups, the League for Industrial Democracy (Socialist), National Student Federation, Pioneer Youth (Socialist), War Resisters' League (ultra-radical pacifists), Young Communist League, and the Young People's Socialist League.

These oppositional organizations held a conference prior to the congress and formed a "united front." This "united front" was managed by radicals and led, in part, by Gil Green, national secretary of the Young Communist League and an instructor in the Workers' School of New York City in 1931, national secretary of the Young Communist League, in 1933 member of arrangements committee of United States Congress Against War in 1933, and a member of the national executive committee of the American League Against War and Fascism in 1935. In 1935 Green made a report of the youth movement in the United States to the Comintern in Moscow. Green was promoted by Moscow to the Presidium Committee of the Third (Communist) International for the above and other "united front" successes in the United States.

At the conclusion of the congress, two groups had emerged, the American Youth Congress, under the direction of the Communists, and the American Youth Congress, Inc., under the banner of Miss Ihua.

Shortly after the final session of the Congress, the New Masses, a Communist cultural publication, carried an article concerning it, and hailed it thusly: "For the first time since the social exodus from the American League Against War and Fascism, Communists and Socialists are together again."

Aided and abetted by the Young Communists, the congress continued to grow. On May 30, 1935, demonstrations against war, under the auspices of the Youth Congress, were held in all large cities. Constant boosting by the Communist-owned and controlled papers and Communist leaders indicated all the more clearly that the integral part of the Congress was communistic.

From July 4 to July 7, 1935, the American Youth Congress held its second conference at Detroit; police were called and Rev. Gordon McWhirter, of the Pacific Unitarian School, was arrested because of disturbances among those in the ranks.

Among the officers elected at the 1935 session was Waldo McNutt, chairman. He was also national chairman of the First National Youth Congress, and aided radical leaders in splitting the First American Youth Congress. McNutt is a member of the secretarial staff of the American League Against War and Fascism (Communist, Socialist, and pacifist united front), and is also a member of the Rocky Mountain Young Men's Christian Association. Edward Strong was elected first vice chairman. He is a member of the Chicago executive committee of the League Against War and Fascism. Gil Green, of the Third International, Joseph Lash, a member of the executive committee of the Association of Unemployed College Alumni and Professional People (the college division of the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy), executive committee of the New York Chapter of the L. I. D., and associate editor of Student Advocate; and James Lerner, contributing editor of New Pioneer, a Communist candidate for Assembly of Kings County, and a member of the secretarial staff of the American League Against War and Fascism, were also appointed officers.

In speaking before the Comintern Congress in September 1935, Gil Green continually referred to the American Youth Congress, showing how a united front had been organized with a membership representing over 1,000,000 youth. Speaking of the first congress, Green said: "We defeated the enemy and turned the Youth Congress into a broad, united front."

Since the second congress, the American Youth Congress has been very active in different parts of the country. Meetings have been held in New York City, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Philadelphia, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other large cities.

The program of the organization, as published in Voice of Youth, official organ of the Young Communist League, District 13, May 15, 1935, is, in part, as follows: To organize antiwar demonstrations (strikes); to support total disarmament proposals; to organize workers for strikes against manufacture and shipment of munitions, and to work toward a general strike in event of war; to transfer all defense funds for recreational, educational, and relief purposes; for the enactment of the Communist Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Act; to abolish military training in schools and colleges, and the abandonment of military administration of Civilian Conservation Corps camps; for abolition of transient camps and vagrancy laws; for independent youth to receive relief; for child-labor laws guaranteeing State support to all children under 16, and abolition of youth below 16 to work; to organize the unorganized youth into unions in such industries as the marine industries and needle trades, canning and agricultural; establishment of youth sections with such features as sports, socials, etc.; for repeal of anti-picketing, criminal syndicalism, and "anti-rad" laws; for free speech on the campus; against laws infringing on academic freedom; for relief for

students, hot lunches, and carfare; a campaign against political, economic, or social discrimination against Negroes, orientals, Filipinos, or Mexicans, for unconditional freedom of the Philippines and Cuba; against lynching, antilabor bills; for freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon.

"The present economic system offers no solution to our problems; some form of cooperative commonwealth with production for use instead of profit is necessary," says the report. To accomplish this, the program advocates a united front on the political field with such groups as have the same leanings.

A number of the leaders of the American Youth Congress were arrested in Washington, D. C., in 1937, when the delegates to the congress staged a sit-down strike on Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House.

A Communist, Carl Ross, head of the Young Communist League, represented the congress at a congressional hearing on the national youth bill.

The following organizations are cooperating in the American Youth Congress: American Baptist Publication Society, Young People's Division,

American Federation of Teachers,

American League for Peace and Democracy, Youth Section (communistic),

American Student Union (communistic),

Consumer's Union,

Enworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church,

Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (C. I. O.),

International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (C. I. O.),

International Union, United Automobile Workers of America (C. I. O.),

International Workers Order, Youth Section (Communist),

Interseminary Movement,

National Business and Professional Council, Y. W. C. A.

National Council of Jewish Juniors,

National Council of Methodist Youth,

National Industrial Council, Y. W. C. A.

National Intercollegiate Christian Council,

National Maritime Union (C. I. O.),

National Negro Congress, Youth Division (communistic),

National Student Federation of America,

Southern Negro Youth Congress (communistic),

Steel Workers Organizing Committee (C. I. O.),

Student Peace Service (communistic),

United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (C. I. O.),

United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (C. I. O.),

United Mine Workers of America (C. I. O.),

United Student Peace Committee (communistic),

Workers Alliance of America (communistic),

Young Communist League, United States of America (communistic),

Young People's League of United Synagogue of America,

Young Judea,

Young People's Socialist League,

Younger Democrats of the United States,

Foreign Policy Association, Student Department,

International Student Service,

League of Nations Association, Educational Department,

National Education Association of the United States,

Public Affairs Committee, National Board, Y. W. C. A.

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

(Imprecor, Vol. 14, No. 14 (March 2, 1934))

Page 358:

"The Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International (Moscow) approves of the initiative and activity shown by the local organizations of the Young Communist League in participating and preparing the Paris International Congress and the American National Congress of Youth for the struggle against war and fascism.

"By actively participating in the formation of anti-war and anti-Fascist committees and in the election of delegates, by participating in meetings of the socialist and reformist youth and the youth of other organizations, many Young Communist League organizations have obtained successes in the strengthening of the united front and the carrying out of the decisions of the December (1933)

plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International on mass work. The results thus obtained and the contacts with the masses of youth must be consolidated and the united front of the youth must be widened still further in the struggle for their economic interests and political rights against fascism and war."

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

In tracing the events which led up to the organization of the First World Youth Congress, with the aid of Communist documents, it is learned that a Students Congress Against War and Fascism was held in December 1934 at Brussels, Belgium. At this congress it was decided to organize an "international fighting day of students for peace," and, as a result, on April 12, 1935, "185,000 American students responded to this appeal. They left their college halls, held meetings and demonstrations, under the slogan emulating that of the Oxford students: 'Under no circumstances shall we follow the American Government if it undertakes a war!'" (Imprecor, No. 58).

The International Students Movement was also founded at the Brussels Congress. Student delegates from the United States, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, various Latin-American countries, Russia, France, Great Britain, and elsewhere were present. A "students world committee" was finally set up and in 1935 that committee organized a number of student-holiday camps in several countries and called upon student organizations of every trend to send delegates. These camps were very successful, according to Imprecor. Later in the year the "students world committee" called upon all student organizations in the world to join in an international "student congress," the object of which would be to point out the way to struggle in the world of high schools and colleges.

In the meantime, the dates for new student demonstrations were set, and on November 10 and 11 they took place in every country in the world. A "Vigilance Committee Against War and Fascism" was finally formed in the United States. This committee, it is alleged, embraced the National Student Federation, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, National Student League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, American Youth Congress, American League Against War and Fascism, and Methodist Youth. This committee, it is also alleged, carried out the order for student demonstrations (Imprecor).

In January 1936 the preparations committee of the International Youth Conference for Peace called a Second International Youth Conference for Peace, to be held in Brussels in February of the same year. The formation of a "World Youth Congress," to be held in Geneva, August 31 to September 7, 1936, was announced at that time (Imprecor).

On August 8, 1936, the Young Communist League published a report on the program of the proposed World Youth Congress, which stated, in part, that the Congress afforded an opportunity to "discuss outstanding problems confronting the young generation," and that the Young Communist League would explain its stand. In the report the League denounced Japan, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain. On the other hand, it painted a very flowery picture of the Soviet Union. It also discussed, to a great extent from a leftist angle, economics, unemployment, and wages. It called for the rejection of fascism, but urged friendliness toward Russia, calling for an international crusade through rallies, fetes, radio, press, and the theater in 1937. It urged the organization of international youth committees and called for "huge national conferences of youth in all countries."

The Communists reported that Senator Rolin, of Belgium, opened the First Youth Congress at Geneva. "Representatives of 750 youth organizations from 34 countries" were present. "Discussions will concern the political, juridical, economic, and social basis of peace." The topics for discussion were Youth and international Community, The Nations and the League of Nations, The Economic and Social Order of the World, The Foundations of Peace, and The International Duty of Youth. It reported that delegates from the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union attended the Congress. It was further reported that "the First World Youth Congress will be dominated for the most part by this consciousness (unemployment and peace)."

The September 8, 1936, issue of the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party in the United States, published a statement to the effect that the World Youth Congress then and there established a permanent forma-

tion, electing two representatives to a permanent committee from every national committee, and one representative from every international organization. The publication also reports that Delegate Knopowa from the Soviet Union was wildly cheered as he addressed the delegation, and that the Soviet Young Communists had joined the movement.

Upon his return from Moscow via Spain in October, Gil Green, of the Young Communist International of Moscow and former head of the American branch of the movement, announced that the Second World Youth Congress would be held in the United States in 1938. The headquarters of the committee making the necessary arrangements for this Congress are located at 8 West Fortieth Street, New York City. The Congress, according to a recent announcement, will be held from August 15 to 24 at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Over 600 delegates from student organizations in the United States, Europe, and Asia are to attend. In charge of the New York office is Joseph Cadden and a stenographer. Cadden is a member of the national committee of the American Youth Congress which staged a sit-down strike in Washington, D. C., in 1936. He also endorsed the convention of the American League Against War and Fascism which was held in Pittsburgh in 1937. Cadden was active at the convention of the American Student Union, held at Vassar in 1937. Communists claim they have influence in those organizations.

William W. Hinkley, who played a prominent part at the meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism in Pittsburgh and who was arrested in Washington, D. C., as leader of the American Youth Congress, which staged a sit-down strike of members in that city in 1936, is listed as a member of the organizing committee of the Second World Youth Congress.

Robert G. Spivak, leader of the American Student Union in Ohio, is an organizer of the Second World Youth Congress. Joseph Lash, national secretary of the American Student Union, is also an organizer. He is also vice president of the United Student Peace Committee. Since 1934 he has been active in the ranks of the radical Marxians. He was a member of the executive committee of the New York chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy in 1934, which advocates a system for use and not for profit, Government ownership, and which claims to guide the revolution among college students. James Lerner, another organizer of the congress, was the Communist Party candidate for assemblyman, Kings County, N. Y., in 1933. He is a member of the secretarial staff of the American League Against War and Fascism and a contributing editor of the Young Pioneers (Communist magazine), the New Pioneer, and the Champion (young radical publication). Other organizers of the congress are Walter Ludwig, active at least since 1930 in radical Socialist youth movements and for some time the executive director of the Young Socialist movement, Pioneer Youth of America; Elizabeth Scott, a member of the speakers' bureau of the Foreign Policy Association and of the continuation committee of the American Youth Congress in 1934, which Communists claim to have helped set up; Edward Strong, administrative committee member of the American Youth Congress, the Chicago executive committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, the International Negro Youth Movement, and the secretary of the (communistic) Southern Negro Youth Congress; Frances Williams, a member of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

On the sponsoring committee of the Second World Youth Congress there are a few fairly conservative individuals sandwiched in with liberals of every trend of thought. Chairman of the committee is Dr. Henry M. MacCracken. The members include Stephen Duggan, John Nevin Sayre, and Mary E. Wooley, and others, many of whom are at least considered extreme "liberals."

Two weeks before the World Youth Congress convened at Vassar College, the "rolling stone" had gathered considerable moss. According to the official organ of the Communist Party (Daily Worker, August 2, 1938, p. 3), the following organizations announced their intention of participating in the "red jubilee":

- Young Communist League.
- Southern Negro Youth Congress (Communist).
- American Student Union (Communist).
- International Workers' Order (Communist).
- National Negro Congress (Communist).
- Workers' Alliance (Communist-Socialist).
- American Youth Congress (communistic).
- American League for Peace & Democracy (communistic).
- Finnish Workers' Federation (communistic).

German-American League for Culture (communistic).
 International Labor Defense (Communist).
 Student Peace Committee (communistic).
 American Farm Bureau Federation.
 Agricultural & Cannery Workers of America (communistic and C. I. O.).
 American Baptist Publications Society (northern).
 American Country Life Association.
 American Jewish Congress (youth section).
 Christian Youth Conference of North America (C. I. O.).
 Cooperative League of United States of America.
 Epworth League.
 Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America.
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.
 Furriers' International (Communist and C. I. O.).
 Girls' Friendly Society.
 Hotel and Restaurant Employees International (communistic and C. I. O.).
 Junior Hadassah.
 Model League of Nations.
 League of Nations Association.
 National Association for Advancement of Colored People.
 National Council of Jewish Juniors.
 National Council of Methodist Youth.
 National Federation of Settlements.
 National Grange, Youth Section.
 National Urban League.
 Presbyterian Young People's Society.
 Pilgrim Fellowship (Sigma Eta Chi).
 National Student Federation of America.
 Steel Organizing Committee (C. I. O.).
 Student Peace Service.
 United Mine Workers of America (C. I. O.).
 United Rubber Workers of America (C. I. O.).
 Yassar College Political Association.
 Young Judea.
 Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association.
 Young Peoples Socialist League of America.
 American Association of University Women.
 American Friends of Chinese People.
 American Newspaper Guild (C. I. O.).
 United Office and Professional Workers of America (C. I. O.).
 American Youth Hostels.
 Association of Lithuanian Workers.
 Association of Medical Students.
 Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
 Girl Scouts of America.
 Institute of International Education.
 National Recreational Association.
 Northern States Cooperative Youth League.
 North American Hungarian Youth Congress.
 Rumanian Junior League Clubs.
 War Resisters League.
 Commonwealth Federation.
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
 Youth Committee Against War.
 Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The cooperation of Communists at this congress will be an indisputable fact. Most active propagandists on behalf of the coming congress are:

Kossarev, general secretary of the Young Communists of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Sixth Congress of the Young Communists; member of the central commission of control of the Russian Communist Party.

Helen Knopova, who delivered a speech at the First World Youth Congress in Geneva (August 1936), also a functionary of the Soviet Government, called to the vice presidency of the committee of physical education, at the Council of People's Commissaries in 1936 (Izvestia, July 3, 1936).

Tshemodanov, also a speaker at the Geneva Congress; delegate of the Young Communists to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and delegate of the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics to the sixth congress. Member of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International (Pravda, April 24, 1931).

Marcel Cachin, outstanding member of the executive committee of the Communist International; Communist senator of Paris; foremost leader of the French Communist Party; editor of the Communist newspaper Humanite.

The secretariat of the World Youth Congress publishes a periodical entitled, "Les Cahiers de la Jeunesse." This periodical is edited by a committee including Communists and leading members of the International Peace Campaign and of the World Federation of the League of Nations' Union:

Directors: Luc Durtain, Paul Nizan,

Editor: Georges Dudaeh,

Writers: Romain Rolland, Norman Angell, Jose Bergamin, Nordhal Grieg, Jules Domains, Jacques Madaule, Henry de Mountherlant, Andre Mairaux, Anderson Nexo, Alexis Tolstoi, Raphael Alberti, Karel Capek, Robert Honnert, Jean Cassou, Jean-Richard Bloch, Andre Chamson, Rene Lalou, Christian Senechal, Pierre Abraham, Juliette Pary, Joliot-Curie, Henri Mineur, Jean Painlevé, Julian Huxley, Frans Masereel, Jean Effel, Jean Renoir, Marcel Carne.

Among the nine delegates from the United States selected to attend the first World Youth Congress, August 31 to September 7, 1936, were: Joseph Cadden, of the National Council American Youth Congress (Communist-Socialist-Pacifist front); Joseph P. Lash, American Student Union (Communist-Socialist front); James Lerner, American League Against War and Fascism (Communist Socialist front); William W. Hinckley, American Youth Congress (Communist-Socialist-Pacifist front); Edward Strong, National Negro Congress (Communist Socialist front); Jack Kling, Young Communist League; Myrtle Powell, Young Women's Christian Association; Harold Peterson, Farmer-Labor Juniors of Minnesota; and Ivan Gould, Youth Peace Commission.

NATIONAL GROUPS

At the tenth annual convention of the Communist Party, held in New York City in May 1938, the question, "Our tasks with national groups," was discussed, according to the Party Organizer, volume XI, No. 5, published by the central committee of the party, which stated:

"The party as a whole must pay more attention to the importance of the work among the national groups and regard this as a vital instrument for leading the broad masses in the fight for democracy and collective security and for building the party as well. * * *

"The responsibilities of all this work must be spread to all the apparatus of the party; that is, the district and section committees, including responsible party members in the trade-union movement and in other mass organizations, such as cultural, benevolent, sport, etc.

"Special emphasis must be placed on trade-union activity. In this field, while on the one hand we must orientate our activities among the national groups toward trade-union activity, on the other hand our comrades in the trade unions must be made aware of the importance of these groups.

"We must at the same time strive:

"1. To develop the activity designed to unite fellow countrymen of various nationalities into a democratic front on the basis of immediate issues, common to all working people, such as the fight for peace, for civil rights, against fascism, for higher wages, for better working conditions, etc. in connection with some particular issues that may concern primarily a particular nationality. Special efforts must be made to see that such activity is not confined to the so-called left-wing movement, but is broadened out to include even church groups, fraternal organizations and all other types of organizations embracing thousands of workers.

"2. To draw some of the new elements of the younger generation into leadership in the national bureaus and in mass movements in order that the leadership may itself reflect the composition of the old and new generations of the national groups. Special emphasis must be laid on the educational activities of the people in the national groups, together with training instructors and leading cadres for this work, who should not be isolated from party activities, but on the contrary, should be closely bound up with all party activities in the sections, districts, etc. To accomplish this, steps should be taken to organize full-time schools for training leaders for the work among the national groups, as well as evening classes, discussion circles, etc.

"Work among the women of the national groups should not be forgotten, as it often is. In some national groups the organized women play a very important role such as in the progressive movement, in the fight for peace and against fascism, as well as in the ranks of the enemies of the labor movement. We must bear in mind that it is necessary to involve in all the work of our movement this important strata of the population. * * *

"The comrades active in this field must bear in mind that extensive recruiting to the party from among the national groups is the best guaranty for the success of the movement for a democratic front among the national groups."

While the Communists had already made more progress among aliens than among American born, they saw possibilities of making even greater progress through the "Trojan Horse" or united front move.

On July 3, 1938, it was rumored in New York City that an office had been opened on Eighty-fifth Street under the name of Foreign Speaking Fraternal Federation, and that a Joseph Kish, allegedly a Communist of long standing, was the acting national secretary of the organization. Upon investigation it was learned that a man by the name of Kish had lived at 508 East Seventy-eighth Street, apartment 36. He moved, however, and left no forwarding address. This federation is such a new venture that we have not had sufficient time in which to follow it up further.

GERMAN-AMERICAN CLUBS (NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 243 EAST EIGHTY-FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY)—GERMAN-AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR CULTURE (CHICAGO)—FEDERATION OF GERMAN-AMERICAN CLUBS, BRONX, N. Y.

These organizations appear to be allied closely with each other and with the Communist movements in the United States.

The German-American Clubs have over 100,000 members in this country. The clubs are listed as heavy contributors to the Communist cause (Daily Worker, Sept. 18, 1936; Daily Worker, Oct. 16, 1937). In fact, many clubs whose membership is made up of foreign born are contributors to Communist fund campaigns, such as the Croatian-American Clubs, the Austrian Fighters of Fascism, the Julio Mello Cuban Club, Ukrainian Labor Club, Finnish Workers' Federation, the Lithuanian and Armenian clubs, the Epicurus Educational League, the Jewish Workers' Club, etc. Many other similar organizations connected in various ways with communism are listed elsewhere in this report.

In Jewish Life, official organ of the New York State Jewish Bureau of the Communist Party, May 1938, No. 5, page 21, which is edited by H. I. Costrell, I. Goldberg, Paul Novick, Henry Sand, and John Arnold of the Jewish section of the Communist Party, there appeared a Communist Party statement to the effect that "refugees must be brought into the fight against fascism. * * * Anarchistic petty bourgeois background makes them hesitant * * * when it comes to organized anti-Fascist work. They must be reached in the clubs to which they belong. Popular front literature, including the German language weekly, Deutsches Volkecho, must be distributed among them. * * * Cooperation amongst such organizations as the Jewish People's Committee (which was organized by Communists) and the German-American League for Culture must be secured. * * * The refugees are a potential force. * * * Their very presence is indicative of their urgency of the People's Front. * * * It is the duty of the Communist Party to organize them.

The results of this drive may be seen in the resolutions adopted by the German-American clubs, which met in convention at Newark, N. J., in 1938. The following is a translation of the resolutions which appeared in the April 9, 1938, issue of Deutsches Volkecho:

"NEWARK.—The peoples who attended the national convention of the German-American clubs last Saturday and Sunday in the Labor Lyceum in Newark heard a discussion on Politics and Organizations. According to the report of the delegates a resolution was adopted and they discussed the attitude of the active fighting spirit of the foremost anti-Fascist club, and the best wishes for the Volksfront (people's front) by members and delegates.

"Saturday's meeting: The Saturday meeting was opened by President Klaiher (Brooklyn). Herman Bange (Philadelphia) acted as chairman. The Saturday evening meeting was taken up with reports from club federations and independent clubs together. The reports from the Middle West were encouraging. In St. Louis and Milwaukee the clubs took an active part in the anti-Fascist activities. Also the reports from Philadelphia and New York were applauded.

"All of the reports showed that the members and officials of the clubs are well aware of the fact that the Nazis find it hard to move forward over here, but on the other side they notice a strong opposition to the Nazis by the German-Americans. This favorable situation is not enough, and only through the use of the clubs and the working together with progressive American organizations can we make them notice this.

"Sunday meeting: The Sunday meeting was conducted by Benno Martini, and was opened with a remark that had a moral: 'The support of the clubs in the fight against war and fascism and in the defense of a democracy.'

"During the discussion, the extraordinary liveliness and interest was shared alike among all of the delegates of the clubs (there were delegates representing joint clubs). Particular points of the discussion were brought out and a resolution was made, and it was resolved that:

"1. To build up the united front (Einheitsfront) and Volksfront within the German field. Like the one described in a pamphlet which was distributed by the State committee of New Jersey, which said: 'Join together and defy these Nazi infamies—they bring our German people and the German name in social excommunication.'

"2. Agitation and propaganda—absolute aid for the Volksfront (people's front) presses will continue. A resolution will be made for the building up of a popular Unity newspaper, with the Zusatz which is the only newspaper in the anti-Fascist field that stands for Unity. They will be aided by the clubs.

"3. Letter to Roosevelt: The defense of peace. A letter will be sent to President Roosevelt congratulating him on his attitude for collective security * * *.

"4. The mining union question: In the defense of the democracy and the rights of the people the clubs are handicapped in their work with the miners in their struggles. The clubs make speeches and write letters to John L. Lewis and William Green expressing their wishes for a strong mining union that is so necessary at this time, when the reaction and concentrated attacks on the rights and freedom of the workers is being carried on.

"5. On the conflict in Spain: All of the delegates brought out that the campaign for Spain and for the abolition of the infamous 'neutrality' law must immediately be strengthened right now while the conflict in Spain has stepped in a decisive stage.

"The heroic members of the clubs, who were in the ranks of the International Brigade conflict in Spain are remembered and a letter will be sent to them expressing the clubs joint responsibility.

"6. Austria: The club convention protests against the violence of the Austrian people through the Nazi military machine. This protest, in the strongest words, will be sent to Ambassador Diekhoff in Washington. The German minority in America do very little work together. It will be noted that they cooperated at the minority conference.

"7. Political prisoners: A resolution for the immediate release of the political prisoners of Hitler-Germany, for the release of Thalman, Mierendorffs, Niemöller, Rossants, the Austrian Schmitz, and Seitz and all others will be adopted.

"8. More money workers: Schooling and rearing—the schooling and rearing by far does not answer the struggles of today. Regular lectures in the club, on Germany, should be held, and contributions should be enlarged and the radio and presses should be more widely used than before.

"9. Middle West: It is encouraging to note that the work of the Middle West is good and also successful. Extensive work must be done in the South and West of the United States where the clubs are few and weak organizations. The horse sense of the Middle West will be repaid for grasping this important measure.

"10. Nazi camps: A statement from the Newark reporter, who has been busy with the Nazi Camp Nordland, to the delegates, said that an extensive campaign is being carried on in all of the States against the Nazi camps. The campaign which is being carried on in Connecticut will show that the camps are being used as training places for Nazi sympathizers.

"New convention in September: Preparations are being made for a new national convention to be held in September, and will be devoted to the checking over of the summer work and to complete the resolutions of the Newark convention.

"The newly elected members are as follows: President, George Tieland; secretary, Siegfried Baumblatt; treasurer, Mrs. Paula Kegel; minutes reader, Miss Irene Miller; culture secretary, Karl Becker; dues collectors, Bromberger and

Schwertl; youth manager, Fritz Becker; assessors, Joe Ceek, Robert Pohl, and Mrs. Bertha Kroll.

"Representatives from different organizations attended the convention among them the anti-Fascist. More minority groups would be welcomed."

One can readily see from the above that the "reds" program has gotten under way successfully for a "people's front" among these 100,000 club members, who had already been contributing to the Communist Party.

Other organizations which appear to be affiliated with these German clubs are the workers' Death and Benefit Fund, New York City; Agitation Committee of the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Workers' Singing Club, Workers' Singing Choir, Anti-Fascist German Club, and People's Free Choir.

The locals of the German-American League for Culture have been referred to on numerous occasions in Communist publications. Their leaders sign with anti-Fascist greetings. The league seems to be headed by Dr. Eric Von Shroetter, of Chicago. In 1935 he addressed another group known as the action committee of the German Progressive Societies, at which prominent Marxians and C. I. O. leaders were conspicuous. In 1935 and 1936 Von Shroetter addressed the Barbusse branch of the American League Against War and Fascism (American League for Peace and Democracy). He also seems to be the leader of the German-American Progressive Societies of Chicago. On March 28, 1936, greetings to the (Communist) International Labor Defense were received from Dr. Eric Von Shroetter, German-American League for Culture; John Schmeis (Communist), International Workers' Order; Claude Lightfoot, Young Communist League; and Arthur McDowell, secretary, Cook County Socialist Party; Von Shroetter is a member of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (Chicago branch), and was listed to on the "Call to Action" by the American League Against War and Fascism in 1937, and the "Call to Action" by the China Aid Council.

The German-American League for Culture claims a membership of 80,000. The following item appeared in the July 15, 1938, issue of Volksfront, page 2:

"The members of the De Leon Men's Choir and Workers Singing Club Union of the United States held a meeting on July 8 and passed a resolution to consolidate with the German-American Culture Club, local group of Chicago. We heartily greet the new members and hope that the new Culture Club of Chicago will make as much progress through this newly formed society as the De Lon Men's Choir profits were before the consolidation. We do not want to consider this business too materialistic, but we would like to emphasize it at this time. The addition of this society is important and makes the local movement strong and gives to Chicago the cream of culture clubs in the United States which is very important. That a singing society has newly joined with a club is particularly gratifying. Isn't it the singing societies by their festivities and mass meetings that contribute so much in order the voice should hold the right note. The Culture Club as an open, progressive, and active liberal central organization deserves the annexation of these progressive societies and knows how to treasure it."

According to the bylaws of the German-American League for Culture, it is attempting to consolidate all so-called progressive German speaking organizations in the United States under its wing. While severely lambasting Nazis, it claims that it seeks to preserve in the United States German culture, native (German) customs and ways, German songs, and the German language. In the present-day communist phrasology, it states that it "stands for the democratic ideals of the Constitution of the United States of America," and for the "rights of foreign born," free press, speech and meetings, and the "right of the organization of workers." It reports that it publishes and distributes propaganda material and supplies to other organizations with principles in harmony with the league. It lists the many locals and their addresses, and in the same column with them are the International Workers' Order, the cultural and sport societies, the Nature Friends, Workers' Cultural League, and Workers' Educational Society. (See Communist cultural movements.)

In the April 9, 1938, issue of Volkecho, page 1, we find practically the same organizations referred to, in addition to advertising for Communist publications. We find therein quite a send-off for the Communist organized World Youth Congress, to be held at Vassar, and resolutions adopted by the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, an old German organization. These resolutions call for the freeing of the communist, Ernest Thalmann, and other political prisoners; in defense of the Loyalists in Spain; against Nazism; seizure of Austria; etc.

A competitive organization to Nazi-ism in the United States of America says with regard to the progress of the Nazi movement in the United States, that:

"All of the reports showed that the members and officials of the American-German clubs are well aware of the fact that the Nazis find it hard to move forward over here (United States), but on the other side they notice a strong opposition to the Nazis by the German-Americans. This favorable situation is not enough, and only through use of the clubs and the working together with progressive (left wing) American organizations can we make them (Nazi) notice this.—Resolutions of German-American Clubs, National Convention, Newark, N. J., 1937.

JEWISH WORKERS' CLUBS

(National headquarters: 80 East 11th St., New York City, official organ
Funken (monthly magazine))

According to a document issued by the national executive committee of the Jewish workers' clubs in 1934, "The Jewish Workers' Club is an aid in the revolutionary movement * * * The Jewish Workers' Club participates in May 1 demonstrations. The club participates in demonstrations against war and fascism * * * and takes part in all important political events." It has branches in all sections of the country, and promotes lectures, circulates literature, etc., for the purpose of enlightening the members of the club, as well as the public, on the manner in which religion, Zionism, etc., are used to divide the ranks of the workers. This indicates that the movement is atheistic.

The Jewish Workers' Club upholds the Soviet Union as being a worker's and a peasant's government where all minority groups have complete freedom. It is of the opinion that the Soviet Union has also solved the age-long Jewish problem in its territories by making anti-Semitism a criminal offense, and that, therefore, the program of our club calls for a study and knowledge about the Soviet Union for its defense against the attacks that are being aimed at it.

The Jewish Workers' Club claims that the American press is controlled by big industrialists and bankers who publish lies about the Soviet Union. The Club therefore urges its members to read and support publications issued by workers' organizations.

The following is a statement issued by the Jewish Workers' Club to its members:

"It is recognized after careful analysis and experience that there is only one party which is sincerely interested in the working class and all oppressed people, and that is the Communist Party. It therefore helps this party during election campaigns."

The Jewish worker's clubs calls on all workers to support the struggles. It promotes choral singing, dramatics, dancing, sports, orchestras, chess and checker contests, studies of political economy and current events. It participates in strikes and labor and antifilth cost of living demonstrations. It criticizes religious centers such as American-Jewish Youth Centers, Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations as centers organized by the wealthy middle-class Jews. The Jewish workers' clubs claim to carry on a campaign against fascism and antisemitism, but state that this battle can only be won by allying with the American toiling masses.

The Jewish workers' clubs enulge the Soviet Union as a place of complete freedom and as a friend of the Jew, even though there have been many purges of Jews by Stalin. They openly state that the clubs support the Communist Party in the United States.

As early as 1934 these clubs claiming to have then 45 affiliated clubs in the United States had openly endorsed the Communist Party and its candidates for office and had pledged financial aid to same.

In a 42-page document issued by the clubs in support of the Communist Party campaign of 1934, it claimed that the first printing of the document totaled 40,000 copies and that many additional thousands would be printed and circulated in the United States.

H. I. Costrell, member of the Jewish Bureau of the Communist Party is the national secretary of the clubs. I. Goldberg is secretary of the New York big industrialists and bankers who publish lies about the Soviet Union. The and Young Women's Hebrew Associations as centers organized by the wealthy for office and had pledged financial aid to same.

The official organ of the Communist Party, the Daily Worker of January 6, 1934, carries a half page advertisement of the event of the tenth anniversary of that organ, in which many so-called workers' clubs which we understand are affiliates of the above clubs extended Communist revolutionary greetings and called for "on with the struggles," the following are listed among them:

"New York City clubs, Artef workers clubs, Bath Beach Workers Club, Boro Park Workers Club, Brighton Beach Workers Club, Bronx Workers Club, Brownsville Workers Club, Coney Island Workers Club, Downtown Workers Club, East New York Workers Club, East Side Workers Club, Hinsdale Workers Club, Jackson Workers Club, Jerome Workers Club, Mapleton Workers Club, Middle Bronx Workers Club, New Lots Workers Club, Prospect Workers Club, Vegetarian Workers Club, Williamsburg Workers Club, Workers Self-Education Club, White Plains Workers Club, Zukunft Workers Club (all New York City). Hirsch Leckert Workers Club, North West workers clubs, West Side Workers Club, M. Winehosky Workers Club (all of Chicago). Down Town Workers Club, Strawberry Mansur Workers Club, both of Philadelphia. Jewish Young Workers Club, Boston. Dorehester Workers Club, Roxbury Workers Club (Massachusetts). Baltimore Workers Club, Cleveland Workers Club, Los Angeles Workers Club, Minneapolis Workers Club, Newark Workers Club, New Brunswick Workers Club, Paterson (N. J.) Workers Club, Toledo Workers Club and the Five Star Youth Club, Washington, D. C.

At about this same time there was born in New York what was called the Associated Workers Clubs of New York, although some of them were in New Jersey. This claimed to have 26 affiliated movements in the United States.

It openly pledged (in 1934) itself in political solidarity with the Communist Party. A resolution adopted by its 1934 convention also pledged financial support to the party as well as moral and active support. The New Jersey Cultural Federation it was learned joined the above in action.

The World Jewish Congress barred five Communist Jews from the United States at its 1936 Congress. Those barred because they refused to participate in condemning Jewish Communists carrying on an action of agitation and turmoil among the Arabs and Jews in Palestine, were Rabbi Jacob Greenfield; William Weiner, president of the International Workers Order; Dr. Charles Kuntz, head of Icor; H. Upatshwisky of the Fur Workers Joint Board of New York City (C. I. O.); and Ruben Salzman, one of the International Workers Order leaders and a leader in the New York City circles of the Workers Alliance.

Party Organizer, No. 2, volume VIII, page 19, says: "That the Council of Jewish Working Women in district 6, were led into a bread strike and that this strike was linked up with the struggles in an effort to lower bread prices, using the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program in which it says "Roosevelt pays the capitalists to allow thousands of wheat acres to lie idle, charging \$1.50 tax per barrel flour, making us workers pay for it."

JEWISH PEOPLES' COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

(National headquarters, 1123 Broadway, New York City, National organ, Jewish People's Voice)

President, Ben Gold.

Secretary, William Weiner.

Executive secretary, Ephraim Schwartzman.

The Jewish Peoples' Committee Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism was organized in New York City in February 1938. It held a mass meeting for "unity" of all Jewish people March 12 and 13 at Mecca Temple, New York City. The meeting was endorsed by Corliss Lamont, John Howard Lawson, Joseph Brodsky, Prof. Morris R. Cohen, Dr. David Goldberg, A. Heller, John Haynes Holmes, Harry F. Ward, a few Congressmen and Senators. One of the Congressmen, however, said that his name had been used without authorization.

Ben Gold, president of this committee, is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party (Daily Worker, March 28, 1938). He has been active in Communist Party schools throughout the country, and has been a candidate on the Communist Party ticket for numerous positions on various occasions. He is a leader in 15 Communist organizations in the United States.

William Weiner, secretary of the committee, is president of the (Communist) International Workers Order. In 1932 he was a candidate for the central committee of the Communist Party.

It is evident that the Jewish People's Committee Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism was set up to pour oil on a burning issue, thus keeping it alive for the advantage of communism.

The sponsors' committee of the Jewish Peoples Committees, which it is called for short, included Joseph R. Brodsky, Joseph Freeman, Michael Gold, Dr. Isadore Held, A. A. Heller, John Howard Lawson (colored), Dr. J. Littinsky, Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, John L. Spivack, Louis Weinstock, and others. All but two of these are known Communists.

Their announcement praised the Soviet Union and condemned Al Smith, Father Coughlin, the World Jewish Congress, which had refused to seat a number of Jewish Communists in their last world congress in Europe. Yet it condemned anti-Semitism.

The organization states in its announcement that it is set up to carry on a boycott against Germany and to fight against nazi-ism and anti-Semitism in the United States of America.

The movement carries the endorsements of Governor Benson, of Minnesota; Prof. Morris Cohen, of the City College of New York; and others (these classifying themselves as progressive and liberals.).

ICOR

(Association for Jewish Colonization in Russia, Room 514, 799 Broadway, New York City)

ICOR was organized in 1928. Its official publication, a monthly magazine, is called Nailebn (New Life). This organization promotes an interest in Biro-Bidjan, the Jewish state in Russia. Ten Years of Biro-Bidjan, by S. Almasov, published by ICOR in 1938, carries the seal of the Communist Government of Russia, with the hammer and sickle scrolled thereon. The fact that Biro-Bidjan is not a free state is attested to in this document. In further proof of this we learn from dispatches dated June 1938 that 17 Jews were executed at the hands of firing squads in Biro-Bidjan by order of Dictator Stalin, who accused them of spying and sabotaging for a foreign government.

ICOR carries on in defense of Russia, and it describes the Soviet Government as being "different from that of any other in the world" in the treatment of minorities. It claims that the "October revolution" in Russia "emancipated the Jews," and that the "Soviet Government gave them land and freedom" and has made anti-Semitism outside the pale of the law." Immigration is limited to its requirements and ability to absorb.

In one year ICOR sent \$300,000 worth of machinery and tools to Biro-Bidjan. According to ICOR reports, Biro-Bidjan received \$600,000,000 in cash from the Soviet Government.

The delegates attending the tenth anniversary celebration of ICOR were addressed by Ambassador Troyanovsky, of Russia, and Congressman Coffee, of Washington. The latter was acting chairman of the celebration.

Professor Albert Einstein, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Vito Marcantonio (head of the International Labor Defense), Upton Sinclair, Congressman William J. Sirovich, and George Gordon Battle sent messages eulogizing Biro-Bidjan, the Soviet Government, and ICOR.

In a publication issued by ICOR in 1932 all Jews were called upon to "rally to the defense of the Soviet Union"; to "defeat the ignoble campaign of vile slander conducted by the black and yellow Jewish press, by the Zionists and Social-Fascists against the Soviet Union"; to "join the workers and peasants' front in the fight against the capitalists' front and its war machinations."

ICOR charged that the "Jewish masses in the land of the Soviets are threatened by the conspiracies of the capitalist front against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." It quotes Lenin as having said: "There are two fronts—on the one hand there are the workers and peasants, on the other the capitalists."

ICOR asked all Jews in America to "respond to this call with the greatest enthusiasm." The "call" was that of the World Antiwar Congress, sponsored by the Communists, at which the delegates made the following pledge (and urged others to do likewise):

"We swear to dedicate ourselves with all our resources to this direct and immediate task, to stand up against the campaign of propaganda and slander aimed at the Soviet Union, which we will not allow to be touched."

ICOR has condemned the Pope, Second International, Father Edmund C. Walsh, Matthew Woll, and Congressman Hamilton Fish as being "flunkeys of capitalism" and "all forces of reaction" in a "conspiracy of libel and slander against the Soviet Union." It referred to the Zionists as "Tammy Zionists." This would indicate that ICOR is pro-Communist, if not entirely Communist.

ICOR was, according to its own documents, organized in the United States in 1937 (Nailebin-Jewish Life, 1933). The announcement stated that its objectives would be "to present a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international Jewish scene, with special emphasis on the Jewish question and the national minority question in the United States; to educate the membership of the Communist Party and the Jewish masses generally in the fundamental aspects of the national and Jewish questions; to create a broad Jewish people's front as part of the American people's front, which will fight for Jewish rights and against discrimination and anti-Semitism; mobilize the Jewish workers and toilers to recognize their leading position in the Jewish community; to bring into the closest solidarity with the progressive movements and the oppressed minorities in the United States of America; to build the Communist Party among the Jewish masses, the party in the vanguard of socialism, which alone can fully and completely solve the problems of all national minorities."

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

The Communist movement among the Negroes in the United States is under the direction of the Communist Party of the United States and the National Negro Congress. The international organization is the Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, which is a section of the Red International of Labor Unions of Moscow. This movement, according to Economic Struggles of Negro Workers, by James W. Ford, national Communist Party leader of the Negroes, was started in the United States in 1920. Later the American section was called the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. In 1934 the following were its officers:

Langston Hughes, president.
 Harry Haywood, general secretary.
 James W. Ford, Mrs. Jessica Henderson, William L. Patterson, Robert Minor, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Hose Hart, vice presidents.
 Herman MacKawain, assistant secretary.
 Bernice DaCosta, recording secretary.
 Dr. Reuben S. Young, treasurer.
 Charles Alexander, director of education and international bureau.
 Louise Thompson, director of culture.
 Tom Truesdale, director of research.
 Leonard Patterson, director of youth activities.
 Williana Burroughs, director of women's activities.
 Harold Williams, director of defense.
 Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., editor, Negro Liberator.
 Merrill C. Work, manager, Negro Liberator.
 Steve Kingston, Henry Shepard, Dr. Arnold Donowa, James Moore, Rabbi Ben Goldstein, Mrs. Mary Craik Speed, Bonita Williams, Hanon Chan, James Allen, Cyril Briggs, William Fitzgerald, George Maddox, Maude White, Richard B. Moore, Eugene Gordon.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

New York: Joseph Brodsky, International Workers Order; Eleanor Henderson; Clarence Hathaway, Daily Worker; William Z. Foster, Trade Union Unity League; Robert Dunn, Labor Research Association; Irving Potash, Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union; Louis Weinstock, American Federation of Labor; Joseph Moore, Mechanics' Association of Harlem; B. D. Amis, Communist Party; Israel Anter, national committee, Unemployment Councils; Peter Uffre, Tobacco Workers of Harlem; Gladys Stoner, National Student Committee on Negro Student Problems; Earl Browder, Communist Party; Ruth Ruben, National Students League; Samuel Patterson, Caribbean Union; Myra Page; Louis Colman, International Labor Defense; James Toney, League of Struggle for Negro Rights; Gil Green, Young Communist League; William Burdell, League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

Southern section: Al Murphy, Share-Cropper' Union, Alabama; Rev. J. A. Morfen, Angelo Herndon Defense, Alabama; Jane Speed, International Labor Defense, Birmingham, Ala.; Angelo Herndon; Mrs. Ada Wright, Scottsboro Mother, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Mrs. Janie Patterson, Scottsboro Mother, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Attorney Pierson, Durham, N. C.; Anna Williams, Communist Party, Charlotte, N. C.; Bernard Ades, International Labor Defense, Baltimore, Md.; Gough McDaniels, high-school teacher, Baltimore, Md.; Macey, New Orleans railroad worker, New Orleans, La.; Manny Jackson, Savannah Longshoreman, Savannah, Ga.

Chicago: Robert P. Hall, Farmers' National Weekly, Chicago, Ill.; Herbert Newton, Communist Party; Claude Lightfoot, League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

Pennsylvania: Dr. Patterson, physician, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Tom Meyerscough, National Miners' Union, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Henry Wickman, Marine Workers, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ben Carruthers, Communist Party, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Detroit: Joe Billups, League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

Minnesota: Alfred Tiala, president, United Farmers' League, Chicago, Ill.

New England: Mrs. Cravath Simpson, Federation Women's Clubs, Boston, Mass.; Ann Burlak, National Textile Union.

California: Tom Mooney, San Quentin, Calif.; Loren Miller, journalist, Los Angeles, Calif.; Matt Crawford, San Francisco National Scottsboro Action Committee.

Buffalo: Manning Johnson, Communist Party.

Missouri: A. W. Berry, Communist Party, Kansas City, Mo.; Carrie Smith, Nut Pickers' Union, St. Louis, Mo.

Cleveland: Arthur Murphy, Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union.

STAFF OF THE NEGRO LIBERATOR

Editorial board: James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, William L. Patterson, Robert Minor, Samuel Patterson.

Contributing editors: Langston Hughes, Henri Barbusse, John L. Snyvak, Agnes Smedley, Eugene Gordon, Paul Peters, Angelo Herndon, Cyril Briggs, James Allen, Maude White, Ben Carruthers, Don West, Elizabeth Lawson, Louis Thompson, William Burroughs, Otto Buiswood, Bonita Williams, Louis Weinstock, James Yeargan.

The majority of those listed above, if not all of them, are Communists.

The organization calls for "class solidarity," and states that it organized the first American Negro Labor Congress which was held in St. Louis. (See *The American Negro*, by International Publishers, New York City, p. 28).

The Communists promise Negroes "self-determination in the black belts" of the country. These belts are indicated by maps, and of course include the districts heaviest populated by Negroes. Communists promise them "confiscation of land and industries from their white owners," and the "turning over of them to the Negroes." However, Communists announce that in Moscow that the American Negro is to be segregated into the black belts in Negro soviets but that "the Negro will not suspect the Communists" of doing that (from Third International Congress between the Fifth and Sixth).

In 1935 the "reds" maneuvered the Negro organizations into a united front movement in the United States. This they called the National Negro Congress. From the "official proceedings" of the Second National Negro Congress, held in Philadelphia October 15 to 17, 1937, we learn (p. 10) that the congress represented in "true spirit" the "united front." It also followed Communist lines in denouncing Japan, Germany, and Italy and the Franco (non-Communist) forces in Spain but not Russia and communism. It vigorously attacked Tom Girdler, the head of the Republic Steel Corporation, as the Communist Party has continued to do. It attacked the Liberty League, again taking the stand of the Communist Party. It called on all labor to "struggle for industrial democracy," which is a Communist slogan.

The report further stated that the Congress "marched in the van of the C. I. O." and "enlists organizers to join the C. I. O. forces," which is exactly what the Communist forces have been doing. It took up the defense of the Scottsboro Negroes, a pet hobby of the Communist Party. It called for reverence to the leaders of the "black revolution" in the eighteenth century.

Among those sending greetings to the Second National Negro Congress were John L. Lewis, of the C. I. O., Tom Mooney, from San Quentin Prison; and

I. Maximilian Martin, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Ben Gold (Communist), general president of the International Fur Workers' Union; and Walter Reuther, communistic president of Local 174, of the United Auto Workers Association. The American Labor Party also sent its greetings.

James Ford, Communist Negro leader and the perennial candidate for vice president of the United States on the Communist Party ticket, was the keynote speaker at the congress. Max Yergan, associate to the national secretary of the National Negro Congress, delivered the second major address. Yergan is allegedly an alien (South African). He is director of the International Committee on African Affairs; a writer for the official Communist organ, *Sunday Worker*; and cooperates with other Communist organizations. Philip Murray, C. I. O. official and leader of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committees, was the next speaker. He said the C. I. O. was open to men and women of any political belief, race, and creed. He cooperated with Communists in setting up the Fraternal Orders Committee.

The delegates to the congress protested to President Roosevelt and Postmaster General Farley because Negroes, it charged, are denied the rights and privileges of the Railway Mail Service, and that the union thereof discriminates against the Negroes in the Service. They also protested against so-called discrimination in the railway employees' unions, in gas, electric, water, city, streetcar, and other utilities.

Greetings from Negro Communists in the "red front" armies of Spain and from Espanol Martinez, Communist president of the Club Obrero, were read. Clarence Hathaway, editor of the official organ of the Communist Party, the *Daily Worker*, also addressed the Congress. Harry Ward, head of the Communist-Socialist front—the American League for Peace and Democracy—and S. C. Chang, of the Communistic organization, American Friends of the Chinese People, were among the speakers.

Resolutions of the Communist brand against war and fascism were adopted. Herbert Benjamin, Communist and general secretary-treasurer of the Workers' Alliance of America, the Communist-Socialist front among unemployed and relief workers, spoke, and the National Negro Congress adopted resolutions in line with its demands.

Edward E. Strong delivered an address on Negro Youth and the Right for Freedom and Equality. Strong is a member of the administrative committee of the American Youth Congress, the American League Against War and Fascism (now the American League for Peace and Democracy); a member of the organizing committee of the World Youth Congress; secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. He spoke of the Communist united front progress. Strong is the national youth chairman of the national Negro Congress.

The poems of Langston Hughes were read by Dorothy Gray. Hughes is a Communist leader and writer.

Henry Winston of the national executive committee of the Young Communist League and one of the editors of the Communist publication *New South* and also the *Young Communist Review*, addressed the gathering. He appealed to the delegates to follow the "red" line, saying: "We young Communists regard the peoples of all races and nations equally brothers." He damned Wall Street and called for a united front.

The congress adopted a resolution endorsing the (Communist) American Student Union's program and activities. It endorsed the communist-theist-free love institution, Commonwealth College, located at Mena, Ark. It called for the enactment of the Coffee bill to establish a Bureau of Fine Arts.

Greetings were also received from the (communistic) United Conference Against High Cost of Living, Donald Henderson, the communistic general president of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (C. I. O.), and from the Communist organized Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

Resolutions defending foreign born and objecting the deportations and so-called discriminations were adopted. There were 1,149 delegates attending the congress. They claimed to represent organizations with a combined membership of millions of Negroes.

The following is a list of officers who were elected at the congress:

A. Philip Randolph, president; Arthur Hoff Faust, Max Yergan, Charles Wesley Burton, W. H. Jernagin, Thyra Edwards, vice presidents; John P. Davis, national secretary; U. Simpson Tate, national treasurer; Gladys Stoner, national secretary.

Directors: DeWitt Alcorn, James Baker, Charlotte Brown, Matt Crawford, Charles W. Burton.

Executive board: B. D. Emis, A. W. Berry, Frank Crosswaith, James W. Ford, Albert Forsythe, Crystal Fauset, Angelo Herndon, Manning Johnson, A. W. Mayo, LeBron Simmons, Henry Johnson, W. H. Gordon.

With friendly Marxian and procommunist heads, such as Rudolph, Yergan, and others; with a national secretary who says he is willing to go down the line with Communists; and with an executive board composed almost entirely of Communists, it can be seen that the Communists have complete control over the National Negro Congress.

The congress held an All Southern Negro Youth conference in Chattanooga in April 1938. Edward Strong was also national executive secretary of that conference. It was reported that 355 delegates, representing organizations composed of 383,720 negroes, were in attendance. The program adopted concentrated on the southern aspect of the Negroes and was in keeping with the program and action of the National Negro Congress.

We assume that John P. Davis, who was elected national secretary of the National Negro Congress, is the same John P. Davis who also heads the Joint Committee for the Defense of Brazilian People; a member of the legal advisory committee of the (Communist) International Labor Defense, and a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. While Davis denies being a Communist, he says (report of the First National Negro Congress, p. 3): "I am willing to go down fighting for the rights of any negro to exercise his right to join the Communist Party."

The First National Negro Congress, held in Chicago, followed the Communist Party line, decrying all congressional bills aimed at the defeat of communism.

COMMUNISTS HOLD ALL-SOUTHERN CONVENTION

In the South those who join the Communist movement realize that such a change in sentiment as Communist plan, if it could be brought about, would give them actual domination of such States as South Carolina and Mississippi, where Negroes are numerically superior and could use their votes to especially good advantage. To many Southern Negroes, therefore, the cunningly devised picture of social and political equality is a vision of the Promised Land. They are even told that the plantations now belonging to the members of the white race will be divided up and given to them.

The profession of friendship by the Communist leaders for members of the Southern colored race are purely hypocritical. In Russia members of the Negro race do not have social equality. It is true that in Communist social festivities in the United States Negro youth are permitted to have white partners for the Communist dance, but this is done purely for propaganda purposes, and the white dance partners are nothing more or less than professional Communists acting as missionaries.

Therefore when men like Browder denounced C. I. O. leaders in the South for any discrimination which may appear against Negroes, the denunciation is for propaganda purposes only, for he works diligently for the C. I. O. in the North. The real plan of the Communist leaders is to establish "black" soviets in the South—something which can be nothing but segregation according to race and color.

The "red" leaders in the South as elsewhere are, so far as possible, using the C. I. O. movement wherever they can take advantage of it. They assert that unions must be organization without discrimination as to race and color—the poor, ignorant sharecropper is to take his place with the skilled white mechanic in the scheme for one grand socialist republic.

That this work of infiltration has gone beyond the talking stage is evident from the results. There are now "red" cells all through the South and they penetrate every industry. Wherever possible Negroes and whites are called into the same meeting—although of course no chance is taken if there is danger of offending "good prospects" among members of the white race.

The work in Dixie has progressed so far that a few weeks, June 1938, ago the Communists deemed it advisable to hold their first All Southern Conference of the Communist Party. Chattanooga was chosen as the place for the first meeting. One hundred and thirty-three delegates, it is reported, came from all parts of Dixie to hear Earl Browder, the national secretary of the Communist Party, and James W. Ford, head of the Negro section of the party. Most of the delegates were youth and about one-third of them were

Negroes. Communist sympathizers claim that the delegates represented a cross section of the 30,000,000 residents of the South. The soundness of this claim is, of course, open to doubt although the southern representatives of the central committee of the Communist Party says in the Daily Worker: "They traveled hundreds of miles in autos and trucks. They came from Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Virginia and represented 34 industries and occupations including mining, textile, electrical, common labor, metal, automobile, sharecroppers, clothing, farmers, mechanics, domestics, railroad, housewives, tobacco, farmer, power, chemical, teamster, radio, students, office workers, Government employees, social workers, anthropologists, architects, engineers, and newspaper reporters."

It was the announced purpose of the meeting to accelerate the work of the Communists in the South looking toward votes for the Negroes, freedom for the Scottsboro boys, and the organization of more powerful labor unions in the South. It is to be remembered that when the "reds" mention unions they are not referring to labor organizations as we have known them in the past, but to organizations which will agitate for the class struggle which will make America over as a Communist state.

Despite the fact that purely southern issues were kept in the forefront there was a reasonable amount of agitation for the Loyalists ("reds") in Spain and for the Chinese. This agitation, of course, was not predicated on any regard for Spanish or Chinese patriots, but was an agitation for Russian Communist control of both unhappy countries.

According to the "reds" themselves, 23 labor organizations were represented, 49 delegates coming from C. I. O. unions, 12 from the A. F. of L. and 20 from the Workers' Alliance and Farmers Union. Thirty-five of these delegates were trade-union officials. Both sexes were represented at the Chattanooga meeting. There were 40 women delegates, both Negroes and whites.

The efforts to play up to the Negroes of the South can be gathered from the following quotation from Browder's speech:

"I have paid attention to certain tendencies to carry over in C. I. O. work against Negro discrimination. What can be our attitude on such a question? How can we meet it? Everyone must understand that any official in the C. I. O. who gives expression to discrimination against Negroes is violating the national policy of the C. I. O. and not expressing it."

It was the expressed determination of the meeting to carry forward the "red" penetration of the South during the next 12 months with renewed vigor. Delegates from various States expressed satisfaction with the amount of "red" progress that has been made to date. For example, one textile worker delegate from Alabama reported that while he had only been a member of the Communist Party for 3 weeks, he had recruited 11 new members, and he added that the work was making rapid strides through the attempts to organize the textile workers in a labor union. This delegate said the movement was growing fast and that a full city ticket would be put in the field at the next election.

A new Communist weekly organ has recently been launched for the South, circulating from Chattanooga, the scene of the convention described above.

SCOTTSBORO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A good example of one of the united fronts in the United States is the Scottsboro Defense Committee. Connected with this organization, one finds the American Civil Liberties Union, the (Communist) International Labor Defense, the (Socialist) League for Industrial Democracy, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, the National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. In addition, there are representatives of scores of other organizations on the official list of the Scottsboro Defense Committee.

The national chairman of this committee is the Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, head of the Church League for Industrial Democracy; member of the advisory board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation; executive committee of the War Resisters League; sponsor of the Emergency Peace Campaign, and a member of the sponsoring committee for the testimonial dinner given in honor of Norman Thomas in 1936.

Morris Shapiro, secretary of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, is a member of the board of directors, New York City chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy; national committee, Workers' Defense League; and a Socialist Party candidate for office in New York in 1936.

William Jay Schieffelin, treasurer of the committee, was a member of the board of directors of the United Russian Relief, Inc.; World Alliance for International Friendship; signer, letter supporting right of Communist (SI Gerson) to hold New York City position, 1938.

THE ANTI-FASCIST ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

The Anti-Fascist Alliance of America was organized in this country in 1922. Its membership is composed of Italians in the United States who are opposed to Mussolini. The alliance cooperates with the Communist forces. It has a large following among the laboring elements and small Italian merchants. It is organized in 15 cities, including Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and San Francisco. In 1933 it was suspected of being the source from which bombs were sent through the mails and via express to diplomatic agents of Italy in the United States.

GIROLANIO VALENTI

Valenti was born April 16, 1892, at Valguarnera, Italy. His father was the owner of a sulphur mine. He attended elementary school in Valguarnera, and high school and college at Catania, Italy. Valenti came to the United States in 1911. He organized left-wing Italian Socialist Federation in New York City in 1913. He assisted in organizing the left-wing (C. I. O.) Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (union). In 1917-19 he was editor of the left-wing socialist publication, *Avanti*. In 1919 he edited *La Folla*, and in 1921 edited *La Parola del Popolo*. From 1923 to 1939 Valenti participated in a number of left-wing strikes in New York City. He was the author of *Dobs—A Political Prisoner* (1920), *Third International* (1929), and *Italian Socialist Labor Year Book* (1923 and 1924).

On page 78 of the *American Labor Year Book*, volume V, the following statement is made:

"The convention of the Amalgamated and the Cap Makers in 1922 and 1923 went on record in favor of the formation of an inclusive Labor Party. * * * The contributions of the needles trades to the radical organizations have been for the last 2 years as generous as any in their history, if not more. Besides the heavy contributions to Russian and European war sufferers * * * the *Avanti*, an Italian labor daily, received close to \$10,000 up to the 1922 convention of the Amalgamated and the International, while the Furriers, during their strike, were given \$30,000. * * * The needle trade unions in 1922 and 1923 again reaffirmed their demands for recognition of Russia. * * * The Amalgamated referred to the executive board a resolution calling for unity of the two internationals, the Amsterdam and the 'red.'"

On page 134 this statement is found:

"The Socialist Party collected up to October 1922, for Russian relief fund, a total of \$6,453.18. * * * The convention condemned the Fascisti (of Italy) and endorsed the work of the Anti-Fascisti Alliance of America. * * *"

On page 218 the following statement is made:

"On March 9 and 10, 1929, an International Anti-Fascist Bureau was founded at a congress in Berlin of about 250 representatives of anti-Fascist groups in some 20 countries. Henri Barbusse, French Communist writer, was made president."

In 1930 Valenti was a member of the Committee for the Support of *Il Nuovo Mondo*, the campaign publication issued in behalf of Sacco-Vanzetti. This publication was financed by the "red" Garland fund (American fund for public service). On this committee were Louis F. Budenz, now editor of the *Midwest Communist* daily; Dr. Charles Fama; Heywood Brown; Vito Marcantonio, Communist candidate for Congress, 1936; and A. J. Muste. Valenti has been a member of the International Committee for Political Prisoners.

It has been announced recently through the *New York Times* news columns that Girolanio Valenti is arranging to launch another Italian language daily in New York City and that with him in the venture is Vito Marcantonio, head of the Communist International Labor Defense and who was in 1936 a candidate for Congress on the Communist Party ticket.

Valenti is a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy and officiated at its last convention (1937).

PROGRESSIVE WOMEN'S COUNCIL, 80 EAST ELEVENTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

The membership of the Progressive Women's Council has not been learned. It has many local councils in the United States which participate in various Communist activities. It is particularly active in the American League for Peace and Democracy. It appears that the council is closely allied with the women's division of the Communist Party. The publication of this movement is the Voice of the Council.

The president of the Progressive Women's Council is Mrs. Clara Schavelsok. Rose Nelson is secretary. Among its leading members are Roe Chaikin, branch 38; Mrs. H. Mandel, branch 7; Ruth Ehrlich, branch 36; Mrs. Gottlieb, branch 29; Rebecca Tenenbaum, branch 5; L. Marr, branch 32; Frances Alper, branch 14; Jenny Truchman, New York City; Mrs. Pucoff, branch 8; Mrs. Baum, branch 17; Mrs. Levinson, branch 33; Mrs. Nathanblut, branch 33; Mrs. Bernatsky, branch 33; Mrs. Sonia Laye, branch 38; Mrs. Resnick, branch 48; Mrs. Plumenkrantz, branch 48; Mrs. Posner, branch 67; Mrs. Rosenfeld, branch 68; and Mrs. Wolpert, branch 50.

The activities of the council include the raising of funds for the Spanish "red front" and the carrying on of a campaign to lift the embargo against the Spanish "red front." It maintains a camp, Camp Wochica. It is also actively engaged in agitating against the high prices of food. It supports a move for lower rents, gas and electric rates, etc. It is raising funds to aid the returned veterans of the Spanish "red front" army.

NATURE FRIENDS OF AMERICA

(National headquarters: 11 West 18th St., New York City)

Nature Friends of America was organized in Austria in 1895 as a "hiking club," but it has broadened its scope of activity to include workers' education and country camps. It is organized in 21 countries, and operates over 400 camps in those countries, including the United States. Many of its branches have organized groups specializing in music, dramatics, dancing, film and photo making, and chess. Nature Friends offer lectures on political and economic subjects and on various scientific topics. Young workers and students of the ages of 15 to 20 are organized into Nature Friends Youth sections. Nature Friends Scouts was formed for the benefit of the children of workers living in cities. Workers are urged "not to send their children to semimilitaristic organizations, and instead send them to the Nature Friends Scouts."

Nature Friends of America are located in the following cities: New York City, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, Stamford, Philadelphia, Allentown, Gary, Syracuse, Rochester, Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Oakland.

Nature Friends organizations are cooperating with Communist movements throughout the United States.

COMMUNIST PARTY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

(National headquarters: 51 West 14th St., New York City)

The official organ of the Communist Party, United States of America (opposition), is the Workers' Age. This organization maintains local sections in every part of the country. It is in favor of the Communist International and the Soviet Government, but not the present leaders thereof. It maintains Communist schools in the large cities. The principal one is the New Workers' School, 51 West Fourteenth Street, New York City. It welcomes the expelled members of the Foster-Browder group in the United States, in addition, of course, to any new recruits. It disclaims any Trotskyism, and as roundly denounces him as do the Foster-Browder followers. The leaders of this group are Jay Lovestone, former head of the Foster-Browder group; Bertram Wolfe; Benjamin Gitlow; and others expelled from the Third International at the order of Stalin.

The following is quoted from What Is the Communist Opposition, by Bertram Wolfe (p. 50):

"The Communist Party of the United States (opposition) is a part of the Communist movement in the United States and of the international Communist movement. It stands for the reunification of the Communist Party of the United States of America and for the reunification of the Communist

International. Its differences with the official leadership are not differences of basic principles nor fundamental aims."

The school of the Communist Party (opposition) is the Marxist School, located at 116 University Place, New York City. It was organized "to educate militants of the class struggle in the principles of Marxism in order to make them better fighters for socialism." The instructors are John G. Wright, Robert Graves, Maurice Spector, Max Schachtman, and James P. Cannon. J. Carter is the director.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—MAJORITY

(National offices: 63 Marson St., New York City)

This is the Lovestone-Gitlow group which was expelled by order of the Third International from the main party, of which they were leaders. It was founded in July 1929. The organization while small is quite active. Revolutionary Age is its official organ. On several occasions this publication has been barred from the mails. Leaders include Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, Will Herberg, Jack Rubenstein, Bertram D. Wolfe, Herberg Zam, Charles Zimmerman, William Miller, J. O. Bentall, C. W. Bixby, Ellen Dawson, Bert Miller, W. J. White, H. Pires, and Frank Vrateric.

THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

(National headquarters: 84 East 10th St., New York City)

The Communist League of America is the American section of the Fourth International, set up by the Leon Bronstein (alias Trotsky) group of the Communist Party in Geneva, June 10, 1934.

The Fourth International and its section in the United States are former leaders in the Third International, its American section, and of the Soviet Government. They contend that the Stalinites have misinterpreted the Communist Manifesto, as well as Lenin's theories, and are out to upset the Third International and the Soviet regime now in power, if possible, as well as all non-Communist governments. They are in agreement in all things, with the exception of these interpretations.

The Communist League of America maintains national offices in New York City. It has branches established in all sections of the country. Its publishing house is the Pioneer Publishers, 84 East Tenth Street, New York City, although it endorses and circulates many of the works published by the International Publishers, the publishing house of the Stalin section. Its organ is the Militant.

James P. Cannon is leader of the group in the United States. He is assisted by Martin Ahern, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck, and Max Schachtman.

INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST LABOR LEAGUE

(National offices: 131 West 33d St., New York City)

The Independent Communist Labor League is a rather new movement in the United States. It is absolutely a Communist organization, in line with its interpretation of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but it is extremely anti-Stalin. It held its first national convention in New York City early in July 1938. It is pro-Soviet, but is opposed to the present administration in Russia. The league has all the ideals of all other Communist groups, i. e., the destruction of the American system of government and the setting up of a Soviet regime.

AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

This movement is led by A. J. Muste and a group of left-wingers. While it claimed to have no Communist connections it united with the Communist League of America under the above name, adding "of U. S. A."

The program adopted by the organization was in line with the ideals of Lenin, Trotsky, and Marx. It claimed to be more militant than the Stalinist movement in the United States of America.

Prof. Sidney Hook, of Columbia University, was one of the organizers of the new movement.

PROLETARIAN PARTY

(National headquarters: 132S West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.)

The Proletarian Party is another Communist movement. It was founded in June 1920. John Keracher was selected leader of the organization, and he continues to act in that capacity. It is localized in the Middle West around Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and is of limited force. It swears allegiance to the Soviet, Third International, and the Communist Manifesto.

PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat is an organized labor-union movement affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow. It operates in Latin and South America, China, and Australia. American Communist Party leaders have been responsible for its guidance. The secretariat has been active in agitating and leading many serious strikes, which often resulted in revolutions in Latin and South American countries. The organ of this movement is called the Pan-Pacific Weekly published in California. The membership of the secretariat has been estimated at approximately \$75,000.

THE FRATERNAL ORDERS COMMITTEE

The Fraternal Orders Committee was organized during a Pittsburgh convention of Communists early in 1937 for the purpose of organizing all radical fraternal groups into a "united front" to aid and support the Lewis C. I. O. labor movement. The national headquarters of the committee are located at 1209 Commonwealth Building, 316 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. B. K. Gebert, a Communist, is national chairman; Henry Rath, vice chairman; J. Gasunas, treasurer; George Wolkovich, secretary. National sponsoring organizations are the (Communist) International Workers Order and the (Socialist) Workingmen's Sick Benefit Federation, the extreme radical left-wing movements, the Croatian Fraternal Union, National Slovak Society, Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union, Slovak Evangelical Union, Supreme Lodge of Lithuanians of America, Cooperative Distributors, Inc., Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokol, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Federation of Croatian Clubs, Slovak League of America, United Ukrainian Tanners, South Slavonic Catholic Union, Association of Lithuanian Workers, Greek Workers Educational Federation, and the American Lithuanian Workers Literary Association. The Fraternal Orders Committee will also carry on a fight against the deportation of radical aliens, the discharge of radicals for so-called union activities, and against company unions and industrial spies. It will support equal rights of Negroes, so-called civil liberties, and the C. I. O. union movement.

THE C. I. O.

As to the labor angle of the Communist movements in the United States, it formerly handled all of its activities through its own and independent unions.

According to the American Labor Year Book (1930 and 1931), the "Trade Union Unity League" an American section of the Red International of Labor Unions with headquarters in Russia, had in the United States at those dates, the following widely organized unions.

1. National Miners Industrial Union.
2. Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.
3. National Textile Workers Union.
4. Metal Workers Industrial League.
5. Marine Workers Industrial Union.
6. Office Workers Union.
7. Lumber Workers Industrial Union.
8. Sugar Beet Workers Union.
9. Building Trades Industrial League.
10. Auto Workers Industrial Union.
11. Printers and Publishers Industrial League.
12. Packing House Workers Industrial League.
13. Railroad Workers Industrial League.
14. Mine, Oil and Smelter Workers Industrial League.

15. Shoe, Leather Workers Industrial League.
16. Food Workers Industrial Union.
17. Furniture Workers Industrial Union.
18. Tobacco Workers Industrial Union.
19. National Unemployed Councils.

and "cells" in 312 other (independent of the A.F.L.), industrial unions in the United States. The report of the last national Convention of the Trade Union Unity League placed the membership of their unions at 125,000, in the United States. The Unity League was headed by Wm. Z. Foster, also head of the Communist Party. Many of their leaders have been active in C.I.O. activities.

Today it is dealing through the C.I.O. in the United States and through the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat with offices in California, possibly Carmel-by-the-Sea, it is handling all of the Latin and South American activities. The Pan-Pacific Union Secretariat claims over 800,000 members in its unions in southern countries. More detailed reports of their activities from year to year may be found in the American Labor Year Book from 1932 back. It shows that most of the revolts in those countries were directed by that organization, which is directed by the Communist Party of the United States of America but which admits to be a branch of the Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow.

It is no longer necessary to put up much evidence to prove that the C. I. O. and its political wings in our country are penetrated, if not practically dominated by communists. Events that have taken place within the past year have proven this to the general public and scores of C. I. O. leaders have themselves quit denying the fact and in many instances have finally openly admitted this to be a true fact. But as a matter of record, it is our belief that a short history of the origin of the "sit-down" strike methods and of the plan of "industrial unionism" would be wholesome. We intend therefore to trace events chiefly from a communist angle to show that the "sit-down strike" idea was born in Russia during the communist revolutionary drive to destroy private ownership, free initiative of workers, and the then existent government. We expect to show by documentary references, that the "industrial union" idea was born among the minds of the Industrial Workers of the World and Communists and that Moscow has not only "planned it" that America shall be swallowed up by such theory and plan, but that the Communists have, over a period of years, led the drive to force the destruction of the American Federation of Labor, American industry, and the American Government and to shackle American labor with the chains of communism.

While we will quote chiefly from communist documents and orders from Moscow, we will also use the words of Mr. John L. Lewis, the present head of the C. I. O., to prove many of our points and to show that Mr. Lewis, himself, is therefore not wholly ignorant of the facts.

We expect to show that immediately on order of the Third International of Moscow in 1933, that the Communists in the United States began to dump 125,000 members of their communist national labor unions (numbering then 24 or more) which were welded together under the name of the "Trade Union Unity League," into the locals of the American Federation of Labor, where they organized themselves into what they termed "American Federation of Labor rank and file committees" and then began their efforts to undermine the leadership of those locals and the national officers of the American Federation of Labor and to promote the theory of "industrial unionism" and that they unloaded some 100,000 more into the farm movements in the United States, especially in the sharecropper movements which they had much to do with organizing originally and influenced certain powerful left-wing independent unions to cooperate in the Communist scheme of things, that finally a break came about, forced by the Communists, after American Federation of Labor leadership held the lines against the "reds" within and that this break brought about the birth of the C. I. O.

One would expect that the Communists would be thoroughly satisfied with the entire present set up of the C. I. O., but a communist is never satisfied with anything. They tear down as rapidly as they build up. One has only to look to present-day happenings in Russia to learn that. They tore down two governments there, the government of the Tsar and then that of the Kerensky Republic; they set up a communist soviet system and a great many of them began immediately to undermine it. Communism teaches above all to destroy. They have been destroying one another so rapidly that the estimated dead in Russia has reached a figure of over 15,000,000 from the beginning of the revo-

lution there. Today the communists in the United States of America are striving as hard to gain absolute control of all the locals of the C. I. O. (they already control many) as they were striving to gain control of the A. F. of L. prior to the birth of the C. I. O. The C. I. O. is therefore what communists refer to as a "united" or "popular front" movement of "left-wing movements in the U. S. A."

We will introduce further in this statement documentary references to show these facts. We understand another witness has already shown that Communists are plenty in the C. I. O. ranks, and that they do already control many of the C. I. O. locals and organizing jobs. We will show that in some sections where they do not yet control they maintain "rank and file committees" within them which are undermining the C. I. O. leadership of these particular unions and locals so as to gain control and that they are vigorously active in an effort to keep left-wing labor in active struggles.

That "industrial unionism" (C. I. O.) is nothing less than the theory and tactics of Leninism transferred from the soil of Russia to the soil of the United States is plain to anyone who can read facts and think.

Just as Lenin, by his crusade of class hatred and glittering promises to the masses of Russia, agitated them to class violence against employers (so-called capitalists) and eventually against the system of the then existing Government of Russia, so is the Lewis C. I. O. industrial unionism, accompanied by the left-wing political crusades sweeping the United States today.

That Leninism was not in fact a labor movement for the benefit of labor, but for the building up of a vast left-wing class political machine which Lenin by following the Marx Communist Manifesto, manufactured and used to gain control of the Government for himself and his immediate Communist clique, which threw a vicious minority-controlled dictatorship over the entire people including those he had so cunningly used as his army in bloody civil war by misleading them, through his silver-tongued oratory, mass propaganda, and agitation to believe that they, the workers, were to become the sole rulers of a universe; that they, the workers, were to change places with the rich and well-to-do; that they, the workers, were to enjoy a more abundant life by such a change as he proposed, and that they, the workers were to enjoy greater freedom, is plainly evident to all but a few who refuse to think for themselves. It is plainly evident that C. I. O.'ism in the United States of America is following that same plan.

WORKERS ENSLAVED IN RUSSIA

Russia today is the sad example of an ignorant people who were swayed by such a cunning and conspiring crusader, shadowing his real purposes beneath a humanitarian label. Millions have since died of starvation; thousands have since been mowed down before firing squads for dissenting after they awakened to the truth, all who survive have been shackled for life by the chains of organized slavery. The workers who followed Lenin have awakened to find they have no rights; they have no abundant life; they have no freedom; that they were fooled.

Lewisism in the United States is unquestionably an effort at the repetition of Leninism. Beginning with the nucleus of a labor movement it has rapidly developed into a vast political machine. Scores of United States Senators and Representatives have been notified that they are to be defeated for standing in the path of this machine. As to the politicians who have been jumping through for the Lewisites and bending their efforts toward helping the C. I. O. establish a foothold in America, Harry Bridges, the alien Lewis-Leninite leader on the west coast has said, "Our policy is one of class struggle. Our policy is that we have nothing in common with employers. There will come a time when there isn't any employing class any more, and we subscribe and look forward to that day. We'll use the politicians as long as they aid us, otherwise we will fight them. We support the C. I. O." (Speech, Seattle, Wash., April 1937). That statement in itself is pretty descriptive of the entire C. I. O. machine and theory.

C. I. O. POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Just as Lenin set up his first political machine, the workers and soldiers councils; a combination left wing laborers into red labor unions on the industrial union plan; the unemployed councils and the agrarian movements in Russia, which were later transformed into a Communist political party in Russia, so is Lewisism building its machine in the United States today. With the C. I. O.

labor movement; the Workers Alliance (unemployed councils); and the national farmer movement headed by the communistic leader, Donald Henderson; with the leagues and unions of radical middlemen already swelling the Lewis labor political machine; the Labor Non-Partisan League; the American Labor Party, the Communist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party, and the Commonwealth Federation, are all active in a major attempt to swing the control of government to the Lewis forces.

Every tactic and every theory so far emanating from the combined Lewis and other left-wing factions in the United States and all that has occurred so far in the Lewis crusade, points to the assurance that the C. I. O. movement is merely a cog in a wide political plan of left-wingers and not solely a labor movement in the interest of the individual workers of our Nation. The worker, it is apparent, is to become only a pawn in a great left-wing political game, through which, if history is repeated, he will eventually find his master to be a ruthless dictatorial clerk in control over him. Many laborers see this. The American laborer is of a higher standard than those that Lenin dealt with, that's why so many of them have refused to be hoodwinked into the C. I. O. That's why there has been virtually a civil war between workers themselves, the Lewisites on the one side and the anti's on the other. The present battle is of historical importance to every living American. It is not merely a contention between employers and workers. It is a drive on the part of Lewisites for dictatorial control over the American worker and the American Government.

SIT-DOWN STRIKES AND TERRORISM

The sit-down epidemic was not just another Mahatma Gandhi sbirt-tail sit-down escapade. It took on such a serious and dangerous turn in the United States that it was not such a comedy.

When 300 out of 11,000 employees of a caterpillar tractor plant in a small city such as Peoria, Ill., seize a \$40,000,000 privately owned establishment and turn it into a "fortress," locking out 10,700 men who had a desire and need for work when a possible 300 secretly organized workers in the Ford plant seized and locked out thousands more by remaining after quitting time and welding the gates to the factory, and when a Governor of a State, according to a State legislature was in collusion with a group which invades and stages the sit-down strikes in State legislatures, as in Minnesota, forcing the legislature to bow to its will, and when such a vicious epidemic sweeps into every nook and corner of a Nation so large in area and population as the United States, reaching into the schools, hospitals, mercantile, transportation, garbage collectors, grave diggers, food, wet nurses, Federal and State relief agencies, ship-building, legislatures, and all basic industries, it became more than a Gandhi burlesque and incited the attention of the most liberal citizen who had any semblance of patriotism and pride left within his blood stream.

BOMBINGS AND TERRORISM

It was perfectly natural to expect the widespread terrorism accompanied with the open and flagrant violation of Federal and State laws, interference with mails, and railroad traffic, kidnapings, bombings, killings, etc., which followed the illegal sit-down tactics used in C. I. O. sit-down strikes. For with the red leadership it was natural that there would be the illegal seizure of property campaign, the refusal to permit other workers to exercise their own rights of freedom and that the courts of our land and the defense divisions of our governments would be disregarded, if not used in some instances by weakening politicians to help the violators.

Because of the serious aspect of the entire affair, there was a definite crystallization of public sentiment against the methods used in radical labor circles and for the C. I. O. "reds" efforts to force all organized and unorganized labor of the Nation into "industrial unions." There also arose speculation as to where these sit-down strike tactics were incubated.

STRIKE TACTICS HATCHED IN RUSSIA

Some writers laid the origin of the sit-down method to the doorsteps of the communist-socialist-syndicalist-republican front movement existant at the time in France. Others laid it at the doors of the communists in Moscow, while some pointed to the communist waged sit-down strike epidemic in Italy in 1920. All of these versions were correct. The writer finds that in the

prerevolutionary stage of the Bolshevik conflict in Russia these methods were used, being termed then "stay-in" strikes. On June 12, 1903, the particular method began to sweep Russia after the success of Bolsheviks by these methods in St. Petersburg, Russia, where 75 militant Bolsheviks, led by a Sergei Malyshev, invaded the chambers of the City Duma from the two opposite chamber doors holding the members of the City Duma Council hostages for hours during a sit-down strike of so-called "unemployed" which has been organized by the Bolsheviks under the name of the "Unemployed Councils of St. Petersburg," with cooperation of the Technicians and Engineers Union. This same adaptation occurred in Minneapolis in 1936, where organized unemployed sat until seven millions of dollars were appropriated from the State's coffers for them. From Russia the sit-down method of forcing their demands spread to China, Germany, Holland, Italy, France and finally to the United States. It is true that there were two or three earlier, but isolated cases of sit-down strikes in the United States a few years following, these incited by Industrial Workers of the World, but never had this epidemic been as general in the United States before as during the C. I. O. epidemic. In March 1914, the Industrial Workers of the World staged sit-down strikes in three churches in New York City, possibly the first and only time most of them had ever seen inside a church (for an Industrial Worker of the World was not a religionist), most of them sat in with hats and caps on. These sit-downs were allegedly slated to force handouts and they occurred in the old First Presbyterian, the St. Marks Episcopal, and St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Churches in New York City in succession on the same day. The leader of the Industrial Workers of the World sit-down strikers, it is alleged, was Frank Tannenbaum, then a self-styled Industrial Worker of the World and ex-convict but said to be the same Dr. Frank Tannenbaum who is of Columbia University of New York today. It will be recalled that the communist-socialist unemployed organizations in the United States also staged sit-down strikes in the State legislative chambers of Wisconsin and New Jersey in 1936 following their seizure of those chambers by force. Sit-down strikes were also engaged in at Federal relief headquarters in Washington, D. C., New York, and in other centers in 1937. The radical socialist-communist-pacifist front American Youth Congress also staged a sit-down in front of the White House in Washington, D. C.

C. I. O. LAUDED RED TACTICS

It is alleged that one of the C. I. O.'s highest officials, Sidney Hillman, in his report to his own Marxian theoried labor union in Chicago convention in 1922, threw some light on the subject so as to back up the writer in his charge that Italy, too, had its terroristic "sit down" strikes when communism was rife there. Mr. Hillman said of his study of the strike methods in Italy: "In Rome I was doubly welcome. The secretary of the Metal Workers Union gave me a letter, the only key to open the gates of the factory. With my Italian comrades I landed in front of the factory, which looked attractive because of the fine red flag which adorned the building and the red sentinel who was keeping watch. I stayed for lunch with the members of the factory council. The council took me through the factory. The first thing that attracted my attention was a series of inscriptions on the walls, including the Soviet emblem." (Proceedings, 1922, Convention, p. 426, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.)

Hillman, it is alleged, was bounced out of the American Federation of Labor convention in Nashville along with other extreme left-wingers, following which he organized his present left-wing union, which is one of the major links in the C. I. O. chain. It is understood that at the second convention of the Hillman union, the industrial union idea was ushered into the labor circles in the United States by William Z. Foster, then an Industrial Worker of the World, which had its *id est* (I. W. W.) tried to establish in the United States of America. Foster is the present national leader of the Communist Party of the United States and a member of the Presidium (highest body) in the Third (Communist) International of Moscow and wrote much of the agitational propaganda for the C. I. O. drive.

THE SMELL OF MOSCOW

Other methods of the C. I. O. movement in the United States today also have earmarks of the Moscow plan: such as the formation of workers' committees in each plant, which committees are charged with working secretly,

organizing enough key workers in a plant to tie up the entire industry in a spontaneous strike and the method of "outcasting" those who show any inclination to not want to strike, join or pay dues in the movement. These methods were all used in Moscow in the pre-revolutionary stage. Gaining their objectives in the first "sit down" strike of the so-called unemployed movement in St. Petersburg, the Communists forced the Duma (city council) to recognize them as the sole bargaining agency. They set up friendly committees which controlled all settlements of grievances and awards of favors to workers, making awards only to those who became their followers, forcing all who were not sided with them to starve and to do without. This program has now been fully adopted by the C. I. O. They force all workers in an industry to join them, pay dues, or suffer unemployment or harassment. There has been machinery set up which the American Federation of Labor claims favors the C. I. O. in settlement of disputes.

One will therefore note the great similarity between the tactics of Communists in Russia in pre-revolutionary days and in the tactics used in America by the C. I. O. today.

LEWIS CHARGES COMMUNISM

If the writer were to alone charge that the theory of this C. I. O. labor movement that has been seriously disturbing our nation in an announced purpose of organizing all labor into industrial unions, independent and in opposition to the American Federation of Labor and to build a powerful revolutionary political machine, is the fruit of the conspiring minds of International Workers of the World's and Moscow-directed and controlled Communists, he would be immediately labeled a "red baiter," a "fascist," and an "enemy of labor." Consequently, the writer will quote John L. Lewis, the leader of the C. I. O. movement, who has himself made these charges. These are contained in a 46-page document, printed by the United States Government Printing Office by order of the United States Senate, Sixty-eighth Congress, first session, known as Document No. 14, and entitled "Attempt by Communists to Seize the American Labor Movement," the contents of which were prepared by Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers Union, now leader of the C. I. O. and its left-wing political movement which has assumed such proportions in our country, which has split away from the American Federation of Labor and allied itself with independent left-wing movements fostering the industrial union plan chiefly through the now unpopular "sit down" strikes and coercion and which movements are admittedly penetrated by Communists and has taken on ugly political slants.

A MOSCOW CONSPIRACY

Charging through the above medium that Communists were promoting the "industrial union" plan on "orders from Moscow", that it was being "financed by Moscow" and setting forth dates and large amounts of moneys flowing into the nation from Moscow for such purpose, Mr. Lewis stated in part 12 years ago: years ago:

"The purpose and object of the United Mine Workers of America in bringing to the attention of the American people the far-reaching and intensive activities of the Communist organization in this country is twofold. The United Mine Workers of America wants the public to know what this thing is. It wants the public to know something about the fight which the miners' union is waging to stamp it out. First, it desires to reveal and make known the sinister and destructive groups and elements attempting to 'bore from within' its own ranks and membership and to seize possession of the organization, and through such seizure, to later gain possession of all legitimate trade-unions; second, to inform the American people of the scope and purport of the hostile and inimical movement being carried on within their midst.

"Imported revolution is knocking at the door of the United Mine Workers of America and of the American people. The seizure of this union is being attempted as the first step in the realization of a thoroughly organized program of the agencies and forces behind the Communist International at Moscow for the conquest of the American continent.

"The overthrow and destruction of this Government, with the establishment of an absolute and arbitrary dictatorship, and the elimination of all forms of popular voice in governmental affairs, is being attempted on a more gigan-

tic scale, with more resolute purpose, and with more crafty design, than at any time in the history of this Nation.

"The Communist regime at Moscow, bent on world conquest, is promoting and directing one of the best organized and most far-reaching campaigns in America that any country has ever been confronted with. The Communist organization on the American continent is composed of more than 6,000 active leaders and lieutenants, and approximately 1,000,000 members, adherents and sympathizers, scattered in every State and Province of the United States and Canada, and who are actively or tacitly promoting the scheme to import Bolshevism and Sovietism to this side of the Atlantic."

"The major points in this revolutionary program of the Communists as aimed against the United Mine Workers of America and other legitimate trade-unions and the people of the United States and Canada are:

"1. Overthrow and destruction of the Federal, State and Provincial Governments, with the elimination of existing constitutional forms and foundations.

"2. Establishment of a Soviet dictatorship, absolute in its exercise of power, owing allegiance to, and conceding the authority only of the Communist, or Third International, at Moscow, as a 'governmental' substitute.

"3. Destruction of all social, economic, and political institutions as they exist exist at this time.

"4. Seizure of all labor unions through a process of 'boring from within' them, and utilizing them as a strategic instrument in fulfillment of their revolutionary designs upon organized and constitutional government.

"5. Invasion of the United Mine Workers of America, with the ouster of its present officials and leaders and the substitution of a leadership of Communists, that it may be used as an instrumentality for seizing the other labor unions of America, and for eventually taking possession of the country.

"6. A well-organized movement is being promoted within the 4 railroad brotherhoods and 16 railroad trade-unions to amalgamate all railroad workers into 'one departmentalized INDUSTRIAL UNION,' controlled by a single leader of Communist principle and affiliation, and owing allegiance to the Communist organization.

"7. Seizure of the American Federation of Labor, with the ouster of its officials, and through such seizure gaining control of all its affiliated units and trade-unions.

"8. Conversion of all craft trade-unions into single units of workers within an industry known as "industrial unions," with coordination under a super-Soviet union owing allegiance to, and accepting the mandates of, the Communist International and its subsidiary, the Red Trade Union International, at Moscow.

"9. Through conquest and subjugation of the labor unions, and conversion and mobilization of farmers and other related groups, the overthrow of existing institutions, and the creation of a condition similar to that which now prevails in Russia."

C. I. O. ADOPTED RED PLAN

To those who read and compare the above Lewis exposure with the present day C. I. O. industrial union drive, it must be evident that number 5 of the above is being fully carried out now by the C. I. O. and the miners union, its affiliate, which are seizing other labor unions and using communistic tactics. Hooked to it is the Labor's Nonpartisan League, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Communist and Socialist Parties, the American Labor Party, an analysis of the latter shows it to be Russian-Marxian-C. I. O. controlled, and the Commonwealth Party. The C. I. O. must therefore have its eye on the ultimate possession of the Government.

Mr. Lewis, in an effort to emphasize the importance of his own statements, said, "The menace of bolshevism in America—the United States and Canada—is not a figment of imagination or an invention of hysteria. It is not a passing fancy or a deceiving mirage." He charged that \$1,110,000 had been sent into the United States from Moscow for the purpose of "enabling Communist agents to participate in the strike," and that "behind this movement was a scheme to overthrow the leadership of the union and then convert the strike into an armed insurrection against the Government of the United States." He says: "Three times in 3 years the bolshevik leaders at Moscow have attempted armed insurrection and revolution in the United States," through strikes. He could now say "four times."

Among those so viciously scored then by Mr. Lewis as Moscow agents, now the leader of the effort to shackle on to our country Moscow's scheme of industrial unionism through illegal strike methods such as the sit-down, coercion, thuggery, and lockouts, were: William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, G. H. Kennedy, H. Wagnerin, Fred Merriek, Thomas Myerscough, John Brophy, William Weinstein, Roger Baldwin, William Dunne, Robert Minor, Powers Hapgood, the Communist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Farmer-Labor Party, Friends of Soviet Russia, the Federated Press, the Progressive Miners Union, and numerous others, all but the latter are enthusiastically with Mr. Lewis today in his effort to force the industrial union plan on all American workers, to create an independent federation of labor which will, if successful, eventually destroy the American Federation of Labor, and to set up an international labor movement and labor political party. So bitter was Mr. Lewis against the plan and the leaders at the time that he ordered John Brophy expelled from the United Mine Workers Union and urged open warfare on the industrial union plan and the leaders he is now working with.

COMMUNISTS PLAN SEIZURE OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. Lewis at the time pointed out that there were "200 organizations in the United States engaged in or sympathetic to the Communist revolutionary movement as directed and conducted by the Communist Party." He said that "45 of these organizations of either 'pink' or radical structure are engaged in the Communist effort to seize control of labor unions in this country and convert them to the revolutionary movement." He pointed out that "52 persons hold 325 directorates in these 45 organizations" and that "a study of the interlocking arrangement shows that all of the organizations are fused into a single whole." These are all working hand in hand with the Lewis industrial union group now. He said at the time: "Whether the major Communist organizations go forward or slip backward, the leaders of the movement in the country are prepared to stand behind the chief idea and push it through the labor unions. With a foothold in the unions they are prepared, if necessary to abandon the major organizations they have established in this country." Mr. Lewis was exactly correct. The Communist leaders were prepared to stand behind the chief idea, push it through the labor unions, and to abandon the major organizations they had established in this country. The Communists did finally abandon their Trade Union Unity League and later their rank and file committee in the A. F. of L. and poured them into the C. I. O., bringing into the field many independent radical-controlled unions they had long before penetrated if not gained control of. Time after time, the Third (Communist) International, in convention in Moscow, ordered their leaders to continue their efforts at not only creating strikes and agitation, mobilizing and leading class struggle among the laboring elements, but to bore within the American Federation of Labor, to undermine its leadership, and force American labor into industrial unions as opposed to the craft-union plan. They have demanded that their agents here organize the unorganized chiefly in the auto, steel, textile, shipping, oil, rubber, and other basic industries, and to win these laborers over to the revolutionary ranks for the destruction of the capitalist form of government and to establish a Soviet America. Communists in America tell us that local organizing strikes will lead eventually from local strikes against the capitalists, to general strikes; from general strikes to the revolutionary overthrow of our Government and, in the end, to the establishment of a Soviet form of government in the United States, which will be under Communist control with an industrial union under the same control.

COMMUNISTS CLAIM THE C. I. O.

Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party and C. I. O. advocate, says: "Unless the organized workers are organized into industrial unions, we (Communists) will not be able to advance the class struggles. We Communists support the aims of the industrial union bloc * * *." He continued: "The whole C. I. O. movement is definitely under the influence of the French experience of the people's front (red front) * * *. The C. I. O. are grouping the major mass forces that should, with effective leadership, eventually crystallize into a great American people's front * * *. Great struggles are now taking place in the United States, and still greater struggles are in immediate prospect. The masses are being rapidly radicalized. * * * The Communist

Party strives to develop the C. I. O. movement in the direction of creating a great people's front, and to build itself into a mass Communist Party * * *. This growing people's front movement in various forms helped to bring the trade unions on a national scale under the leadership of John L. Lewis."

AMERICAN REDS STARTED DRIVE IN 1920

As far back as August 7, 1920, the Communist International adopted doctrines which have a direct bearing on the radical situation in labor ranks in the United States today. In "Thesis and Statutes," published on that date, the Third International of Moscow, in inaugurating its program of interference with the peace of other nations, announced that through certain doctrines they would strive "towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic, and the realization of socialism, the first step of the Communist society."

At this congress, the world revolutionists established a trade-union section to carry on world-wide turmoil in the labor ranks of every country. In this connection, they stated that their program included, "a violent defeat of the bourgeois, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois governmental apparatus, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal * * *. leading the proletariat in the pitiless, decisive, and final struggle against all the forces of capitalism" and to "stubbornly and mercilessly denounce any leader in any labor movement who may be manifestly reformist or center trends." This declaration also dealt with the establishment of secret factory committees within American factories for the purpose of organizing for spontaneous strikes within industries, and the inauguration of the industrial union plan within all basic industries. They realized a general strike in all basic industries could destroy a nation. These committees were to continuously encroach upon the industry until the union organizations obtained full recognition as sole bargaining agencies and complete control over plant production. They stressed the fact that a "constant stream of struggle" must be inspired by the factory committees. Communist members of labor unions were called upon to "strive to create a battle front of labor unions." Financial relief in the event of strikes was planned, together with labor defense (i. e., Federal relief and labor acts). They explained that "the mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations, growing more acute in form and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government."

STARVING WORKERS INTO REVOLUTION

By constant strikes (and one industry signed up by C. I. O. has had over 200 since signing up) they hope to carry out the "Resolutions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International—The Tasks of the Communists," which urges that: "The misery and oppression of the masses must be intensified to an extraordinary degree."

As soon as strikes are settled, new reasons are manufactured by the reds within the C. I. O. units to incite the workers to renewed conflict. As blood is spilled in the streets, Communists agitate for more blood spilling and blame such on the police, National Guards, and company detectives. They consider misery, mobsterism, and bloodshed drills for the Communist revolution. Russia's continued mowing down of its own populace is only reflections of the blood thirst of its Communist agents in the United States.

With the refusal of Kausas miners to strike, the C. I. O. mowed down scores of them. It is alleged by Chicago police that only by their interference in the strike riots were hundreds saved from injury by the C. I. O. followers.

The return of non-C. I. O. workers to their jobs in steel plants in Ohio and Pennsylvania was accompanied by bombings. Following the return of workers to their jobs in Johnstown, Pa., the Communists demanded that all C. I. O. members "halt the back-to-work move." In Michigan they refused to permit the workers who had been forced to join the C. I. O. the right to work until they paid their union dues. In all these instances the Communists called on the C. I. O. to "use every resource at your command." They demanded that all the striking steel plants be closed, and their demands were also to disarm all vigilantes. But weapons of every conceivable type have been confiscated from scores of strikers.

The Communists have followed their program as Mr. Lewis charged in 1924 they would. They met with setbacks time after time, but they analyzed each set-back and continued to strengthen their lives and efforts until today their determination to succeed seems to be bearing fruit in the United States, the "hardest nut" the Bolsheviks had to crack. In addition to concerning themselves with the building up of communism in this country, the Moscow reds at the time of making the plan foresaw other benefits to be derived. In this connection they stated: "The continued sharpening of class antagonism compels all trade unions to lead in strikes, which, flown on a broad wave over the entire capitalist nation, constantly interrupt the process of capitalist production and exchange, the basis of all capitalist calculations. * * * In this way the unions become the organs for the annihilation of capitalism." In other words, this is a double-edged method which supplies Russia, the base for world communism, with new market outlets, at the same time it incites workers to revolution and paves the way for new soviets. It is therefore significant to hear the talk of Bridges (quoted before) and of John L. Lewis, who stated in Arizona a few months ago that a change in our form of government is in order to that of a "communal form."

CALL TO WORKERS FOR REVOLUTION

In the pamphlet *Problems of Strike Strategy*, published in 1934 by the Communists, the following statement is made: "The problem of building the revolutionary unions, as well as the problem of building a mass Communist Party in the United States, is largely a question of a correct strike strategy. With this is bound up the possibility of destroying the reformist illusions of the A. F. of L. * * * It is clear that we must show the workers that we know not only how to make a revolution, but also how to lead and direct these movements for partial demands."

The Report of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party contains the following declaration: "The revolutionary elements, directly under our guidance, are established leaders of around 150 locals, with minority opposition groups in about 500 more local unions. This considerable beginning is of significance because it emphasizes the enormous possibilities that exist when we get a full mobilization of all available forces in the field." They also reported the establishment of 338 shop nuclei in 68 basic industries in the United States, and that "it is clear that precisely at this point we have the key to the future growth of our party and of the revolutionary trade union."

The Communists continued to progress, for in their "Manifesto of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.," published April 8, 1934, they report: "From auto, marine, and unemployed," especially municipals, "rising struggles indicate that the working class of America was ready to fight; that it is rising in numerous battles; the only thing it needs is organization and leadership along revolutionary lines." At this time the organized effort began to create turmoil within the A. F. of L. unions, ultimately leading to the break in the convention held in Atlantic City. The Communists denounced the A. F. of L. for "refusal to accept Communist leadership," and accused it of being a "reformist" organization and painted its leaders strike breakers.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT—STRIKES

The reds declared themselves as favoring an industrial union plan which "means combining workers of every industry into large unions, as against the A. F. of L. craft union." They also favored vigorous and militant strike struggles, calling sympathetic strikes, and for taking the revolutionary way out. These are the very tactics used by the C. I. O. to build the industrial union system.

A systematic and broad campaign was inaugurated at the American Federation of Labor convention by the Communists against company unions, and Communists were ordered to strive to occupy every eligible post in all union locals (both A. F. of L. and company). It ordered the "building of a broad class trade union, center of all class unions, outside of the A. F. of L., as a part of a wide revolutionary trade union," as they often call it, "a broad A. F. of L. opposition." They pointed at this time to the noticeable rapidity with which industries in the United States were surrendering to the results of general strikes. This, they contended, encouraged more frequent struggles.

EVERY FACTORY A FORTRESS

In its companion pamphlet, *The Communist Party in Action*, this statement may be found: "We must build our revolutionary unions and the revolutionary oppositions of the A. F. of L. unions first of all in the shops. Our slogan is: Every shop must become a fortress of communism." The Communists further state, in another pamphlet, *The Manual on Organization*: "The way of the final overthrow of the old order, and the establishment of the new—the proletarian dictatorship. * * * These experiences will be learned in the day-to-day struggles * * *, in strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, in struggles for relief, for unemployment insurance, against evictions * * *."

"The workers learn through their own experiences that they must have a Communist Party, which leads them in their struggles * * *. In order to achieve this, every available party member must join the union of his industry, craft, or occupation, and work there in a real bolshevik manner."

THE CONSPIRACY PLANNED

"The shop unit is trained to work in a conspirative manner, in order to organize and lead other workers, to safeguard the organization and to prevent its members from being fired." The C. I. O. follows this line and uses the National Labor Relations Board to force reinstatements.

Communists explain their stand in their publication, *The Way Out*: "It (the Communist Party) must work toward the bringing together the independent and revolutionary trade unions into an independent federation of labor. The building of such a broad class trade union, center of all class unions which stand outside of the American Federation of Labor as a part of a wide revolutionary trade union movement, is an important task of our party * * *. The outstanding events of the recent period are a more rapid and deep-going radicalization of the workers, already expressed in the growth of a militant mass strike movement already embracing large sections of workers in the basic industries."

It is interesting to note that as early as July 10, 1933, the Communists already had high hopes of success in the auto industries. In an Open Letter to All Members of the Communist Party, issued by the central committee of the Automobile Workers' Union in Detroit shows what can be accomplished by the party and the revolutionary trade unions in other districts when they vigorously defend the interests of the workers and carry out the principles of concentration in the proper way." The C. I. O. has continually concentrated its efforts, first on auto, secondly on steel, and announces a continued plan of concentration. Homer Martin, head of the C. I. O. auto unit is now faced with Communist trouble makers in that industry.

STRIKES REHEARSALS FOR REVOLUTION

In the twelfth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International, *Prepare for Power*, issued in 1934, they declare: "The revolution, to a certain extent, veils its offensive operations under the guise of defense. * * * Strikes are mere dress rehearsals for the revolution." It is noticeable that the various moves of the C. I. O. are painted as defensive, and the blame for difficulties are shouldered on others.

The following quotation is taken from the eleventh plenary sessions report: "Every shop must become a fortress of communism, and every member of the party an organizer and leader of the daily struggles of the masses."

In August 1935, in *New Steps in the United Front*, the Communist International advocated "united struggles of the workers and unity of the trade union movement in each country," and ordered the establishment of "*one trade union for each industry*: one federation of trade unions in each country; one international federation of trade unions in each industry; one general international of all trade unions based on class struggle." This apparently is the C. I. O. plan for its sections are set up mostly if not entirely, each to cover one industry, and each are internationals. Communist movements change their names as frequently as their organizations are discredited in the public eye. It is significant to note that recently the C. I. O. has been speculating on renaming itself. It is understood that the names Council, Federation, and Congress, are being considered. It is understood that a convention of the C. I. O. will be called in the fall for the purpose of deciding on a new name.

C. I. O. ECHOES MOSCOW DEMANDS

At this Third International Congress in 1935 in Moscow, the head of the American section, the Communist Party of the United States reported: "We in the United States have already before the Congress, in the main solved the problem of trade union unification," believing evidently they had Lewis and his crowd sold on the plan.

Earl Browder, in detailing the proceedings of the Third International to the members of the Communist Party attending its convention in New York City held the same year, called for a greater intensification of the Communist drive for strikes, for industrial union, cancelation of farmers' debts and mortgages. He also urged his followers to fight against the deportation of the aliens within their ranks and condemned the Supreme Court, Germany, and Japan. Later we saw the C. I. O. linked in the drive against the Supreme Court, for industrial unionism, against deportations and for boycotts on Japan, Germany, and Italy.

The report of the "Resolutions of the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.," made in 1936, declared that "the immediate task is to drive forward more energetically on the issue of organizing in the basic industries, industrial unions, and following a policy of class struggles. We must seek to isolate the reactionaries (in the auto, steel, etc., industries) who stand in the way of organizing the unorganized, demand that the C. I. O. pass over from words to deeds * * *; to promote the organization of the power of the working class for the higher stages of struggles for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism." It called for the strengthening of shop units and for their increased prestige in the trade unions, to establish additional units in auto, steel, rubber, and key industries, and "to develop within the A. F. of L. a struggle for industrial unionism." They have isolated the A. F. of L. and are now attempting to isolate Homer Martin, the head of the C. I. O. auto unions and the struggles were immediately intensified.

ORDERS TO DISREGARD GOVERNMENT

Company unions today, mentioned as the communists' main targets in 1935 particularly those unions in the Chrysler, General Motors, Weirton Steel, Fisher Body, Jones & Laughlin, U. S. Steel, Chevrolet, Nash, Auburn plants and in the rubber, oil, and packing industries. The reds called for strikes and picketing until all demands were met, and to reject all efforts at labor truce even if made by the Roosevelt Government. It demanded the formation of unions which would "not depend on congressional laws and presidential boards, but rather one capable of striking and picketing until demands were met." Certainly these have been the tactics of the C. I. O. even to the extent the A. F. of L. says recently, that the National Labor Relations Board on charges by the C. I. O. are painting A. F. of L. unions as "company unions."

As an example of success the Communists pointed out that there were 1,898 strikes, bringing out 1,141,363 workers with the loss of 15,641,229 working days in 1935, as compared with 894 strikes in 1931, which had brought out 279,299 workers with the loss of 6,838,183 working days. They bragged over these losses in wages to the workers as Communist successes.

REDS PRAISE LEWIS FOR APPOINTING REBELS

Until 1934, the Communists were as much opposed to John L. Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky, and others as Lewis appeared to be to the Communists and their plan at that time. The "reds" termed them labor misleaders, strike breakers, and racketeers, but in the June 26, 1936, Report on the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party, the work of these men is praised, and William Green, Matthew Woll, and William Hutcherson, A. F. of L. leaders, are so condemned. The Communist report stated: "While we meet, the C. I. O. is launching the second great crusade to carry trade unionism into the open shop citadel of monopoly capital. Nothing so heartening has been seen in the labor movement since 1919, when the chairman of our party, Comrade Foster, carried through the first great organizing campaign in the steel industry, which culminated in the great general strike. We can say that the transformation would have been impossible without the energetic, persistent, well planned, and well directed participation of the Communist Party and its followers in this (C. I. O.) movement." At this time they were jubilant over the Lewis C. I. O. move and referred jubilantly to his change of heart and expressed appreciation over

the Lewis appointment of John Brophy as director of the C. I. O., stating "with Brophy came other men of the same calibre—Powers Hapgood, Clarence Irwin, the long list of rebels, many of whom had fought Lewis' policies years before," and it could have been added that Lewis had fought them and their policies years before.

COMMUNISTS PUSH C. I. O. FORMATION

Such progress was made during the time intervening between Lewis's exposures in 1924 and the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the issue of industrial unionism was forced to the floor of the A. F. of L. convention. A Communist report says: "At the 1935 A. F. of L. convention militant Socialists and Communists united to support industrial unionism, and the Labor Party * * *." The Communists had through their Trade Union Unity League late in 1935 formulated the A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee, better known as the Rank and File movement within the A. F. of L. unions, which locals had been deeply penetrated by the "reds" having ordered their independent union members to join the A. F. of L. locals.

C. I. O. IS BORN

Following the enforced break in the ranks of the A. F. of L. at the Atlantic City convention, the C. I. O. was trotted out into the field of labor activities. Labor Fact Book, published by the "reds," states that the C. I. O. was founded in Washington, D. C., in November 1935 and that the chairman was John L. Lewis; secretary, Charles P. Howard, and that the national committee consisted of Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, Thomas F. McMahon, Harvey Fremming, M. Zaritsky, and Thomas Brown. "Sit-down" strikes began to sweep the Nation and leaders of the A. F. of L. of course began to denounce the strikes as Communist-inspired and Communist-led affairs. Those whom Lewis had so viciously denounced as Moscow agents in earlier days for attempting what he now assumed leadership of, were found solidified into the Lewis camp, fighting with might and main to "organize the unorganized" to force the A. F. of L. to the "industrial union" plan, to "undermine the A. F. of L. leadership," to set up a powerful "industrial union" outside and to steel the workers of the nation into a revolutionary fervor and to greater and continued struggles and to build a radical political movement all of which Lewis had denounced before as Communist conspiracy.

Coincident with this movement sprang forth the C. I. O. labor party movement, a fight against the Supreme Court of our land and unlawful seizures of property followed. Government and the laws of our land were openly flouted. Workers were being told that "for might" they must "unite." Might was exercised.

If Mr. Lewis was correct in his analysis of the "struggles" for "industrial unionism" in the early days, he knows without a doubt that he is being used as a Communist tool today. The public has a right to believe that the present turmoil is also "Moscow made," and is as "un-American," as Mr. Lewis painted it to be in 1924. If it was wrong without Lewis's hand, it cannot be righted with his hand in it.

WILL NOT DRIVE "REDS" OUT

Homer Martin, the ex-preacher from Leeds, Mo., who heads the auto union, section of the C. I. O. movement and which section has been keeping Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, particularly, in a state of unrest, in its effort to rufe or ruin the auto, auto accessory, and auto parts industries of the Nation denied in the past that there was a Communist slant to the C. I. O. movement but recently he has charged that many of his immediate under studies are Communists, while Lewis and others of the movement remain cunningly silent on the question, either ignorant as to the true situation within their own circles or Communist-like are denying the facts to the public, because acknowledgement might defeat certain of the C. I. O. plans. The Communists in their official organ, the Daily Worker, December 6, 1935, say: "If a sympathizer is in a high and strategic position, he may best preserve his usefulness by complete passivity insofar as his open relations are concerned." Not only has the Third (Communist) International of Moscow's American section taken an active part in the creation and building up of the C. I. O. in the United States and has furnished the fireworks for the aggressiveness of the movement, but

likewise has the C. I. O. now received the endorsement of the Socialist Party of the United States, and on June 26, 1937, they received the pledge of cooperation and support of the Communist Mexican Federation of Labor through its head, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who is also head of the Communist Workers University of Mexico, a member of the Mexican "red front" government and head of the Mexican Labor Relations Board. His organization has about 650,000 members, he claims. The pledge of the "reds" support came from "Comrade" Toledano to "Comrade" Lewis. Lewis, it is understood has accepted an invitation to attend a national convention of the Toledano crowd this summer in Mexico. Communist organs state that there will be discussions regarding an alliance of North and South American unions.

That the C. I. O. (except the auto union) has no intention of purging its ranks of Communists is shown by the emphatic denial of John Owens and Phil Murray, Ohio leaders of the C. I. O., of the statement that Bob Burke and John Stevens (alias Stevenson) had been dismissed from the C. I. O. This denial appeared in the official organ of the Communist Party, July 4, 1937. Owens said: "There has been no purge. Nobody has been fired." Murray reiterated the statement. In the meantime, Lewis conferred with Harry Bridges, the radical alien labor leader on the west coast, July 8. Burke, a dismissed Columbia University student and active in Communist Youth circles while at Columbia, was indicted in Ohio in connection with a riot in which two workers were killed. Stevens was indicted on charges of disrupting train service by tearing up railroad ties during Ohio strikes.

ENTIRE C. I. O. "RED"

It has been publicly charged by leaders of the American Federation of Labor and now admitted by some C. I. O. leaders and gloated over by Communists themselves, that the entire strike movement is honeycombed with radical Socialists and revolutionary Communists. In fact, the Communists themselves, and among themselves chiefly, brag over the fact that they have been the leaders of the so-called labor struggles that have been sweeping the Nation. They issued a plan for sit-down strikes, which was very complete in its directions, and they were the chief propagandists, agitators, and to a great extent organizers of the affair.

While not all in the C. I. O. movement are Socialists or Communists, it is very noticeable that a great many of the local leaders are.

Scores of C. I. O. agents in the North, South, East, West, and Central States are known Communists and Socialists.

C. I. O. LEADERS ON "RED" HONOR ROLL

Is it any wonder then that Lewis, Bridges, Curran, and Martin made the Communists' Labor Roll of Honor for 1937, which included only the "greatest" from a Communist viewpoint: "Stalin (Russia), Browder (United States), Cabalero (Spain), Harry Bridges (United States marine strike leader), John L. Lewis (C. I. O. head), Homer Martin (C. I. O. auto head), Joe Curran (leader with Bridges), Krhypan (Russia), and Tom Mooney (jailed anarchist)?"

C. I. O.'ERS HAVE "RED" BACKGROUNDS

Do not accept the writer as the sole authority for the charge that the C. I. O. is overflowing with Communists. Note that Mr. Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, the largest organization of labor in America, openly makes this charge. On May 21, 1937, he delivered an address over the radio, during which he read an item taken from a Russian newspaper which stated that the "C. I. O. is being energetically supported by the American Communist Party." Mr. Green also charges that "an evil influence has caused groups of newly organized workers connected with the C. I. O. to follow destructive policies. As a result, public opinion is turning against them." The New York Times, considered to be an extremely liberal newspaper, published an article in its June 1937 issue, after the writer thereof had visited strike zones and made careful research of the question, which said, in part: "Men with Socialist and Communist backgrounds have been active in the automobile factories, the power plants, and other industries under the banner of the C. I. O." In this connection, Congressman Hook of Michigan (a Democrat) made the following statement: "Let me say to you that while I was back in my district

some of the real, honest C. I. O. labor organizers came to me and begged me to use my influence to have the C. I. O. and its leaders take these Communists as organizers out of that organization. I am opposed to the communistic, anarchistic organization that is working from within, and that is going to disrupt labor if it is allowed to go on."

Homeer Martin, president, C. I. O. auto union on July 24, 1939 stated: "We have evidence that their (C. I. O. auto leaders) every action has been dictated by Moscow. We are accusing them of a conspiracy with Communists to wreck the union."

Congressman Hoffman of Michigan (Republican) has openly charged that the C. I. O. is communistic. Congressman Cox of Georgia (Democrat) says: "I have the names of scores of C. I. O. officials who are affiliated with the Communist Party. I know my information is accurate. The C. I. O. is stirring up a reign of terror. It is seeking a labor despotism."

The Massachusetts State Legislature investigating committee recently charged in its report that Communists control the National Maritime Union and occupy strategic positions in C. I. O. unions organized by the C. I. O. and that the Communists hope by a general strike to paralyze the country. The committee charged that the C. I. O. welcomes Communist leadership.

"FIGHTING IN THE STREETS"

In a new book written by an admirer of John L. Lewis it is alleged that the following statement is made: "He (Lewis) will be President of the United States in 1940. With his American Labor Party he will bring class struggle to the surface with fighting in the streets of America, like those of France and war-torn Spain. Either communism or fascism will flourish and rule."

Congressman J. Parnell Thomas, of New Jersey, a member of the Dies committee has denounced Lewis "as a threat to the United States." Congressman Thomas, also charged that Lewis is supported by Soviet Russia "in an attempt to disrupt American industry" and to foment revolution in the United States.

John Brophy is quoted as having said: "Leaders of the C. I. O. do not deny that men of Communist sympathies are active in some of their unions;" and that Lewis accepts aid from this source, believing "the end justifies the means."

Sam Glassman of the International Fur Workers Union, a C. I. O. affiliate charged recently that the Communists had put up a complete slate in the elections of officers of that union. The Glassman faction introduced what they termed a "progressive" slate in opposition and complained to John L. Lewis and other high-ups in the C. I. O. to help defeat the Communist slate. They charged that the Communists in the union had milked the union's treasury of over \$1,000,000, that no proper accounting is given and that the Communists had introduced the "yellow dog" system, dividing the members of the union into two classes, "privileged and underprivileged" and that without consent of membership the Communists had maneuvered a raise of \$520,000 a year in salaries for union officials.

On July 30, 1938, the Communist slate claimed victory and were inducted into office.

There were similar charges against the Winstock slate in the Paperhangers and Painters Union in recent elections in New York City and regarding the National Maritime Union elections in New York City recently. Such charges have been filed about the leadership of the Lumber Workers Unions, the steel, auto, and rubber unions, the cannery and sharecroppers unions, etc.

There have been many similar charges made by individuals resigning from the C. I. O. unions.

These are only a few of the many charges made by prominent individuals who are in a position to know what the C. I. O. is.

MOSCOW'S CANDIDATE

John L. Brophy—general secretary and second only to John L. Lewis in the official ranks of the C. I. O. movement—holds the dubious distinction of having been the Communist's candidate for president of the United Mine Workers in 1924 against John L. Lewis, according to Mr. Lewis, now president of the United Mine Workers Union and general chairman of the C. I. O.

Brophy and Powers Hapgood, another extreme radical and head of the New England branch of the C. I. O., first met in labor circles in Wales. (Brophy is alien-born and comes from Lancashire.) Hapgood and Brophy

returned to America and organized district No. 2 (composed of over 12,000 members) of the Miners Union, which was always considered one of the strongest communistic units of the Lewis Union. It was district No. 2, headed by James Mark, which cooperated with the C. I. O. steel strikers in causing the widespread troubles in Johnstown, Pa. Mark is also a member of the C. I. O. Steel Workers Committee. Lewis not only denounced Brophy in 1924 as Moscow's candidate for president of the Miners Union, but he denounced him as a "red" menace within the miner's ranks at the Indianapolis convention of the Mine Workers Union in 1927.

Brophy has for a long period of time been active in the fight for Government ownership of industry, and has held the position of vice president of the Public Ownership League, which promotes the theory in the United States. He was, likewise, a member of the trade-union delegation to Russia shortly after the Communist revolution there. This delegation was composed chiefly of "reds." He sponsored the Communist "Mother" Ella Bloor celebration in July 1937.

Some years ago Lewis described Brophy, Hapgood, and Germer as "fakers, repudiated leaders, traitors to unions, opportunists, and purveyors of every falsehood, slander, and deception." Now Lewis is the leader of this clique.

The National Maritime Union Rank and File Pilot of May 20, 1938, says that, "One of the most amazing pieces of the political cliques' operations was disclosed in the joint membership meeting of Monday, May 16, 1938, in New York headquarters. While the meeting was occupied with the report of the official Pilot investigating committee the political machine of the Communist Party swung into action with its sinister intent. The papers tell much about the Communists within this C. I. O. union.

In Los Angeles August 7, 1938, four of the largest unions in the State, representing some 20,000 of the C. I. O. unionists in Los Angeles, publicly threatened to withdraw from the C. I. O. and form them a new Los Angeles trade union, independent of the Austrian-born Harry Bridges, Committee on Industrial Organization in California, because they charge Bridges is "administering a setback to the Pacific C. I. O., has made 'arbitrary appointments of a bureaucracy, when he himself was not the popular choice of the western C. I. O. leadership"; that he has put the Los Angeles C. I. O. section under "Communist control"; that this "control is maintained by fraud and votes of paper locals"; that he is acting the part of a "dictator"; that he was "abetting the Communist attempt to capture and disrupt the auto workers during he recent Ford strike at Long Beach"; that he has been "appointing Communist Party members of executive positions in various union positions without regard for their ability and without consulting the rank and file of the union"; that he is "subordinating the interest of the C. I. O. and trade-unionism to communism."

While that again proves the Communist leadership of the C. I. O. many unions and locals, the same (above) group that protests is willing to and does tolerate Communists within their unions and states; that "we believe that any one has a right to be a Communist—but in the trade-union movement they must give their first loyalty to their union and not attempt to use the unions to further the end of any political party." Yet it is the policy of the C. I. O. throughout to activate themselves in the political arena. They have set up the Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party, etc. for that specific purpose. So while the above is an admission of a serious Communist penetration in the C. I. O. it shows only disagreement to the extent of leadership and proves again that the C. I. O. is willing to have "reds" within their movement.

Red Baiting: Enemy of Labor, written by the Communist leader, Louis Budenz and published by the Communists in New York City and scoring Homer Martin, says (p. 12):

"President David Dubinsky, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, correctly said at Milwaukee that Communists should be welcomed into the life and activities of the unions in order to encourage initiative and activity within the union."

Communists give this definition for "sit-down strikes" (see p. 573, Imprecorr, organ of Third (Communist) International, p. 1021, vol. 16, 1935):

"'Sit-down' strike means the workers stay by their machines but do not operate them. In its present form and under its present name it is a new tactic here (United States), which became popular during the past winter (1934)."

It says further (p. 574), "the influence of the Communist Party in the most successful struggles is evident—Communist propaganda and the daily work

of thousands of individual party members engaged in the struggles, has certainly been very much responsible also for the stronger sense of solidarity of other workers with the strikers, the general strike tendency especially when the right to strike and picket is menaced, the move toward Labor Party, etc. These have been pronounced and now important features of this strike movement."

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

One finds several points in common among leaders of the American Labor Party. First, most of them are alien born; second, many of them were born in Russia; third, most of them have been followers of the Marxian school of thought, and, fourth, all of them are C. I. O. union leaders. The party was formulated in 1936. The following is a survey made of the leaders of the American Labor Party, its backer, the Labor Non-Partisan League, and therefore of much of the leadership of the C. I. O.

Louis Waldman, born, Yomcherudnia, Russia, January 5, 1892; civil engineer and cutter on ladies hats and cloaks; elected Socialist Party assemblyman, New York City, 1918; reelected in 1920; ousted from assembly, 1920; author, *The Great Collapse and Government Ownership*; member cutters local, International Ladies Garment Workers Union (C. I. O.); lawyer; Mason, and member of Socialist Party; author, *Socialism of Our Times*; *Socialist Party* candidate, Governor, New York, 1930-32; board of directors, League for Industrial Democracy (radical Socialist); contributor, *Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program*; member, national committee, League Against Fascism (Communistic set-up); sponsor, radical Artists and Writers Dinner Club, 1935; instructor, Rand School of Social Science (radical Socialist), New York; chairman, People's Party, 1936; member, executive committee, American Labor Party, 1938; associated with the Social Democratic Federation.

Murray Weinstein, born, Kallnovka, Russia, July 15, 1890; business agent for New York Clothing Cutters Union; manager, New York Clothing Workers Union; member, General Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.); sponsoring committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School (Socialist).

Max Zaritsky, born, Petrikov, Russia, April 15, 1885; father a Rabbi; educated in Russia; cap maker; assistant general secretary, Union Cloth, Hat, and Cap Workers, 1911-19; president, Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union (C. I. O.); director, Headgear Workers' Credit Union; secretary-treasurer, Needle Trades Workers Alliance; member, Socialist Workmen's Circle; member, Socialist Party; sponsor, (radical Marxian) Brookwood College financial appeal; sponsor, Trade Union Institute of Rand School; national committee, League Against Fascism; national committee (radical Marxian) Farmer-Labor Political Federation; member, League for Independent Political Action.

Jacob S. Potofsky, born, Radomisl, Russia, November 16, 1894; educated in Russia; clothing worker, Hart Schaffner & Marx; treasurer, Chicago joint board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.); author of articles published in the *Advance* (revolutionary publication); assistant secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; National Council of the (Socialist) League for Industrial Democracy (promoter of the idea of a Karl Marx system of government for the United States); sponsor, Trade Union Institute of the Rand School; sponsor, Brookwood College; sponsor, Consumers' Union of the United States; assistant general president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; vice chairman, American Labor Party. (There is a "Jacob S. Putofsky" mentioned in the report of the New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, p. 1246. This may refer to "Potofsky.")

Joseph Breslaw, born, Odessa, Russia, 1887; shoe worker, 1907-09; cloak presser, 1909-14; member, Cloak Pressers Local, International Ladies Garment Workers Union since 1909 (C. I. O.); member (Socialist) Workmen's Council; vice president, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; board of directors, International Union Bank, New York.

Baruch Charney Vladeck, born, Minsk, Russia, January 1886; active in Russia at the beginning of revolution in 1905; fled to Lublin, Poland, thence to United States in 1908; member Socialist Party; editor (Socialist) *Jewish Daily Forward*, New York, for 20 years; national council, Pioneer Youth of America, young Socialist movement; former professor at University of Pennsylvania; lecturer and journalist on socialism; Socialist alderman, New York, 1918-21; honorary member, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.);

member, Workmen's Council; national committee, ("red" defending) American Civil Liberties Union; member, International Committee for Political Prisoners (communistic); board of directors, League for Industrial Democracy; advocates changing our system of government to that type which was founded by Karl Marx; national committee, American League Against War and Fascism (now, American League for Peace and Democracy), communistic set-up; contributor, Socialist publications; member, survey committee, Socialist Party convention in Schenectady; member, American Defense Committee for Leon (Broustein) Trotsky (Communist revolutionist); Socialist Party candidate for Congress, 1932-34; elected city councilman, New York City, 1937, on American Labor Party ticket; member, executive committee, American Labor Party, 1938; mentioned twice (pp. 1230 and 1989) in the report of the New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities.

Nathaniel Spector, born, Bratzlaw, Podolsk, Russia, July 28, 1890; worked in cap makers' trade in Russia; active in radical labor movements there, 1909-11; member, executive board, Millinery Workers Union (C. I. O.), New York, 1911; organizer for union and led strikes; Socialist Party candidate, assembly, Eighth district, New York, 1916; member, Workmen's Circle; board of directors, Labor Age (radical publication); Committee of Sponsors of Trade Union Institute of Rand School; member, national executive committee of the (Socialistic) Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Rose Schneiderman, born Savin, Russia, April 6, 1884; president, Women's Trade Union League of New York; vice president, National Women's Trade Union League; assisted in organizing United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Union of North America, 1903; served as secretary-treasurer of same; took an active part in strike of 30,000 shirt makers in New York; active in Needle Work Union organization; in charge of general strike of White Goods Workers Union, 1913; general organizer, Ladies' International Garment Workers' Union (C. I. O.), 1914; delegate to Farmer-Labor Party convention, 1920; candidate, United States Senate on Farmer-Labor Party ticket, 1920; member, board of directors, Pioneer Youth of America; director, Consumers' Union of the United States; member, joint committee for defense of Brazilian people (radicals); member, national advisory committee of the (radical) American Youth Congress; sponsor, Brookwood College financial campaign; mentioned on five occasions in the report of the New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities (pp. 1032, 141, 152, 1102, and 1989).

Alex Rose, born in Poland; real name, Olesh Royz; Jewish; father well-to-do tanner in Poland; came to United States in 1913 to escape Jewish pogroms in Polish colleges; first recording secretary, Milliners Union, New York City; joined British Army forces in World War, serving under General Allenby in Palestine; married a Russian woman; vice president and secretary, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union (C. I. O.); secretary-treasurer, Millinery Workers Union, New York City; member, executive board, Trade Union Institute of the Rand School; executive secretary, American Labor Party. It is alleged that Rose (Royz) was an instructor in the Workers' (Communist) School in New York City in 1930.

Sidney Hillman, born, Zagare, Lithuania, 1887; educated in Jewish seminary in Zagare; came to the United States in 1907; spent most of his time in promoting Marxism and radical labor unionism; organized the Russian-American Industrial Corporation in New York City, of which he became president in 1922 (this organization sent over \$1,000,000 to Russia; assisted in organizing a campaign to raise funds in the United States in support of the Spanish "red front" Government; visited Italy in 1920 to learn new labor tactics used during the Communist siege of sit-down strikes in an industrial unionism drive in the metal workers industry there, and upon his return reported to the national convention, which was being held in Chicago, as follows: "In Rome I was doubly welcome; the secretary of the Metal Workers Union gave me a letter, the only key to open the gates of the factory. With my Italian comrades I landed in front of the factory, which looked attractive because of the fine "red" flag which adorned the building and the "red" sentinel who was keeping watch. I stayed for lunch with the members of the factory council. The council then took me through the factory. The first thing that attracted my attention was a series of inscriptions on the walls, including the Soviet emblem." (From proceedings, 922, convention, p. 426, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.) Hillman was one of the early New Dealers in Washington. He is well known in most of the revolutionary circles in the United States, having served on

many of their organizational boards; is reported to have served on the Industrial Workers of the World defense committee several years ago, according to the Northwest Messenger; was expelled from the American Federation of Labor during the Nashville, Tenn., convention in 1914, together with a number of other radicals, after which he organized the union which he now heads, a C. I. O. unit. The preamble of the constitution of this union is said to include a demand for a struggle against capitalism. The plan for "the one big union" (industrial union) is said to have first been introduced at the second national session of the Hillman union by William Z. Foster, then an Industrial Worker of the World, and now head of the Communist Party in the United States. Hillman received a wire from Rykoff in Moscow in 1922, in which he, as representative of Lenin, expressed the satisfaction of the Soviet Government over result of his action. Hillman is president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (C. I. O.); one of the three organizers of the Labor's Non-Partisan League and of the C. I. O.; member, Heywood Brown committee; member, American Civil Liberties Union; member, advisory council, Foreign Language Information Service; lecturer, Rand School; official of C. I. O. Hillman was mentioned on three occasions in the report of the New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities (pp. 842 and 1972), once as "a revolutionary."

Morris Feinstone, born, Warsaw, Poland, December 28, 1878; architectural and furniture wood carver, London; president, Wood Carvers Union, London, 1895; active in radical Labor Party movement in Birmingham, England, 1900; came to United States in 1908; gold and silver inlayer on umbrella handles, canes; secretary, Umbrella Handle and Stick Workers Union, New York; executive board, Central Trades and Labor Council, Greater New York; author of articles published in Socialist Call and Jewish Daily Forward; member, executive committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School, 1937; secretary-treasurer, United Hebrew Trades, 1937-38.

Abraham Miller, born, Dubrecho, Galicia, Austria (now Poland), January 12, 1887; educated, Baron De Hirsch Institute, Austria, 1897-1900; came to United States in 1903; baker; pants makers, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (C. I. O.); participated in organization meeting in Nashville, Tenn., 1914; took charge of lock-out of clothing workers, Boston, 1920; manager, Pants Workers Local, New York; member, Socialist Party; member, Workmen's Circle; member, executive committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School, 1937; president, Brooklyn branch of the (radical) National Association for Advancement of Colored People; endorser of People's Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism. (An A. F. Miller was a Communist Party candidate for Presidential elector in West Virginia in 1932.)

David Dubinsky, born, Brest-Litovsk, Poland, February 22, 1892; educated, Zionist School, Poland; joined Bakers Union in Russia, 1906, during early days of revolution; active in radical labor circles in Russia, 1906; arrested for strike activities there, 1907, at which time he was forced to leave the city; was rearrested in 1908 and served 18 months in prison; exiled to Siberia, 1909, escaping to the United States after 5 months; active in many radical movements in this country since his arrival; raised over \$100,000 in the United States for the "red front" in Spain; supporter of Brookwood Labor College; sponsor, Trade Union Institute of Rand School; member, national committee, League Against Fascism; official of the C. I. O.; head of the Ladies International Garment Workers Union; manager, Amalgamated Ladies Garment Cutters Union.

Harry Greenberg, born, Yassy, Rumania; manager, Children's Dress, Bathrobe and House-dress Workers Union; assistant editor, Our Aim; member, Workmen's Circle; sponsoring committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School, 1937.

Arthur Huggins, born, Orange, Texas, May 21, 1892; director, many paper mill strikes since 1920; vice president, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers; director, Paper Makers Realty Association; educated, Rand School of Social Science; sheet metal worker and paper maker; Mason and Shriner.

A. J. Kennedy, long a leader in the radical Marxian circles in New York; labor director of Brookwood College, 1930; national executive committee, Conference for Progressive Labor Action; vice president, Labor Age; board of directors, Pioneer Youth of America; sponsoring committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School. There is a "J. Kennedy" mentioned twice in the report of the New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activi-

ties (pp. 972 and 1032), once as a pacifist and once as the secretary of the Socialist Party.

Paul Kern, vice president, National Lawyers Guild, formed by radicals and liberals in the United States to offset the constructive acts of the American Bar Association in the legal professional field; signer, Golden Book, issued by the (communistic) Friends of the Soviet Union, which eulogized the Soviet Government of Russia, November 1937; director, Consumers' Union of the United States; sponsor of meetings held under auspices of American League Against War and Fascism; member, American Friends of Chinese People.

Marx Lewis, holder of degree of LL. B., Washington, D. C., College of Law; secretary, Socialist Party delegation in New York State Legislature, 1917; secretary to Socialist revolutionist, Meyer London, 1917-23; secretary to the Socialist revolutionist, Victor L. Berger, 1923; editor, Socialist; Socialist Party candidate for New York Senate, 1920, and for Congress, 1924; Washington correspondent for (communistic) Federated Press, 1923; delegate, National Socialist Party convention, 1924; member, Workmen's Circle; member (Socialist) League for Industrial Democracy and the American Socialist Society; executive director for foundation in honor of the revolutionary Marxian, Victor Berger; member, sponsoring committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School.

Luigi Antonini, general secretary, Italian Dress-makers' Union, Local 89, a branch of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a C. I. O. unit; born in Avellino, Italy, September 11, 1883; came to the United States 1908; organizer of Anti-Fascist Alliance; vice chairman of that organization since 1922; radical Socialist; member (communistic), International Committee for Political Prisoners; chairman, American Labor Party; vice chairman, Sacramento Appeal Committee (in defense of arrested "reds"); supporter of the American Youth Congress, which was recently represented at a congressional hearing by Joseph Lash of the Young Communist League; sponsor, Trade Union Institute of Rand School.

Julius Hochman, vice president, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a C. I. O. affiliate; active in C. I. O. organization, according to his Socialist Party Bulletin, in which he is referred to as one of the "Socialist trade unionists" serving on a committee headed by Lewis for C. I. O. field activity in the steel, tin, and iron trades; member, advisory committee of the (Communist) American Student Union; sponsor, Brookwood Labor College, 1936; signer, pardon appeal for the two anarchists, McNamara and Schmidt; member, sponsoring committee for the radical Socialist, Norman Thomas, 1936; member, executive committee, Farmer Labor Political Federation and League for Independent Political Action, 1935; general manager, Joint Board of Dress-makers and Waistmakers Union; speaker at the Ben Leiber (Communist) memorial meeting, New York City, April 26, 1937; vice president, Consumers Union of the United States.

Isadore Nagler, C. I. O. board member in the joint clothing union circles in New York City; member, sponsoring committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School, 1937, The American Socialist Society, which maintained and operated this school during the war, was convicted of violation of the Espionage Act. A number of Communists were indicted as a result of their activities in connection with the society. The school was raided by a New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities.

Louis Weinstock, secretary, Painters District Council No. 9, New York City; C. I. O. leader; national secretary (communistic), rank and file committee, which bored within the A. F. of L. in 1934; endorser, national convention, Friends of the Soviet Union, 1934; member, national executive committee, American League Against War and Fascism (Communist-Socialist-pacifist united front); member, executive committee, American Civil Liberties Union; delegate to the twentieth anniversary celebration of the Soviet Union in Moscow, November 1937; addressed Communist meeting in honor of "Mother" Bloor (an extreme Communist) in New York City, 1937.

Michael Quill, head, Transport Workers Union of America, a C. I. O. affiliate; vice chairman, American Labor Party; member, Irish Republican Army, 1906; candidate, American Labor Party ticket, city council, New York City, 1937; elected, but challenged after taking office.

Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor, New York University; official and sponsor of numerous extremely radical movements, including the people's lobby (advocate of government ownership), the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Independent Political Action, the (socialistic) Commonwealth Federation, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, and the (internationalist-pacifistic) emergency peace campaign.

Elinore M. Herrick, vice chairman, C. I. O., American Labor Party, while holding a Government post as regional director of the National Labor Relations Board in which position her decisions have been criticized by the A. F. of L. leaders; chairman, executive board, Trade Union Institute of Rand School; sponsor, pardon petition for McNamara and Schmidt, 1936.

Charles S. Zimmerman, member, editorial board, Revolutionary Age, organ of a Communist movement; member, national executive committee, American League Against War and Fascism.

Dorothy Bellanca, administrative vice president (C. I. O.), Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; member, legislative committee, American Labor Party.

Emil Schlesinger, chairman, legislative committee, American Labor Party; Socialist Party candidate, justice, supreme court, New York, 1930.

Samuel Shore, manager, Local 62, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; member, executive committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School.

Gustave A. Strelbel, Socialist Party candidate, Congress, New York, 1934.

Frederick F. Umhey, executive secretary, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; executive committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School; member legislative committee, American Labor Party.

Samuel Permutter, member, sponsoring committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School.

Max Goldman, sponsor, Trade Union Institute of Rand School, 1937.

Dr. Louis Hendin, Socialist Party candidate for State Senate, New York, 1930; member, sponsoring committee, Trade Union Institute of Rand School, 1937.

Louis Hollander, manager, New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; member, executive and sponsoring committees, Trade Union Institute of Rand School.

J. J. Bambrick, vice chairman, American Labor Party; sponsor, Trade Union Institute of Rand School; sponsor, tantiment labor conference in Pennsylvania, 1936, said to be of a socialistic character.

The C. I. O., of course, is controlled by the same crowd, plus John L. Lewis of the C. I. O. United Mine Workers Union; John Brophy, who, it was charged in 1924, was the Communists' candidate for his position as head of the United Mine Workers Union; Charles Howard (now deceased), recently defeated as head of the typographical union, and others.

While the Labor's Non-Partisan League was organized in 1935 by John L. Lewis, George L. Berry, and Sidney Hillman these three are still controlling the machinery thereof. It was through this crowd that the American Labor Party came into existence, and that other political efforts to elect radicals to office who favor the C. I. O. and left-wing political control of our Government is being pushed in 33 States at this time.

It is not difficult for the reader to figure out for himself, after reading the above, just what the crowd of left-wing union labor political aspirants would attempt to do with our system of Government should they be permitted to gain control.

The League for Industrial Democracy (Socialist) is a publication entitled "Toward a National Party," summarizes the Socialist and Communist control of foreign governments, regretting, of course, that a division between the farmers and laborers in the United States which has existed until recent years has prevented a noticeable accomplishment of direct political victories for Socialists and Communists running for office as such in the United States. However, other documents issued by the league indicate its great satisfaction over what the Socialists have accomplished through legislative methods, using "liberals," or, as they choose to call them, "progressives," to do their work in the absence in office of their own party politicians. The document states that "in about 30 States of the Union, Labor's Non-Partisan League," C. I. O. political arm, has "established branches," but that in Pennsylvania and Ohio "the branches are now working through old parties in an attempt to secure the nomination of 'progressive' candidates," while "in other States they are encouraging the formation of a new party and are endeavoring to effect an alliance between the farm and labor groups."

In speculating on the Presidential race for 1940, the Socialists claim that if the Democratic Party fails to renominate President Roosevelt or someone named by him and, instead, nominates someone "unsatisfactory to the leadership of the Labor's Non-Partisan League, a new political alinement on a national scale is by 1940 a probability."

The Communist Marxians have likewise expressed their approval of the move, and have issued orders to "build up the forces of the Labor's Non-Partisan League" and defeat conservatives whom they choose to call "reactionaries" and "opponents of the New Deal."

The official organ of the Communist Party, as the "section of the Third (Communist) International" of Moscow, in speaking of the "red" united front efforts, says, on January 1st this year, that "the outstanding example was New York City. There the American Labor Party found the backbone of a coalition ranging from the Communist Party to the Progressive Republicans. As a result, the entire Progressive state, headed by Mayor LaGuardia, was elected and the American Labor Party succeeded in placing six of its candidates in the city council." LaGuardia is reported to have voted the American Labor Party ballot.

The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, has ordered all of its locals and members to stay clear of and combat the Labor's Non-Partisan League political movements, to support opposition candidates as in Pennsylvania, recently, and to follow the same line in opposition to the American Labor Party. These they term the "Charlie McCarthys of Lewis." The Federation has also made it known that it is ignoring the National Progressive Party, recently set up by the La Follette brothers in Wisconsin, and which these so called progressives hope can be made to spread into a national political party.

In Minnesota, the Communists have followed the move of the Labor's Non-Partisan League and have endorsed the Farmer-Labor Party program and candidates, including Governor Benson, now trying for re-election, there being little difference between the theories of the Farmer-Labor Party and of the Communist and Socialist Parties.

UNITED FARMERS' LEAGUE

The United Farmers' League is a section of the International Peasant Council of Moscow. It was organized in the United States in 1926. It is active in farm strikes. Alfred Talle, secretary of the league, has an extensive jail record for his agitational activities and leadership of mass resistance of farmers in the Middle West. Its organ is the United Farmer. The league was merged with the Farmers' National Committee for Action at a national convention held in Chicago in 1933.

"A Call To Action" was issued to farmers asking them to "unite their fight." Russian farmers were described in glittering terms by Julien Bryan in a lecture on Russia. Clarence Hathaway of the New York bureau of the Communist Party addressed this "united front" congress. Fifty-nine farmers' organizations were reported represented, but the Communists edged in the Communist Party, the (Communist) Labor Sports Union, the Young Communist League, the Young Pioneers, the United Farmers' League, the Communist Unemployed Councils, the Share-Croppers Union, and scores of State committees of action, quickly organized by them in order that they might assure the "reds" control.

Philadelphia became the home of the national headquarters of the movement, and Farmers' National Weekly, the organ.

Crop destruction, opposition to a Progressive third party, support of the cancelation-of-debts movement, and abolition of the profit system were the topics which were formulated into resolutions by the delegates attending the convention. A memorial to the well-known Communist, Ella Reeve Bloor, was the first business taken care of. Lem Harris was elected to the position of executive secretary.

NAZI-ISM-FASCISM

Let me state at the outset that nazi-ism and fascism are so much alike in theory and practice that they have formed an alliance in the Old World. Their chief target is communism, although if one inspects the doctrines and practices of nazism and fascism and compare same to those of socialism and communism they will find that these four 'isms that are troubling the world today are practically the same with the exception of two minor points. These, I will go into later.

I will not consume too much of the committee's time on this subject, because you have already heard major witnesses that have given you much light on the

subject, as a result of this study from the inside of the Nazi movement in the United States. You have also been given advantage of the report of the exhaustive investigation made by the United States Department of Justice and you are to hear from a leader of one of the American coalition's affiliated movements, the Disabled Veterans Association, who through their exhaustive study of the menace were able to file charges against a Nazi camp movement in Yaphank, Long Island, and cause its closing and the indictment of its officers. We have also suggested to you another person in a high position whom, we understand you are to hear on the subject. So we will not attempt duplication.

However, we have some facts we deem important and fear that they may be overlooked and wish to therefore, emphasize them here. One is that with the continued growth of any militantly un-American movement in the United States there is always a grave danger of the growth of opposition movements of as militant a character. If Communism is permitted to carry on unhampered, there is danger that varied types of other un-American movements will continue to spring up in opposition in the United States and sweep into such movements many opposing Communism, and that if nazi-ism and fascism is permitted to grow unhampered in the United States, that they will cause a constant weakening of many to communism who may be swept into the Communist movements in building up a so-called anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist front. Each of these menaces try to lift itself to power by the bootstraps of the other. Nazi-ism and fascism are at present shrouding all of their struggles as a saviour against the menace of Communism. Communism and Socialism are building a unit front around the claim of a Nazi-Fascist menace. Stop all of these and you have ended much of the trouble and confusion our Nation faces today. As to agitational slogans the chief difference is that nazi-ism and fascism instead of using the Communist class hatred cry, use the racial hatred cry.

Now as to the menace of nazism in the United States. Our observations lead us to believe it to be a real menace. That its direct following is about 80,000 in the United States and that its indirect following is considerably more, and that its propaganda is having a telling effect on still more.

The Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund (American-German Association), frequently referred to as the American Bund, was formerly known as the Friends of the New Germany. It is apparently the official leading organization of the Nazi movement in the United States. Fritz Kuhn is the head of it in this country, J. Wheeler Hill, chairman of Greater New York Bund and Rudolph Marhann, eastern district leader. Its national headquarters are located at: 178 East 85th Street, New York City. Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter is the official organ of this organization in the United States. Severin Winterscheidt is the editor. The membership of the movement is made up chiefly of German immigrants. In fact at its major gathering at Camp Siegfried, Yaphank, L. I. on Aug. 29, 1937, it was estimated by an observer that some 40,000 were present. These included Germans, Italians, and white Russians. It must be remembered that this was only a turn out of eastern members and followers and that consideration must be given to the fact that they have a wide following in other sections of the Nation which we will enumerate later in this report.

Many of the New York groups meetings are held at Turner Hall 85th Street and Lexington, New York City. These meetings are held as a rule bi-monthly.

The swastika flag is displayed at all the meetings and the meetings are closed with the singing of "Horst-Wessel" song at the same time an outstretched right hand is in salute and three "Heils"—"Sieg" follows.

At a meeting, October 3, 1937, at Madison Square Garden 24 swastika flags were in appearance as decorations. Banners hung were inscribed as follows "German Our Blood", "Same Way—Same Efforts", "America Our Good", etc.

The meeting was known as "German Day" and preparations for same were allegedly in the hands of American-Bund leader, Fritz Kuhn; German Association, Otto Johannsen; American Sports Body, Julius Kuehlwein; American Association of Hudson County, Wm. Promann; New York Turner Association, Martin Nolde; Low German's Society of Brooklyn, leader, Fred Harms; German War Veterans, leader, Major Benno von Stuelpnagel; Low German's Society of New York, leader, Henry Behrens; Schwabenbund of Greater New York, leader, William Simon; Steuben Society of America, leader, Theodore Hoffman; Association of Bavarian Societies, leader, Dr. Louis A. Ewald; Combined German-American Societies of Brooklyn, leader, George Lutz; Combined German-American Societies of New York, leader, Dr. P. J. Kessler; Combined Singing Societies of Brooklyn, leader, Jacob Bartscherer; Combined Singing Societies of New York, leader, Karl H. Schroeder.

At this gathering some 1,000 members of "O. D." (Orniings-Dienst) or special attendants of the German-American Bund in uniform took charge of the aisles. Over 20,000 people made up the audience and the chairman, Dr. Peter J. Kessler, announced that 16 organizations were present representing thousands of German born in the United States of America.

Dr. Hans Dieckhoff, German Ambassador to the United States of America, addressed the assemblage.

The audience sang one verse of Deutschland Ueber Alles (German National anthem) and also a verse from "Horst Wessel."

BLACK SHIRTS

At an eastern district rally of the German-American Bund, held in New York Hippodrome, Forty-third Street and Sixth Avenue, New York City, October 30, 1937, J. Wheeler Hill presiding, Rudolph Markham, eastern district leader of German-American Bund, spoke and a delegation of Italian Black Shirts took part in the affair with John Finizio, an Italian, also addressing the affair. H. H. Beomist, leader of the Britain Founder of Racial Movement of Great Britain, and Adrian Arcano, leader of the Christian National Socialist Party of Canada, also spoke. Fritz Kuhn finally took over the chair as presiding officer. A "grand spectacle unity" followed, with Hans Muens directing and with women's auxiliary and youth formations followed by massing of colors. Numerous photographs of German-American Bund meetings in New York, New Jersey, Missouri, and elsewhere show the members in uniforms and drill formation, the swastika on the sleeve and the Nazi flags in abundance. They show the streets in Nazi camps named for Hitler and other German leaders, show youth (boys and girls) in formation and stages of meetings decorated with swastika.

Now the Nazi and Fascist movements, of course, claim that they have no platform in opposition to our form of government. We have shown you that the Communists do have such a program, and we believe that the very existence of the Nazi and Fascist movements in the United States is sufficient evidence to prove that they also have some "axe to grind" within our borders. For your information we place in the record the announced "purpose and aims" of the Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund.

"To unite all honorable, serious-minded, courageous, and unselfish men and women of the Germanic race, now loyal citizens or residents of the United States, proud of their Germanic blood, and treasuring German traditions, language, and ideals of a national and individual liberty, justice, truth, duty, and absolute honesty, into one gerat, free, proud, and respect-demanding German-American Bund for the mutual benefit of the United States of America and Germany.

"So bound together by our blood, ideals, and sympathies, by our free will, firm conviction, and determination to further the interests of both the United States of America, the country of our free choice or adoption, and Germany, the land of our birth and ancestors, we are obliged and we resolved:

"1. Above all to uphold and defend the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America.

"2. To respect and honor the flag and institutions of the United States of America, and to cultivate their lofty ideals.

"3. To promote good will, lasting friendship and continued beneficial relations between the United States of America and Germany.

"4. We pledge our best efforts to expose and depose communism, marxism, internationalism, and un-American boycott rackets within the United States of America.

"5. To defend with all lawful means at our disposal the good name and honor of our mother country Germany against all defamation, willful and poisonous lies, and purposeful malice, emanating from any ill-wishing, jealous, avaricious and ignorant source whatsoever, be it race, people, tribe, clan, nation, association or individual, against a propaganda still being spread by print, script, and mouth, openly and covertly, through books, magazines, newspapers, leaflets, and just cowardly rumors.

"6. To try to bring home to our American co-citizens the real and indisputable German achievements in the sciences and arts, the German inventions and contributions toward the advancement of agriculture, industry, and commerce, the great, world-wide recognized German institutions of learning, the German high standard of the various professions, handicrafts, and labor, the outstanding German laws and institutions for the protection and welfare of

especially the working classes, the high German ideals of liberty, of justice, of honor, and of education, the honorable and energetic effort the new German Government is making to promote equality of classes of mental and physical workers, as long as they really work earnestly and intelligently not alone in their own individual interest but also in the interest of the commonwealth, the commendable, virtuous and forceful efforts of the new German Government to oppose, suppress, punish, and eradicate all selfish interests trying to chisel, defraud, or graft.

"7. To abstain from useless, harmful, and ignoble propaganda and incriminations of any kind. To act at all times, everywhere, and under all conditions as straightforward, courageous, just, and honorable descendants of the Germanic race, setting an example of blameless conduct, thereby unavoidably creating an atmosphere of genuine good will toward the German people and their Government.

"8. To work incessantly and courageously for the fundamental right of every civilized nation to tend to their own business of self-government without any undue interference, threats, boycotts, or other illegal violence from outsiders.

"9. To co-operate freely and willingly with all of good-will to promote mutual understanding and friendship among nations and for an honorable peace among mankind.

"10. To keep our league clean of heart and mind, banning all selfish inclinations, and to stand unwaveringly for our motto: 'All for one and one for all'.

"11. To be and remain worthy of our Germanic blood, our German fatherland, our German brothers and sisters, who are now fighting for their very existence and honor: to cultivate our German language, customs, and ideals; and to be upstandingly proud of this all.

"12. To always remember that only in unity is strength, and that, if firmly united, we then will be of real value and a desirable and respected class of law-abiding citizens of the United States of America."

You will note that No. 5 is an aim "to defend * * * our mother country Germany"; No. 6, an aim to "bring home to our American co-citizens the real and indisputable German achievements * * *"; No. 7, an aim to create "an atmosphere of genuine good will toward the German people * * *"; and No. 11, the aim "to be and remain worthy of our * * * German fatherland," and No. 12, an aim "to always remember that only in unity is strength * * *."

It has been brought out in recent court proceedings that there is a secret oath of allegiance to Germany taken by the Nazis in the United States. It is evident that the Nazi organizations are attempting to influence the German people in this country to become or continue to be loyal to the German Government and to the Nazi Socialist dictatorship. In so doing the members and followers of the Nazi movement are automatically violating their pledge of allegiance to the United States Government, for the allegiance to the United States recognizes no right of divided allegiance or loyalty. Just as the Communists in the United States pledge allegiance to Stalin, communism and Russia, so do the Nazis in the United States pledge allegiance to Hitler nazi-ism and Germany. Consequently, we can see no difference in the "un-Americanism" of the two. Communists receive the aid of Russia and the Third International in Moscow, and the American Bund apparently receives the aid of Germany and of the "Fichte Association" (Fichte-Bund) of Hamburg. Propaganda is received in the United States from both countries. Each attacks one another, but always defends its "fatherland."

The operations of the Nazis in the United States are similar to those of the Communists. They both have a guiding movement in this country. They both have their propaganda machines. They both have their meeting places, their adult and youth section, their organizers and agitators, and their camp sections. It is true that the Communists have a greater number of these and a larger following, but we must remember that communism has a 15-year start over nazi-ism in the United States. We must also realize that Nazi organizations can in time become as great a menace, and, therefore, is as dangerous.

One of the major Nazi camp movements has recently been forced to suspend operations as a result of an old law in New York State which forbids a membership movement from operating without having filed names of officers, members, bylaws, purposes, and program. This was Camp Siegfried located at Yaphank, Long Island, N. Y. Another witness, we are informed, will tell you in detail about the camp. We know, however, that in this camp, as well as in Camp Nordland, Andover, N. J., Nazi men, women, and children give the Nazi salute; that they carry the Nazi flag with the American flag, indicating divided allegiance, and display the swastika, the Nazi (of Germany) emblem.

(NOTE: Communists carry the red flag of Russia opposite the American flag, and use the hammer and sickle, the Soviet emblem, in addition to giving the Russian Communist salute.)

We know that just as Communists name the streets in their camps in the United States in honor of leading Russian Communists, such as Stalin and Lenin, so do the Nazi-Germans in their camps in the United States, name the streets in honor of Hitler and other German Nazis.

We understand that there are or were other Nazi camps and units located at Seattle and Spokane, Wash.; Portland, Oreg.; Concord, Oakland, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, San Gabriel, Los Angeles, and San Diego, Calif.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Denver, Colo.; Omaha, Nebr.; St. Louis, Mo.; Sackoygan, Milwaukee, and Kenosha, Wis.; Gary, Hammond, and South Bend, Ind.; Detroit, Mich.; Toledo, Cleveland, Dayton, and Cincinnati, Ohio; Buffalo, Schenectady, Poughkeepsie, Yaphank, Jamaica, New York City, and Brooklyn, N. Y.; Stamford, Norwalk, Danbury, Waterbury, and New Haven, Conn.; Newark, Passaic, Andover, and Trenton, N. J.; Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Reading, Pa.; and Baltimore, Md. Some of these camps, we have been advised, are now closed.

It has been reported that the camps, in some instances, are operated like the Communist camps as separate corporations and movements, and that one of these (Nazi) is called the American Settlement League. It was the officers of this league who were arrested and convicted recently in Suffolk County, N. Y., after an American coalition organization (the Disabled Veterans of the United States) filed charges against the Nazi group in New York. You will learn more of this in detail through witnesses, who will testify before your committee. The leader of that camp movement is Ernst Mueller. Others convicted and fined included Herman Schwartzman, Bruno Haebel, Henry Wolfgang, Addo Bielefeld, and Henry Hauch.

The men and youth of the Nazi movement wear brown shirts. The troopers and overseas caps and Sam Brown belts. The officers wear uniform coats to distinguish them from the others. Communist youths parade in blue blouses, while others wear red blouses. They also maintain uniformed bodies.

Fritz Kuhn reported to a New York State legislative committee recently claimed that the "Nazi salute is the coming salute in America." Browder and his Communists claim that the "Communist salute is to become the American salute."

Both Russia and Germany have been accused in the past of maintaining widely organized spy systems in the United States. Both are carrying on a nationalism within our country which is pro to their respective governmental systems. Both carry on a campaign of racial hatred. The two have maintained uniformed groups in the United States.

It is our observation that nazism is strongest in the sections in which communism is strongest and communism is strongest in districts heaviest populated by people of foreign birth.

As to Italian Fascist movements in the United States of America, there is such a movement referred to above as taking part in a German gathering, but it appears to be so secret we do not know anything more about it. Possibly the committee can develop more information on that subject through some other witness. There is also a Fascist organization composed of White Russians.

This, at Thompson, Conn., a Russian-Fascist movement, which claims it "has no designs against our form of government and Government" and which is known as the "All-Russian Fascist Party." Its membership, we understand, is exceedingly small—approximately 50. It is, according to reports, a part of an international movement, composed of White Russians. It is designed to combat the Communist regime in Russia and to eventually reestablish the rule over Russia by the White Russians. National headquarters are located at 480 Canal Street, New York City. Members of the group wear a uniform: on the sleeve of which is the swastika. The organization meets annually. Last year it held its meeting on the estate of Count Vosiatsky who is, we understand, the leader of the American section. Two hundred attended the congress at Thompson. Lt. Donat Knute is secretary general of the party.

It might be well for the committee to also look into the organization known as the "American National Socialist Party," 147 East One Hundred and Sixteenth Street, New York City. The emblem of this movement is the swastika, which is, of course, the emblem of many Fascist and Nazi movements. This organization claims to favor "Americanism of those of Aryan extraction." This would make it appear it is a Nazi group. It is pronounced in its opposition to communism. Its organ is called the National American, and is published by the

National Press Association in behalf of the American National Socialist Party. The editors are Peter H. Strahrenberg and Philip A. Myers.

In 1934 there existed in the United States a number of organizations which called themselves "American" fascists, but it is understood that they are no longer in existence. One of these was the "Crusader White Shirts—American Fascist." The headquarters were located in Chattanooga, Tenn. Its trademark was a red crusade cross, with an American flag to the right and the red flag to the left. It claimed to be crusading for "economic liberty," and its leader George Christians, claimed that on the event of a general uprising by the Communists, the Crusaders would lead the onrush and beat the Communists to control.

There was also a "Black Shirt" and "Khaki Shirt" movement back in 1930. Both of these have discontinued operations. One was located in Georgia and the other in Pennsylvania.

THE LIKENESS OF NAZI-ISM-FASCISM AND COMMUNISM

Many wonder "what is the difference between communism, nazi-ism, and fascism." The average man notes that throughout the world communism, nazi-ism, and fascism are engaged in a struggle into death. Hence, he concludes that one must be the utter opposite of the other. There must be a vast difference between them.

We wish to state here that nazi-ism is the same as fascism and that while there are two minor differences between nazi-ism-fascism and communism, the similarities between the two are much more striking and important. Both are forms of totalitarianism or dictatorship. Both are systems of regimentation. Both make the citizen the slave of the state. Both suppress personal liberty, individual rights, and all avenues of individual thought, creation, and action.

The question now will be asked: "If nazi-ism-fascism and communism have so much in common, why does the one so bitterly oppose the other?" The reason they are such relentless rivals is that they are so much alike but under different leadership who envies the other. Nazis-Fascist dictators are jealous of Communist leaders, dictators; Communist dictators and leaders are jealous of Nazis-Fascist dictators and leaders. Nazi-Fascist and Communist demagogues are rival because each is trying to sell to the people substantially the same shoddy variety of government. Each claims the world as his "territory," and each resents and resists any infringement by the other upon his "claim."

Gangsters in the underworld, as well as in government, have always split up into rival gangs. One gang shoots the other gang down in the streets. Gangsters' warfare is cruel and heartless in the extreme. Yet all criminal mobs have a common aim: the preying upon private property. All criminal mobs use the same weapons. They fight with the same tactics. They have the same immoral and antisocial philosophy of life.

Revolutionary radicalism is, essentially, a movement toward government by gangsterism—by lawless terrorism. Joseph Stalin and many of his Communist henchmen were bank robbers and desperadoes before they took over the racket of Sovietism. Nearly all have jail records. Some of the worst revolutionary régimes in the world during the past 18 years have been headed by professional bandit chiefs who supplanted orderly government with criminal terrorism.

As the underworld splits up into rival criminal gangs, so do the forces of radicalism divide up into rival mobs of political racketeers. Throughout history Socialists have warred against Communists; Syndicalists have warred against Anarchists; one group of radicals has spilt the blood of a brother group. Today, in Russia, you have a clear example with the Stalinist Communists slaughtering their former comrades, the Trotskyite Communists. In the United States one finds several cults of Communists—the Stalinists, the Lovestones, the Trotskyites, etc.

The leaders of present-day nazi-ism-fascism are, for the most part, ex-Socialists, those who quit the old Socialist revolutionary racket to create a new revolutionary racket in demagoguery and dictatorship. Mussolini was a revolutionary Socialist before he led his Fascist revolution against Rome. Hitler still calls himself and his party Socialist, although he heads another new form of socialism which suppresses all Socialists of the Communist crowd.

So much for the Nazi-Fascist and Communist leaders. They seem to have much the same philosophy of life. They use the same lawless weapons to gain power and the same plan to retain power. They exploit the people under much the same form of slavery. They are alike in their natures, their psychology, and their philosophy, as any ordinary despots who ever spilled each other's blood anywhere.

Communism and Nazi-fascism stand for the same form of ruthless government, but each is directed by a different set of political pilots. Each is a form of class rule—but each is supported by a different class. Communism is a movement which, while led by scheming demagogues of the upper class, is supposedly rooted in the "proletariat." The proletariat is incited to rise up in revolution against the propertied class, while fascism is a drive of the middle class, led by self-seeking demagogues, most generally of the lower class, to suppress so-called proletarian insurrection. Communism is an organized offensive warfare of the unpropertied and thrifless—seeking to steal the other man's property who has been thrifty. Nazi-ism-fascism is a defensive movement of the propertied—seeking to safeguard their property against so-called proletarian seizure.

Nazi-ism-fascism, then, is founded in fear. The middle class goes into panic as the "red" tide in the presence of do-nothing government rises about it. Demagogues see a chance to capitalize upon the fear and panic of the small and large propertied interests and perceive an opportunity to gain dictatorial powers for themselves by capitalizing upon this fear of a class which sees its life's efforts and future security threatened. Would-be nazi-fascist rulers say in effect to the middle class: "Your very existence is threatened. The "red terror" is sweeping over you. We alone can save you. But we demand a high price for our services. If you wish us to safeguard your propertied status, you will have to become our subjects. You will have to surrender all civil liberties. You will have to enthrone us with dictatorial powers. Accept us as your masters—and we will smash the Communists under a rule of blood and iron. But remember, you yourselves must go under our rule if you want us to crack down on your enemies, the Communists. If you wish us to insure your security, you will have to surrender unto us your liberty, in exchange."

It is a hard and cruel bargain which Fascist leaders drive with this middle class. It is a bargain which no people would ever make—unless they believed their life itself was threatened. A man dying of an incurable disease will usually give his all to any practitioner who affords reasonable hope and promise of curing him. In its desperation, confronted with death under the "red terror," the middle class gives its all to the quack physicians of fascism who hold out for it the hope of a renewed lease on life. Nazi-ism-fascism is a racket which fattens and feeds upon the fear and desperation bred of the "red" terror. It is a nostrum sold to the people as an antidote for Communist poison. It is a form of blackmail, of political extortion and racketeering, practiced upon a desperate people being driven into blind panic by the rising tide, the Communist menace.

Because Nazi-ism-fascism, in the beginning, is supported and subsidized by the middle class bent upon defending its liberties and property against Communist confiscation, many political analysts jump at the conclusion that nazi-ism-fascism is what it claims to be, a bulwark raised in defense of free capitalism; a dictatorship of, by, and for the small- and large-propertied interests. But, in practice it is nothing of the kind. Nazi-ism-fascism in practice betrays the middle class just as communism betrays the working class. Proletarian dictatorship professes to be the rule of the middle class—in reality it is the rule of Nazi-Fascist political machine over the middle class. Communism exploits unmercifully the working class it claims to serve. Nazi-ism-fascism exploits, with equal ruthlessness, the propertied class it professes to preserve. Communism destroys the human rights of the proletariat it pretends to exalt. Nazi-ism-fascism destroys the property rights of the propertied class it pretends to uphold.

There is no real distinction between human rights and property rights. The right to acquire and own property is a fundamental human right for which human beings have fought, bled, and died since the beginning of time. Property rights are the expression of man's basic human right to enjoy the fruits of his own toil—of his own hand and brain. Property is the product of the labor and thought of human beings—it is the creation of the flesh and blood, the thought and dreams, of human beings poured into productive enterprise. When the product of the brain and hand of man is taken from him, his individuality—yes, his humanity—is impaired, mutilated.

Benjamin Franklin wisely observed that "when men exchange liberty for the promise of security, they lose both." Communists persuade the working class to trade their property rights for a mirage of human rights; under Communist dictatorship. The working class loses both the right to acquire property and its human rights. The Nazi-Fascists persuade the middle class to acquire property and its human rights and civil liberties, for the shadow of security for property rights; under Nazi-Fascist dictatorship, the middle class loses both civil liberties and security of property rights, the former being taken entirely away and the latter being placed under absolute state control.

We all know of the methods by which the Soviet "red" tyrants debase and exploit labor under a dictatorship which masquerades as "proletarian rule." Hence, we will pass over that, to a consideration of the manner in which Nazi-ism-Fascism whittles away proper rights while professing to uphold them.

In the first place, it is necessary to define the right to private property. What do we mean when we say that a man owns a piece of land, for instance? Ownership really means control. If a man owns a piece of land, he has control over it. He may use it as he sees fit. He may cultivate it, may experiment with it, may sow and reap crops upon it, or he may allow it to remain untilled. He may seek to utilize it in such manner as to derive a profit from it. He may dispose of it as he wishes. The title deed to a farm is a guarantee of the rights of the individual to control the uses to which the farm is put.

There are two ways to nullify the right of private property. The Communist way is that of outright confiscation; the government takes away from the individual his title deed to property and thereby takes ownership for the government. The Nazi-Fascist way is more subtle, but just as effective. Nazi-Fascist governments do not confiscate private property itself; they simply confiscate control over it. Nazi-Fascist dictatorships say to property owners, "Sure, you can keep your property; but we will control it. You hold the deed of title, but such a deed is a scrap of paper. It doesn't mean anything. You are now the subject of the state; your property is the instrument of the state. You are permitted to own your own land; but we will tell you what you must do with it."

In Soviet Russia the title to land is taken forcibly from the individual and vested in the government. Peasants work the land under "red" regimentation. The "red" bureaucrats award the peasants whatever "share" of the crop the dictatorship sees fit to permit them to hold. In Nazi-Fascist nations the title to land is vested in individuals. The farmer owns his own land. But he works it under Nazi-Fascist regimentation. The Nazi-Fascist bureaucrats award the farmer whatever "share" of the product of his own soil the dictatorship sees fit. There is not any great difference between government ownership under Communism and government control under Nazi-Fascism.

In Soviet Russia the government owns and controls all industry. It fixes the wages and hours of both common and skilled labor; it dictates the income of those who work with their hands and those who work with their brains, and of the prices they must pay for necessities of life. In Nazi-Fascist nations, the government leaves technical, theoretical ownership in the hands of the private citizens, but it bureaucratically controls all industries. It fixes the wages and hours of common and skilled labor; it dictates the income of those who work with their hands and those who work with their brains and fixes the prices they must pay for necessities of life. Prices and wages are fixed by both of these types of government—so as to accord to each class of workers and farmers the income the dictatorship decrees they may have. The owners of corporations under Nazi-Fascism are permitted to manage their enterprises—but they must manage them according to rules laid down in precise detail by the dictatorship. Under Nazi-ism-Fascism, the corporation executive is not listed as a government "employee," as he is in Soviet Russia. But, in practice, he is a government servant—and nothing else. He operates his business under government regimentation—or he is not permitted to run it at all.

Under Nazi-ism-Fascism, at the present time, it is true that men who work with their brains are more fairly rewarded than they are under communism. Business men are "permitted" to make a certain profit, but enjoy no "right" to make it. Private profit does not flow then from the private ownership of property; it flows from the edict of Nazi-Fascist dictatorship. Businessmen are therefore slaves of the state; they are on the "dole." The government lets them keep a certain share of the fruits of their own industry and property. But there is no security of private property, or of private profit, under Nazi-ism-Fascism. Any day Hitler or Mussolini can and may "decree" "hereafter

all business must operate without profit; business management must work without reward." Under Nazi-Fascist government there is no guaranty of property or income to any class. All citizens are actually "doled" by the government, for government-control prices, wages, and profits means government control of the income of every economic class.

There is, however, quite a difference between the Communist and the Nazi-Fascist attitude toward religion—but it is a difference of degree, not of kind. Both communism and nazi-ism-fascism are antagonistic to religious freedom—as they are to all other forms of freedom. Both are enemies of the human spirit—communism to completely suppress religious worship, while fascism (nazi-ism) regulates or regimented it. Both Nazi-Fascists and Communist dictators in those respects seize upon the "things that belong to God"; both seek to swallow up on a "totalitarian state" the souls of the people. Both claim for the state ownership of the souls of men.

The heart of religion is the moral law. Both Nazi-Fascists and Communists trample upon the Ten Commandments; neither respects the sacredness of human life or the sanctity of the human personality. There can be no real religious freedom when intellectual liberty is destroyed, when freedom of speech, press, and thought are regimented. It is hollow mockery for nazi-ism-fascism to pose as an upholder of freedom of conscience, while it goes about its diabolical work of destroying freedom of thought and of speech. It may be granted that communism is a more murderous enemy of religion than nazi-ism-fascism. But it should be remembered that nazi-ism-fascism is also a menace to the religious rights of the people, just as it is a subverter of their freedom and property rights.

It may be conceded also that communism is a more virulent enemy of the home and family life than nazi-ism-fascism. But nazi-ism-fascism, despite its pretensions, is no real upholder of the home. The foundation of the sanctity of the home is the sacredness of the private property right vested in the homestead. Under nazi-ism-fascism, a man's home is not his castle. No citizen is secure in his own home; any government bureaucrat may enter at any time; may search and seize as he sees fit. The dignity of the home is destroyed when individual rights and immunities are swept away. Likewise, the sacred rights and obligations of parenthood are infringed. Children are subject to the state dictates prior to their parents. Under nazi-ism-fascism and communism alike the government can—and does—press the youth into government-controlled military groups. The government regulates the upbringing and the future of children. It thus annihilates the rights of parents.

Nazi-Fascists and Communists use the same methods to gain power. They have a common goal, as well as common methods. Both seek almighty power over the people of the earth. Both are willing to rush to war to extend their sway, to bring more people under their regimentation.

Nazi-ism-fascism, like communism, is a slave system of society. It is natural that Communists should label as Nazis and Fascists all who oppose them. They try to excuse their own gangsterism by making it appear that everyone who opposes them are just as bad.

Nazi-ism-fascism is not really opposed to communism in the sense that it is an opposite movement, heading in an opposite direction. Nazis-Fascists, in reality, are not enemies of Communists in the sense that they stand for opposite principles and work toward opposite ends. Rather, they are rivals. They wish to gain the same goal as Communists—but they strive to get there first. They both would like to set up a dictatorship in America—but each cult wants it centered in its own hands—not in those of some rival faction. Nazi-Fascists and Communists alike aim at a slave system; the quarrel is over which group shall be the Simon Legree.

The real foe of communism is also a foe of nazi-ism-fascism. The real foe of nazi-ism-fascism is also a foe of communism. Every true American denounces and opposes both and all un-American "isms." Teddy Roosevelt once said 50-50 allegiance to our own system of government is 50-50 treason. He was right. He who serves the cause of any un-American "ism" compromises his Americanism. He cannot be a good American.

ALL-RUSSIAN FASCIST PARTY

An organization by this name (All-Russian Fascist Party) was organized in the United States in 1923 at Thompson, Conn. This is supposedly headed by a White Russian by the name of Anastasi Vonsiatsky, of Putnam, Conn. It is said to be an anti-Communist movement, opposed to the present rule in Russia.

We have photographs in our possession which show the members of the All-Russian Fascist Party dressed in military uniforms. We understand that there are organizations operating under a similar name in various other countries where there are any appreciable number of White Russians.

The December 30, 1934, issue of the Bridgeport (Conn.) Herald published an interview with Vonsiatsky, and quoted him as saying that the organization "is not militaristic." It has been reported that Vonsiatsky's father was a colonel in the Tsarist Army before the revolution, and that he was shot in Warsaw in 1910 by Polish revolutionists.

It is understood that the organ of the All-Russian Fascist Party is The Fascist. It also circulates anti-Communist and anti-Soviet literature. The New York headquarters of the movement were reported located at 480 Canal Street. It also has branches in California. The alleged purpose of the organization is to "free Russia."

There are, of course, a number of other non-Communist Russian movements in the United States. Most of them are affiliated with the United Russian National Organizations in America.

THE SO-CALLED "PACIFISTS"

Long ago the Communist at Moscow set the course insofar as pacifism is concerned, for the radical forces in non-Communist countries. This course is again reiterated in the Moscow Izvestia under date of August 1, 1929. Izvestia is the official organ of the Third International and the Soviet Government, in Moscow. It says:

"While the defense of one's fatherland is not to be tolerated in imperialistic countries (and of course every country, according to Russia and Communists, is imperialistic that is not dominated by Russia and the Communists), in the country of the proletarian dictatorship it (defense) is one's first duty."

Consequently, it is not strange then that we find over 1,000 national pacifist movements within the United States, without a single one in the Soviet Union. It is not strange then to find that most of these pacifist movements in the United States are bound up into united front groups, then into Internationals with headquarters abroad from where they receive their inspirations and instructions. It is not strange then that we found almost without exception these organizations promoting the propaganda and public sentiment for recognition of Russia; it is not strange then that we find them without an exception carrying on an organized campaign in the United States against "fascism" but not against the more widely organized menace communism; it is not strange then that we find them demanding that we "keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world," meaning it is shown by their demands that we strain our neutrality laws to mean assistance to revolutionists and pro-Russian elements in various countries but not to anti-Soviet forces. It is not strange that we find the largest of these movements, the American League for Peace and Freedom (formerly, till January 1938 the American League Against Fascism and War) demanding that we defend Russia, that we defend the minorities of other countries; demanding that we follow Russia's peace policies; demanding that our people refuse to manufacture, load, or ship anything to Russia's enemies; demanding that we boycott the anti-Communist side of Spain, that we boycott Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The cat was let out of the bag on more than one occasion, but definitely so when one leader of the above group introduced a resolution at the second Congress to change the name to American League Against War and Fascism so as to include a fight against communism in the program. This was tabled and never brought forth again. It is not strange that most of the other pacifist movements have injected within their program the fight against capitalism, have injected themselves into the anticampaigns as dictated by the Communists and in the precampaigns they have also waged. But it is strange to find many ministers of the Gospel leading these movements when they must know what it is all about. Nothing is more horrible than the war of communism against Christianity, yet they march to the tune of the Communist Internationale and with red flags glittering forth.

Communists hope by these methods to make non-Communist countries helpless only when playing the puppet for Russia and to lay them absolutely helpless within whenever they feel the time is right to strike against such as our own country. We hear much these days about the National Guards being used in strikes against the workers, we hear little about the work the "reds" are

doing to win over these forces for themselves and of the plan they have to set up a "red" guard that will mow down all deserters once they are in power here as they are in Russia. We hear little about the guards that were ready to refuse action in Michigan during the auto strikes; many of them are said to have worn C. I. O. bands about their arms as signs of solidarity. If it could be known, there is no doubt but that many a "red" has been fired out of the guard ranks over the Nation. This may be an avenue of investigation for this committee to tackle if you think that the leaders of the guardsmen can speak out at this time. Sincere peace movements should not be discouraged. However, we have no place for those that would pick our pockets, that seek to internationalize us, or assume the shape of the Trojan Horse, in sheltering the exponents of communism. To weaken our national defense would not prevent war; to weaken would be to destroy.

Groups of persons, swayed by various impulses and motives, allegedly have endeavored to establish permanent peace. Many of the leaders of the peace movements were idealists and their schemes were impracticable and fantastic. Today, many peace organizations have been penetrated by radical doctrines and are a national menace. In these, pacifism, internationalism, and communism are intermixed. Pacifism, with its alleged goal of everlasting peace regardless of foreign aggression, when combined with internationalism with its supercontrol of constituent societies regardless of ethnic and national antagonisms, present an inimical political combination; When these two are intermixed with communism, with its system of social organization to be brought about by bloody revolution and the doctrine of a community of property, we have a combination that shall ultimately undermine and destroy our Republic. Just how long the pacifist movement has been guided by the "reds" is difficult to say, but during the past 20 years they have practically taken it over, as the story of many peace groups tell. Modern history records the International Peace Congress, often convened after it was first assembled in London in 1843. It was the imperial rescript of Czar Nicholas II of Russia that registered the primary gesture that led to the first Hague Peace Conference of 1899, which was followed by the second in 1907. Out of the first grew the Hague Court of Permanent Arbitration. In 1906 the Conciliation Internationale and the American Association for International Conciliation were formed. The latter disbanded with the advent of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Its fund of \$10,000,000 has afforded much aid and comfort to many radical peace groups. About this time the Maryland Peace Society was formed. Under the stress of the World War and the doctrine that modern strife involves combatants and non-combatants, many people became interested in peace and formed organizations to effect that end. We recall Bryan's League for World Peace, Marburg's League to Enforce Peace, the World Peace Foundation, League of Peace, American Peace Society, Women's Peace Conference, and The American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. The Ford peace ship afforded an opportunity for radical argonauts to war between themselves and plan for future action. German propagandists organized peace societies to keep us out of war; failure to keep their own country out of war did not discourage their activities. Some maintain that enduring peace is strictly an international problem; apparently they have no fear of entangling alliances. The Kellogg-Brand Pact, the Nine-Power Pact, the League of Nations, and the World Court are types.

Disraeli once observed that "the world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes." There is no doubt but that much of the opposition to our national defense is conducted by powerful unseen forces whose personnel is not constant and whose theories are foreign to our institutions and policy. They are well organized and assemble in internationals and congresses which dictate so-called peace policies.

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation was organized under the alleged motive to reconcile people. Yet, it maintains that class war is necessary and that all must work for the radical reorganization of society and replace the present system of individual capitalism by collective ownership. Its activities extend to more than 20 nations. It advocates the abolition of compulsory military service and supports movements for disarmaments. It maintains that as long as military force is ready for possible international war, there is a grave danger that it may be used in class war. Its American section is The Fellowship of Reconciliation, organized in 1915. Soon thereafter it became active in the defense of the so-called "conscientious objectors" in special con-

nection with the World War. It sponsored a pamphlet against military training. However, its members are not opposed to a war that would end capitalism. They seek a fellowship of religious pacifists and keep close to the churches in order to spread radical Christian views. Christian terms are employed to spread its communist peace propaganda. Connected with it are many ministers and professors; all working for a new social order. Its members refuse to participate in any war or sanction military preparedness. Its publication is called Fellowship. Its activities are many. Some of its members initiated the Brookwood Labor College; others set up the National Civil Liberties Bureau, now the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and the Committee on Militarism in Education to oppose military training in schools and colleges. The Fellowship advocates the right of an individual to refuse to obey the State, even in the emergency of war. They have a youth section called the Fellowship of Youth for Peace which was organized about 1928. In 1932 there was circulated the fellowship of reconciliation petition for Russian recognition. The Fellowship is said to be affiliated with the Socialist Pioneer Youth of America and is a section of the ultra-radical War Resisters International and sponsors the Youth Crusade for Disarmament and World Peace. Evidently the Fellowship of Reconciliation is a foreign conceived and planted movement in our country to destroy the spirit of national patriotism of our American people and to oppose our various agencies of national defense.

The War Resisters International is called a Communist organization which desires to bring about a new social order through revolutionary uprisings. It initiated the War Resisters International Council, which comprises the War Resisters International and its sections, together with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' Service Council, and others. Their first international conference was held in Holland; one in Austria in 1923, where resistance and revolution were discussed. They unite for the suppression of capitalism and imperialism and would establish their new social and international order. They maintain that war resistance is a practical policy, but do not oppose war of their own making. Its American section is the War Resisters League, whose honorary chairman in 1933 was Albert Einstein. They advise that we change our economic system and thus get rid of war. In an Armistice Day peace letter to the President of the United States, they announced their "deliberate intention to refuse to support war measures or to render war service" should our Government have to resort to arms.

The Women's International Congress was called by British, Dutch, and Belgian radicals and met at The Hague in 1915. They organized the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace, which in 1919 became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Its United States section is the Women's Peace Party. Active Communists and Socialists were prominent in its formation and it was financed in part by the Garland Fund. It has members in 47 countries. Their Vienna Congress decided to "transform the economic system in the direction of social justice." This meant to favor laws in reference to the abolition of individuals' property ownership. In 1925-26 special attention was paid to the subject of economic imperialism in the United States. In 1934 they sponsored the Nye resolution to investigate the manufacture of armaments. They were active in trying to bring the United States into the World Court. It has been referred to as the feminine branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. Their international headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland. It is their aim to unite women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war and who work for universal disarmament. The charge has been made that it is closely allied with the Third International and that radical leaders for bloody revolution helped to vote funds for some of their "peace" bulletins as well as for some of the speakers on the "pax special." It is a section of the War Resisters International Council. Its literature bears the names of the World Peaceways, Inc., Public Action Committee, and the National Council for Prevention of War.

The International League Against Imperialism centers in Moscow and has branches in all countries of the world. Its section in our country is called the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. Special attention is devoted to Latin America and its endeavors to create hatred between their people and ours. It also aims to spread revolutionary doctrines among colonial people and persuade them to throw off the control of the parent country. Should they do so they might be easily conquered by the Communists. It is an important Communist agency

against national defense in all countries and is sponsored by the Comintern (Communist International) and the Profintern ("red" international labor union). It has held many congresses and has numerous committees.

The green international is active in the schools, colleges, and universities of the world, and is intent upon encouraging and directing war resistance among the students. Their symbol is the green shirt. Each member takes a personal pledge to refuse to take part in or support any kind of war either directly or indirectly. They would abolish the Army and Navy Departments. They advocate the distribution of wealth and Einstein's 2-percent buttons. This international is sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters International, War Resisters League, Women's Peace Society, Peace Patriots, New History Society, and others. The New History Society seems to have the longest radical program of any in which it demands the radicalization of peace, abolition of the Army, Navy, and Air forces, adoption of a universal flag and anthem, abolition of military training, and advises the distribution of the world's wealth and resources.

In addition to these five internationals, there are international committees. The International American and Chicago Committee for Struggle Against War is one of the Communist agencies of the League Against Imperialism, which agitates against national defense in many countries. They advocate the turning of imperialist war into civil war or "red" revolution, sabotage, and revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union. There is also the American Committee for Struggle Against War and a Chicago Committee for Struggle Against War. The International Committee for Struggle Against War is the same as the International Committee for World Congress Against War. This suggests a series of congresses of much interest.

At the World Congress Against War, held at Amsterdam, Holland, in 1932, there were 830 Communists among the 2,196 delegates representing 27 countries. This militant congress favored Communist civil war but opposed imperialist war. This congress was organized and controlled by Moscow's international League Against Imperialism, which controls the International and American Committees for Struggle Against War, which was organized at the World Congress of Youth Against War and Fascism, held in Paris in 1933, which advised the radical penetration of our armed forces, such as the Citizens' Military Training Camps, Reserve Officers Training Corps, etc., and participated in the United States Congress Against War, held in New York City in 1933, and which sympathizes with all pacifists and revolutionaries.

The Communists devote much attention to the political perversion of the minds of the youths and the students. If they are successful here, the coming generation is assuredly communistic.

The International Student Movement originated at the Students Congress Against War and Fascism held at Brussels, Belgium, in 1934. It was here that a Student World Committee was set up and which called upon all student organizations to join in an international student congress. In our country a Vigilance Committee Against War and Fascism was formed. Fascism is the deadly enemy of communism and often appears when communism threatens to gain supreme power. It is the self-protection of the people against communism after their own form of government has proved too lenient or ineffective. This is why Communists hate Fascists. In January 1936 the preparation committee of the International Youth Conference for Peace called the Second International Youth Conference for Peace, which was held in Brussels, Belgium. It was at this meeting that the World Youth Congress was formed and a national-committee appointed. The World Youth Congress was praised in a report of the Young Communist League for its approval of the Soviet Union, which necessarily included its confiscation of property and utter disregard of human life. The First World Youth Congress was held at Geneva; 750 youth organizations from 34 countries were present, among whom were delegates from the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. The Second World Youth Congress is to be held at Vassar College, August 15 to 24, 1938. Their attitude in reference to national defense may be gathered from their slogan at their "international fighting day of students for peace," which was "Under no circumstances shall we follow the American Government if it undertakes war."

Another section of the pacifist movement is found in the American Youth Congress, which was organized in New York in 1934; 1 year later the radicals had assumed full control. It held a convention in Washington, D. C., in 1935, and in attendance were delegates from the Young Communist League, Com-

munist American Student Union, and other sympathetic organizations. Its attitude to national defense reflected the opinions of its radical delegates.

The National Student League, now the American Student Union, was organized early in 1932 and called the Student Congress Against War, held at the University of Chicago the same year with an attendance of 600 delegates. In his address before them, Earl Browder reputedly said "that communism, while opposing imperialist war, was not opposed to the civil war, which was the only way to overthrow capitalist imperialism and stop imperialist war." This league has many antiway committees in institutions of learning. It is alleged that Moscow's Proletariat Youth Organization controls it. We consider it to be a section of the Communist movement. Its University of Chicago publication is sealed Upsurge. Many of its youthful members participate in demonstrations and riots and are placed under arrest. It advocates the abolition of national defense and military training. Its members, while favoring class war, refuse to defend their country or fight in other wars. The National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy held a joint convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1935, and combined, forming the American Student Union. Their recent convention was held at Vassar College.

In addition to the internationals and congresses, radical pacifists have set up many national committees, councils, federations, leagues, and unions.

The Pennsylvania Committee for total Disarmament was formed in 1930 and took for its slogan "Work for a constitutional amendment to make war and preparedness for war illegal for the United States." This is a supporting organization of the Communist-organized United States Congress Against War and an affiliate of the Green International. The Committee on Militarism in Education, controlled by the United States Congress Against War, is also a supporting organization: \$12,400,000 was allegedly donated by the Garland Fund to finance propaganda against military training in educational institutions.

There are certain radical groups intent upon giving the "reds" free rein in China. It was Sun Yat Sen who founded the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party of China, which is in full alliance with the Communist International. These committees are justice to China, fair play to China, Chinese relief, and hands off China. We also have many Spanish radical groups as well as Mexican, e. g., hands-off-Mexico committee.

There is a Quaker relief organization which is a section of the War Resisters International Council of International Anti-Militarist Groups, which functions as a peace section under the name of the American Friends Service Committee. At their primary meeting in Holland they declared that they were "working for the supercession of capitalism and imperialism by the establishment of a new social and international order." It cooperates with several radical groups, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, League of Industrial Democracy, etc.

A Friends Disarmament Council was formed in 1921, and later merged into the National Council for Limitation of Armaments, which became the National Council for Prevention of War. It conducts a national student forum. They published a printed schedule of Senators and Representatives, giving their yes-and-no vote on the following legislation which they alleged affected world peace: H. R. 5529, war-profits bill; H. R. 7672, naval appropriation bill; H. R. 5720, amendment of National Defense Act; H. R. 5730, amendment of Vinson naval bill; H. R. 5913 appropriation bill, War Department; S. 2253, military disaffection bill. They advocate a war referendum as to foreign wars, favor strong neutrality legislation, and advise placing an embargo on the export of arms and munitions, and repeal of Oriental exclusions acts. Their publication is Peace Action. It has a 1938 budget of \$145,000,000 and 50 full-time workers. Apparently its objectives are consistent with other pacifists who would weaken our national defense. Among its 19 affiliated organizations are the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Committee on Militarism in Education: The World Peace Union is one of the 11 cooperating.

The United States Congress Against War organized the American League Against War and Fascism (evidently not against communism) and which is now the American League for Peace and Democracy, whose convention was held recently in Pittsburgh, at which were 4,800 delegates from organizations having 4,500,000 members. It has a national committee youth section. Commonwealth College reputedly favored the American League Against War and Fascism. Its publication is Fight. However, workers and students are advised not to fight for the ruling class or protect their profits. Closer race relations were apparent at their congress in Chicago, the Negro males appearing bored.

The Emergency Peace Federation of 1914 was revived between February and May 1917 as a rejuvenation of the American Neutral Conference Committee: All composed of radical pacifists. They desired a peace favorable to Germany and February 12, 1917, 250 staged a "peace demonstration" at the White House. April 12, 1936, there was launched the emergency peace campaign by other radical pacifists. Those active in the Emergency Peace Federation formed the American League to Limit Armaments in order to bring about American neutrality and still the then-growing demand for adequate military preparation. The American Union Against Militarism in 1915, which directed a vigorous anti-conscription campaign in 1917 in conjunction with the Women's Peace Party, the Socialist Party, and others. After the passage of the Draft Act, the American Union Against Militarism undertook to assist all persons desiring to avoid the draft and to this end opened a Civil Liberties Bureau, which, in 1917, enlarged its scope and proceeded to operate under the name of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, which, after a change of name in 1920, became known as the American Civil Liberties Union, which has reputedly sponsored many organizations not in sympathy with national defense.

The American Civil Liberties Union reputedly controls the Peace Patriots, a radical peace society. Its pamphlet, War Resistance, advocates total disarmament, encourages membership in the Fellowship of Reconciliation and War Resisters League, urges the distribution of the Einstein 2-percent button, and demands that its members be exempted from future war service. Its pledge comprehends the opposition to all preparations for war.

The World Peaceways succeeded the World Peace Posters in 1931. Reputedly the leader of the World Peaceways was with the People's Freedom Union in 1920, which, at that time, condemned American imperialism and opposed any intervention against the Communist leaders of the Russian revolution. Its slogan is "Disarm or be Destroyed." They ignore the fact that our country must be protected, that we do not pursue policies of aggression, that we do not seek conquests, and abhor war. Its monthly bulletin is the Peaceways Forum. It is affiliated with the United States Congress Against War.

The radical peace complex apparently has penetrated the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Association For International Peace is a pacifist international organization. Its leaders are well-known Catholic liberals of the Communist-aiding type. There reputedly is a connection between its directors and the National Religion and Labor Foundation, Labor Defense Council (now I. L. D.), and a sympathetic bond with the American Civil Liberties Union. There is also the National Catholic Welfare Conference, some of whose leaders cooperate with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Catholic Association for International Peace. In November 1937 they published a survey of communism in the United States, which was evidently compiled so as to minimize possible dangers from communism or not to interfere with its spread. These two Catholic movements exist under the stress of the overworked peace motif.

On the theory that the hand that rocks the cradle rules, special pacifist appeal is made to the women. The Women's Peace Party cooperated with the Socialist Party during the World War in the Emergency Peace Federation of 1917, and also with the American Union Against Militarism, whose Civil Liberties Bureau defended the conscientious objectors. There is also the Women's Peace Society, a radical pacifist international nonresistance organization claiming members in every State of our Union and many European countries and affiliated with the ultraradical War Resisters International. Their members pledge: "I declare it to be my intention never to aid in or sanction war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, in any way." In 1920 the Women's Peace Union was organized as an affiliate of the War Resisters International. They object to the Boy Scouts and allege that they are militant. Their main object of attack is against our flag, which they call a fetish, and maintain that it stands for the glorification of war, hate, violence, and fosters nationalism. Their literature ridicules the Star-Spangled Banner and opposes any salute to it in our public schools by the children. They state that if you or I salute the flag or stand up to the tune of that barbaric war whoop called the Star-Spangled Banner we are complying with the demands of militarism. It is incomprehensible that we have people of this type in our country.

The National Peace Conference was held in Washington, D. C., March 23-26, 1938. The representatives of 41 affiliated organizations and 13 cooperating attended. The conference was instituted in 1933. It was recognized in 1935 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and its representatives

were invited to attend the conference at Columbia University. Their 1936 conference launched a project entitled "Peace in party platforms," taken over from the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. While they would defend our soil from invasion, they would not protect any interests abroad. They advocate control of the munitions industry and advise cooperation with the League of Nations in its social, economic, and humanitarian activities. Allegedly they would abolish the Army and Navy Sedition Act and let go unpunished those who seek to arouse enlisted men to insubordination or mutiny. They sponsor world youth tours. With them are associated many local peace councils. Their general trend is in sympathy with their affiliated organizations, among which we find: The Fellowship of Reconciliation, National Council for the Prevention of War, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Peaceways, Committee on Militarism in Education, Catholic Association for International Peace, and many more.

Similar to the labor and religious groups, the pacifists also seek a united front. The National Council for Prevention of War lists 19 participating and 11 cooperating organizations. The National Peace Conference list 41 affiliated organizations and 13 cooperating. Forty-three other organizations have peace committees. There are at least 300 other groups whose activities are alleged to increase international understanding or which support peace through affiliation. Some of these may not be Communist-inspired and may possess an unadulterated desire for peace. It is not known how many may have been organized under radical direction. Bona fide peace societies have their place in the body politic until they become a nuisance and a menace. One reason why people have gathered into compact political bodies is for their mutual protection. To weaken or hamper this concerns not only the State but each ingredient atom of the body politic.

Most of the radical pacifist movements in the United States owe their existence to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, according to the published history of that movement.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is a branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation of Vienna, Austria. The American section was organized in 1915, after Henry Hodgkin and Leyton Richards had visited the United States and contacted various radicals in an effort to lay the groundwork for the organization of the American branch. In the same year Hodgkin obtained the cooperation of Edward Evans and Norman Thomas (Socialist candidate for President of the United States on various occasions). Shortly thereafter a conference of radicals was held at Garden City, Long Island, at which time the Fellowship of Reconciliation was organized. Evans became the first secretary of the movement in this country.

In the ensuing years the Fellowship of Reconciliation became active in the defense of conscientious objectors and opposed what they called war propaganda in the United States. The Nation was at the time involved in the World War and in recruiting men for service.

The fellowship claims that its members were instrumental in setting up the World Tomorrow, a Socialist-pacifist magazine; the National Civil Liberties Bureau, now the American Civil Liberties Union; the National Council for the Prevention of War (the Frederick J. Libby movement in which Jeannette Rankin is active); Brookwood College, a radical educational institution in New York City; Reconciliation Tours, which conducts excursions of students and educators into dens of communism, pacifism, socialism, and so forth, in New York City; the Committee on Militarism in Education, an organization specializing in a fight against military training in schools and colleges, and the interracial councils. The organization centers its attention and efforts on students, teachers, and ministers, all of whom they consider subjects for a radical form of pacifism.

The membership of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, although comparatively small (approximately 10,000), is very active. Their membership works with numerous other organizations, which gives them added power and strength. The fellowship advocates "the right of an individual to refuse obedience to the state, even in the emergency of war."

In 1929 Donald Grant and Kasper Mayr were members of the International Secretariat of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The International Council consisted of Roger Baldwin, who testified before a congressional committee in 1930 that his organization, the American Civil Liberties Union, upholds the right to advocate murder, assassination, and the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, and who said in the Harvard Year Book (1935) "communism is the goal," Percy Bartlett, Nathaniel Beskon, Pierre Cersole,

Nicholaus Ehlen, Donald Grant, Herman Hoffman, Crete Lohr, Kasper Mayr, Ole Beden, Henri Roser, Rev. Nevin Sayre, and others.

The international is associated with groups in Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Norway, Switzerland, New Zealand, Japan, Holland, Finland, Germany, France, Great Britain, Estonia, and Czechoslovakia. Henry Hodgins, the organizer of the American branch of the fellowship, is the author of the Christian Revolution.

The members of this movement agree to "refuse to participate in any war, or to sanction any military preparation. They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another." They charge that "the present economic system is incompatible with the principles embodied in the teachings of Christ. That the class war is a fact; that, whether we will or not, each one of us is involved; that, as a fellowship, we must know where we stand in this matter and must work toward radical reorganization of society; that our present society is powerfully organized in the interest of a privileged class, which, therefore, may be described as the aggressor in the class war. We, as members of the fellowship, must support, as far as possible, these individuals, groups, and organizations which strive to advance the interest of the exploited classes. * * *

The Fellowship recommends to its members that they propagandize for and join political movements which aim to replace private capitalism by a system of collective ownership, standing for and aiding the workers to organize and to protect themselves in times of strikes and conflicts against either the Government or employers; to support movements for disarmament, abolition of military training, "realizing that so long as military force is maintained for possible international war, there is grave danger that it will be used in the class war * * *; to study the experiment of Soviet Russia in relation to the class struggle and to urge the recognition of Russia by other countries; to choose, whenever possible, an employment which will contribute directly to radical social objective; to renunciate unearned income and acceptance of voluntary poverty in self-identification with the workers' standard of living. * * *

This organization has a branch in Boston, Mass., of which Sidney Lovett is chairman; Mrs. John F. Moore, vice chairman; Helena Dudley, secretary; Prof. William Aurelio, treasurer; James H. Shelton, executive secretary; and Esther Henry, office secretary. The New England general committee is composed of Prof. Mary E. Woolley, Albert Sprague Coolidge (member of the executive committee of the Socialist Party), Mrs. Woodmen Bradbury, Rt. Rev. Benjamin Brewster, Mrs. Joseph Leland, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, and others.

The national officers of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are Rev. Paul Jones, of Antioch College, a Socialist, chairman; A. J. Muste and Kirby Page, radical Socialists, vice chairmen; William C. Riddle, treasurer; Joseph B. Mathews and Rev. John Nevin Sayres, executive secretaries.

In January 1933, the Fellowship issued a round robin urging the recognition of Russia, and obtained the signatures of 800 college professors to the petition. Several years ago, the Fellowship addressed a letter to Mayor Walker of New York City, in which they criticized the New York police for the methods adopted in dealing with Communist demonstrators and agitators. They urged Mayor Walker to force patriotic societies, who had a meeting scheduled for Union Square on May 1, to hold the meeting elsewhere in order that Communists could gather there.

In December 1934 officers and members of the organization could not come to an amicable agreement on the question of whether the Fellowship should go on record as being willing to participate in the class war. Roger Baldwin, J. B. Mathews, Dorothy Detzer, of the Women's International League, Frances Henson, and others, it is understood, demanded that the organization not refuse to take part in a class war.

It can be plainly seen that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is the fountain-head of a foreign-conceived and foreign-planted movement in the United States to destroy the spirit of national patriotism of the American people. This is followed closely by other organized efforts to denationalize or internationalize the American public.

Not only were such organizations as the Carnegie Peace Foundation established, with millions of dollars poured into its tills from profits earned in the United States by one who later returned rich to a foreign country, for use among scores of other movements which carry on some phase of internationalism, but also for lecturers on internationalism, on the League of Nations, World

Court, disarmament, world control of this and that, theories that were brought to the United States from the conspiring and warring nations of the Old World. They have attempted to persuade the American people to lay aside our own interests and join with them in a carefully conceived human lottery in Europe. Other movements sprang up in America in succession: the Foreign Policy Association, the War Resisters, the World Peace Society, the Women's Peace Society, the Women's Peace Union, the League of Nations Association, the World Court Committee, the Peace Patriots, the American League Against War and Fascism, Congress Against War, National Student League, New History Society, the Youth Peace Federation, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, etc.

Many of these organizations, as well as the Socialist and Communist Parties and certain international bankers, are striving constantly to internationalize America. The ultimate results of which would unquestionably break down our national character and lower our standards of living to those of the peons of the Old World set America back to the pre-Declaration of Independence period and subject us to some form of an international oligarchy. It might be news to some of our good people who have been led into following some of these movements to learn a few things concerning some of these organizations.

Let us take as an example the "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," also a section of an international organizations with headquarters in Geneva. Parading as a "peace" movement, they have gained a wide following among advocates of peace. The following is an analysis of their program and of the pronouncements of some of their leaders: Abolition of property privileges (by means of taxation, death duties, and land-reform laws); adherence to League of Nations, World Court, consultative pacts; abolition of military training in American schools and colleges; reduction in size of National Guard; cancellation of war debts; repeal of Japanese Exclusion Act; hands off Cuba, Nicaragua, Philippines, and other American possessions; passage of anti-lynching law; forbiddance of shipment of munitions to any country by the United States. They urged the recognition of Russia, international boycotts against the aggressor, open reception of aliens, reduction in tariffs, and international control of raw materials, etc.

In addition, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, one of the leaders of the Women's International League, is quoted as stating on the eve of the launching of one of the organization's "world disarmament caravans": "I have no confidence in anything short of revolution, peaceful by all means, if possible, bloody if necessary, in every land, resulting in the establishment of the Communist idea in some form. * * * Go about the building of a new world as Russia is painfully trying to do."

Gradually they became quite frank in stating what might be construed by some the real purpose of the movement. We quote here reference to the resolution which was adopted at the last international conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom held in Europe last year, reference to which was published in the Socialist Party Press Service, issued from Chicago: "Conscious that these aims cannot be attained * * * under the present system of exploitation, privilege, and profits, they (members of Women's International League) consider that their duty is to facilitate and hasten by nonviolent methods of the social transformation which would permit the inauguration of a new system, founded on the needs of a community and not on profit."

That appears to some to have been the purpose of the Women's International League for years, instead of pacifism.

The War Resisters is another so-called peace movement that was originally founded in Europe and transplanted in the United States. Here is a portion of their program: Abolition of war and signed pledges by Americans to refuse to defend the Nation in the event of war, and the destruction of the capitalist system. They stated: "We agree that the class war is a fact * * * We must stand in this matter and must work toward a radical reorganization of society." They urge their members to join political movements aiming toward replacement of the capitalist system by a system of collective ownership. They also demand the abolition of military training.

Let us now consider the Green Shirts, a militant organization originating on foreign soil. This movement advocates the following: War resistance, abolition of national governments and creation of "a United States of the World," world patriotism, refusal to defend the Government in the event of war. Its affiliated movement, the New History Society, stands for the following: Radicalization of

peace movements; abolition of the Army, Navy, and air force; establishment of Peace Department in the Cabinet; abolition of War and Navy Departments; advocate of the idea of world citizenship; abolition of tariff and capital punishment; equal wages for men and women; adoption of universal flag and anthem; a world language; universal calendar, currencies, and postage stamps; abolition of the capitalist system and establishment of a cooperative system of production and distribution of wealth and resources of the world; freedom of all colonies; abolition of passports, tariffs, and customs; establishment of a world bank, all banks in the world to become branches thereof; world system of social insurance (work, food, clothing, and shelter); international school textbooks and universal Bible; establishment of a "parliament of man;" creation of universal system of scientific and spiritual education; an international congress; legalization of birth control and the abolition of military training.

The National Student League, a section of the Communist movement in the United States whose leaders are constantly in touch with the Proletarian Youth Organization in Moscow, has this purpose: Abolition of national defense and military training, the support of the class war, the defense of the Soviet Union, refusal to defend the United States in the event of any war, etc.

The Student League for Industrial Democracy, founded in 1905 by the revolutionary Socialist Jack London, also carried on similar agitation as above. These groups have organized most student strikes. Its effort is in making rebel students.

During the joint convention of Young Socialists and Communists at Columbus, Ohio, in January 1936, the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy united and operate now under the name of the American Student Union. This new movement has adopted much of the above programs, including refusal to defend the American Government in any war and to carry on student strikes.

The American League Against War and Fascism and the American Youth Congress (the former having been conceived by agents of world communism, socialism, and pacifism) include in their program the following: Against military training in American schools and colleges; against the defense of the United States Government; for the defense of the Soviet Union; stoppage of war materials from United States to foreign countries; abolition of civilian conservation camps; establishment of social insurance for relief; support of colonial possessions in struggles for freedom; opposition to Germany, Italy, and Japan; the winning of the United States Army and Navy to these issues; international support to all workers against their own imperialistic governments. These groups participate in student strikes and to propagandize for Russia.

These latter movements have succeeded in winning over 1,000 or more religious and other types of pro-Communist organizations. It can readily be seen that the greatest concern of the above-mentioned organizations are in foreign interests and against sustaining our present form of government. Some of the above organizations have Moscow affiliations, and none advocate the disarmament of Russia or revolutionary changes in the Soviet form of government in Russia, or in the breaking down of Russian nationalism. Why, then, do they parade as advocates of peace and freedom in the United States, denouncing our defenses but approving or calling for the defense of the Soviet war monster, the professional advocates of world revolution? Why do they not demand that Russia's standing army, the largest in the world, be decreased to the size of that maintained by the United States? Why do they not denounce the Soviet policy of enforcing military training for over 5,000,000 youth (boys and girls alike)? Why do they fail to condemn the O. G. P. U., the Soviet's fiendish secret spy system? Why do they not condemn Russia's advocacy and agitation for a bloody revolution?

One radical editor in the United States has possibly given the best answer to the above when he said that the revolution in Russia was successful because while one group was busily undermining the prerevolution government of Russia and organizing forces to lead to its violent overthrow others were breaking down the national patriotism of the general public and swearing them to refrain from taking part in any war, while still others were disorganizing and breaking down its national-defense forces. This editor says the revolution in Russia has won because "the soldiers and sailors refused to fire on the people." The Russian people were promised everything by the conspiring Bolshevik politicians: "Peace, bread, land, factories, homes, freedom, and plenty." They blindly followed those leaders. What they actually received is a matter of record. Land, homes, farms, and factories were confiscated. Famine and slavery resulted. Atheism was encouraged and the freedom of the Russian people has been denied them.

The National Council for the Prevention of War (Libby group) proposes in its platform a world organization. This organization is a coalition of 17 so-called peace movements, including its parent organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the World Peace Union, International New Thought Alliance, the National Board of the Young Woman's Christian Association, the Committee on Militarism in Education, and others.

The National Council for the Prevention of War is now peddling peace bonds in an attempt to raise a million dollars to promote many of the aforementioned doctrines in the United States. In the past, Mr. Libby, its leader, has been censured by certain Members of Congress and once by President Coolidge for his propaganda activities. His group, which also fought hard for recognition of Russia until gained, announced some time ago that Russia had "found an advocate in our bulletin."

The National Council opposes adequate national defense for America but does not condemn the huge military forces of Russia, five or more times larger than maintained by the United States. They fight against military training in America but say nothing in opposition to the training of over 5,000,000 youth (boys and girls) in Russia.

Libby is alleged to have asserted that he would neither defend his home, his wife, nor his children. It is alleged that he has denounced the American constitutional form of government as imperialistic and to have criticized our national protection of American citizens in Mexico, China, and Nicaragua, where the "reds" have been busy in revolutionary destruction.

The National Council for the Prevention of War urges the cancellation of debts due the American public by foreign countries, advocated Philippine independence, amending the naturalization laws to allow alien dissenters to become citizens, and favors our adherence to the League of Nations and the World Court.

The press service of the National Council for the Prevention of War condemns the possible use of the National Guard, even during riots resulting from Communist agitation. Its former editor left the Libby group to become a member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker, official Communist publication.

One, if not more, of the officers of the organization are members of the American Civil Liberties Union, which not only upholds many of the above policies but also the right to advocate murder, assassination, and the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

Libby bitterly opposes the exposure of communism and Communist literature and criticized the protest against allowing Russia to send her agents to the United States for the purpose of circulating propaganda. He also denounced the congressional committee for its report on the question of communism.

The Chevy Chase Women's Clubs in Washington, D. C., recently considered a resolution to purchase a number of peace bonds from the National Council for the Prevention of War. Before making their final decision they invited Frederick Libby to appear before them and uphold the work of his organization and Mr. Brobeck of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to oppose the Libby program; both were guest speakers. A vote taken immediately after these men had finished their discussion is reported to have resulted in 107 votes being cast against the proposed resolution to recommend the purchase of the Libby bonds and 78 in favor of it. The club, therefore, refrained from purchasing the bonds.

This is a statement in brief regarding a few of the many pacifist movements in the United States. It is made without malice and merely for information.

There are in the United States over 1,000 so-called national peace movements.

FEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR

American Association of University Women; Council of Women for Home Missions; Committee of Women's Work, Foreign Missions Conference of North America; General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations; National Council of Jewish Women; National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; National League of Women Voters; National Women's Christian Temperance Union; National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union; National Women's Trade Union League.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR

Participating organizations: American Association of University Women; American Federation of Teachers; American Friends Service Committee; American School Citizenship League; Church of the Brethren, Board of Christian Education; Committee on Militarism in Education; Fellowship of Reconciliation; General Alliance of Unitarian Women, Committee on Social Service; General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends; International New Thought Alliance; National Council of Federal Church Women; National Council of Jewish Juniors; National Council of Jewish Women; National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods; National Reform Association; National Women's Trade Union League; Peace Association of Friends in America; Women's Missionary Union of Friends in America; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Cooperating organizations: Central Conference of American Rabbis; Council of Women for Home Missions; International Reform Federation; International Society of Christian Endeavor; National Consumers' League; Osteopathic Women's National Association; Rabbinical Assembly of America; United Synagogue of America; Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; Women's League of the United Synagogue of America; World Peace Union.

NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE

The organizations which belong are: American Friends Service Committee; American Association of University Women; American Unitarian Association; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Catholic Association for International Peace (consultative); Central Conference of American Rabbis; Church Peace Union; Committee on Militarism in Education; Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches; Council of Women for Home Missions; Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches; Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church (consultative); Fellowship of Reconciliation; Foreign Missions Conference; Foreign Policy Association (consultative); Friends General Conference; General Conference Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Episcopal Church; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Institute of International Education; International Association of Altrusa Clubs; International Society of Christian Endeavor; League of Nations Association; National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association; National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War; National Council of Federated Church Women; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council for Prevention of War; National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association; National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary, Episcopal Church; National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods; National Students Federation; Public Action Committee; United Student Peace Committee; United Synagogue of America; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches; World Peace Foundation; World Peaceways, Inc.

Cooperating organizations: Connecticut Peace Conference; New Jersey Committee on the Cause and Cure of War; New Jersey Joint Council on International Relations; Rhode Island Council for Peace Action; Buffalo Peace Council; Chicago Peace Council; Council for the Furtherance of International Understanding; Denver Peace Council; Des Moines Peace Council; New Haven Peace Conference; Palo Alto Peace Council; Rochester Peace Council; Rockland County Peace Association; Westfield (N. J.) International Council.

I. NATIONAL PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

American Committee for the Outlawry of War; American League for Peace and Democracy; American Peace Society; American School Citizenship League; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Catholic Association for International Peace; Church Peace Union; Committee on Militarism in Education; Fellowship of Reconciliation; League of Nations Associations; National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War; National Council for Prevention of War; National Peace Conference; New History Society; Peacemobiles (peace-films caravan); Peace Patriots; Public Action Committee; War Resisters League; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Women's Peace Union; World Alliance for International Friendship Through the

Churches; World Peace Association; World Peace Federation; World Peace Foundation; World Peace Mission; World Peace Union (international office at Geneva, Switzerland); World Peaceways, Inc.; Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge.

II. ORGANIZATIONS WITH PEACE COMMITTEES

American Association of University Women; American Federation of Teachers; American Friends Service Committee; American Unitarian Association; Central Conference of American Rabbis; Church of the Brethren; Committee on Women's Work, Foreign Missions Conference of North America; Congregational and Christian Churches of the United States of America; Disciples of Christ; Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations; Five Years Meeting of Friends; Friends General Conference; General Alliance of Unitarian Women; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Girl's Friendly Society of the United States of America; International Society of Christian Endeavor; Mennonite Church; Methodist Episcopal Church; Methodist Episcopal Church, South; National Board of Young Women's Christian Association; National Congress of Parents and Teachers; National Council of Federated Church Women; National Council of Jewish Juniors; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church; National Council of Women of the United States, Inc.; National Council of Young Men's Christian Association; National Education Association of the United States; National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods; National League of Women Voters; National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; National Women's Trade Union League of America; Northern Baptist Convention; Osteopathic Women's National Association; Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; Rabbinical Assembly of America; Reformed Church in America; Rotary International; Universalist Church; Women's League of the United Synagogue of America; World Federation of Education Associations.

III. ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE ACTIVITIES INCREASE INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING OR WHICH SUPPORT PEACE ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH AFFILIATION

American Society of International Law; American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation; Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs; Boy Scouts of America; Camp Fire Girls, Inc.; China Institute in America; Committee on Cooperation in Latin America; Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America; Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students; Cooperative League of the United States of America; Council of United States Veterans, Inc.; Council on Foreign Relations; Esperanto Association of North America; Foreign Affairs Forum; Foreign Language Information Service; Foreign Policy Association; Foxhove Association; Geneva School of International Studies; Girl Scouts, Inc.; Institute of International Education, Inc.; Institute of Pacific Relations; International Auxiliary Language Association in the United States, Inc.; International Council of Religious Education; International Friendship League; International New Thought Alliance; International Reform Federation; Junior Red Cross; League for Industrial Democracy; Memorial Day Committee; Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada; National Consumers' League; National Grange; National Reform Association; National Student Federation; National Student Forum on Paris Pact; National Woman's Conference of the American Ethical Union; Pan American Union; Pan-Pacific Union; School World Friendship League; The Biosophical Institute; Theosophical Society; United Synagogue of America; World Fellowship of Faiths; Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations.

IV. STATE AND LOCAL PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

Alabama: Auburn, Auburn Peace Council; Montgomery, Montgomery Peace Commission.

Arkansas: Hot Springs, Hot Springs Peace Council.

California: Berkeley, California Council on Oriental Relations, Berkeley Peace Council; Los Angeles, California Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Long Beach Forum, Los Angeles Peace Council, Southern California League of Nations Associations; Oakland, Oakland Peace Group; Palo Alto, Palo Alto Peace Council, Palo Alto Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Pasadena, Pasadena Peace Council; Riverside,

Riverside Peace Council; San Diego, San Diego Peace Council; San Francisco, National Council for Prevention of War, western office, San Francisco Peace Council; San Mateo, San Mateo Peace Council; Santa Barbara, World Friendship Club; Santa Monica, Santa Monica Bay Council; Stockton, Stockton Council for Prevention of War.

Colorado: Denver, Church Men's Planning Commission, Denver Peace Council, Denver Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Fort Collins, Fort Collins Peace Council.

Connecticut: Guilford, Guilford Council for Peace Action; Middletown, Committee on Civil Interests; New Haven, Connecticut League of Nations Association; Waterbury, Waterbury Council for Peace Action; Westport, Fairfield County Women's International League; Wethersfield, Connecticut Peace Conference; Willimantic, Willimantic Peace Action Council.

Delaware: Wilmington, Delaware Women's International League.

District of Columbia: Washington, D. C., Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

WASHINGTON COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Florida: Gainesville, Inter-Collegiate Peace Council; Winter Park, Peace Action Society.

Georgia: Barnesville, Georgia Peace Society.

Illinois: Bellwood, Peace Action Committee; Chicago, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago Peace Council, League of Nations Association; Galesburg, Knox County Peace Committee; La Grange, La Grange Peace Council; McNabb, Putnam County Peace Council; Peoria, Emergency Peace Campaign; Pontiac, Pontiac Peace Action Committee; Rockford, Rockford Peace League; St. Charles, Fox Valley Youth Peace Council; Sullivan, Moultrie County Peace Committee; Urbana, Illinois Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Indiana: Fort Wayne, Fort Wayne Peace Council; Goshen, Goshen College Peace Society; Indianapolis, Mid-West Council on International Relations, International Goodwill Committee of Federation of Churches; Richmond, Richmond Council on International Relations.

Iowa: Ames, Ames Women's International League; Davenport, Council of International Relations; Des Moines, Des Moines Peace Council, National Council for Prevention of War, Midwest office; Iowa City, League for Peace; Marshalltown, Marshall County Council for the Prevention of War; Sioux City, Sioux City Peace Council.

Kansas: Arkansas City, Peace Council; Caney, Peace Committee; Cedar Vale, World Peace Commission; Emporia, Emporia Peace Council; Hutchinson, Reno County Peace Council; Newton, Newton Women's International League.

Kentucky: Louisville, Louisville Women's International League, Peace Action Association.

Louisiana: New Orleans, Louisiana League for Peace and Freedom, New Orleans Peace Council.

Maine: Bangor, Bangor League for Peace and Freedom; Portland, Portland League for Peace and Freedom.

Maryland: Baltimore, Maryland Peace Conference, Baltimore Peace Congress, Maryland League of Nations Association; Westminster, Maryland Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Massachusetts: Agawam, Peace Action Committee; Arlington, Arlington Peace Conference; Bernardston, Peace Action Committee; Boston, Boston Fellowship of Reconciliation, Massachusetts League of Nations Association, Massachusetts Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Brockton, Brockton League for World Peace; East Braintree, World Affairs Club; Easthampton, Peace Action Committee; Gloucester, Committee on World Peace; Framingham, Emergency Peace Campaign; Holyoke, Holyoke Council on World Relations; Newburyport, Newburyport Peace Council; North Carver, Carver League for Peace Action; Pittsfield, Berkshire County Women's International League; Plymouth, Peace Action Committee; Sandwich, Peace Action Committee; South Hadley, Peace Action Committee; Springfield, National Council for Prevention of War, New England office; Stoneham, League for Peace Action; Waltham, Massachusetts Committee for Peace Action; Wellesley Hills, Wellesley Peace Action Committee; Weston, Peace Action Committee; Worthington, Peace Action Committee.

Michigan: Ann Arbor, Peace Council; Detroit, Detroit Peace Council, Women's International Educational Council, Michigan Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Flint, International Goodwill Committee of Association of Flint Churches; Grand Rapids, Foreign Affairs Association; Jackson, Peace Council; Muskegon, Muskegon Peace Unit.

Minnesota: Duluth, Duluth Peace Council; Minneapolis, Minneapolis Peace Council; Minnesota Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Mississippi: Jackson, Jackson Peace Committee.

Missouri: Cape Girardeau, Cape Girardeau Peace Council; Fulton, Fulton Peace Conference; Kansas City, World Peace Council; Kirksville, Adair County Peace Council; Nevada, Peace Action Committee; St. Joseph, St. Joseph Peace Council; St. Louis, Missouri Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Peace Action Committee of Missouri, Peace Action Committee of Greater St. Louis, St. Louis Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace, St. Louis Council of Organizations Promoting Peace; Springfield, Peace Action Committee; Webster Groves, Webster Groves Peace Council.

Montana: Missoula, Missoula Council on Education for Peace.

Nebraska: Lincoln, Lincoln Peace Council; York, York Peace Council.

Nevada: Reno, Reno Peace Council.

New Hampshire: Andover, Eastern Branch of Student Forum on International Relations; Canaan, Peace Action Committee; Concord, New Hampshire Peace Union; Franklin, New Hampshire League of Nations Association; Henniker, Henniker Peace Council; Manchester, Manchester League for Peace Action; Walpole, Peace Action Committee.

New Jersey: Atlantic City, Atlantic City Peace Council; Brielle, Shore Peace Council; Camden, Camden County Council on International Relations; Chatham, Chatham Peace Committee; Essex Fells, Essex Fells Group for Peace Action; Glen Ridge, Glen Ridge Peace Action Committee; Jersey City, New Jersey Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Madison, Madison Council on Foreign Policy; Millburn, Millburn Peace Action Council; Millville, Millville Council on Foreign Relations; Montclair, International Relations Council, New Jersey League of Nations Association; Mount Holly, Mount Holly Peace Council; Newark, New Jersey Youth Council on International Relations, New Jersey Joint Council on International Relations; New Brunswick, New Jersey Committee on Cause and Cure of War; Orange, World Peace Workers; Passaic, Passaic Peace Council; Plainfield, Plainfield Council for World Friendship; Ridgewood, Ridgewood Council for International Friendship; Somerville, Somerville Peace Council; Westfield, Westfield International Council; Woodstown, Woodstown Peace Action Group.

New Mexico: Santa Fe, Santa Fe Peace Council.

New York: Auburn, Peace Council of Auburn and Vicinity; Brooklyn, Brooklyn Peace Council, Brooklyn Women's International League; Buffalo, Buffalo Peace Council; Catskill, Catskill Peace Group; Elmhurst, Queensborough Division; Elmira, Elmira Women's International Peace Council; Flushing, Flushing Peace Society; Gloversville, Gloversville Council for International Peace; Lockport, Lockport Peace Council; Mount Vernon, Mount Vernon Peace Council; New York, Greater New York League of Nations Association, New York Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Niagara Falls, Niagara Peace Council, Niagara Falls Peace Action Committee; Orangeburg, Rockland County Peace Association; Penn Yan, Yates County Peace Council; Pleasantville, Peace Action Committee, Pleasantville Peace Forum; Pulaski, Pulaski Peace Action Committee; Red Hook, Dutchess County Peace Society; Rochester, Rochester Peace Council; Rome, Rome World Peace Committee; Saratoga Springs, Saratoga Springs Council of Peace; Schenectady, Schenectady Peace Service Council; Springville, Springville Peace Council; Staten Island, Staten Island Council for World Peace; Syracuse, Syracuse Peace Council, Syracuse Women's International League; Utica, Oneida County World Peace Committee.

North Carolina: Charlotte, Charlotte Women's International League; Greensboro, Guilford County Peace League; Greenville, Greenville Council for Peace Action; Lumberton, North Carolina Peace Action Committee; Raleigh, Raleigh Women's International League.

Ohio: Akron, Akron Council for Peace Action; Canton, Peace Action Council; Cincinnati, Cincinnati Peace League, Cincinnati Women's International League, Peace Heroes Memorial Society; Cleveland, Cleveland Women's International League, Foreign Affairs Council; Columbus, Peace Action for Franklin County; Dayton, Ohio League of Nations Association, Dayton Peace Council;

Greenville, Greenville Peace Council; Lodi, Lodi Peace Group; Martins Ferry, Social Service Commission; Oxford, Oxford Peace League; Painesville, Painesville Peace Action Council; Portsmouth, Portsmouth Peace Committee; Plymouth, Peoples War Prevention Movement; Tiffin, Tiffin Peace Action Committee; Wilmington, Wilmington Peace Committee.

Oklahoma: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Peace Council; Ponca City, Ponca City Peace Action Committee; Tulsa, Tulsa Peace Council.

Oregon: Eugene, Eugene Council for Promotion of Peace; Portland, National Council for Prevention of War, Portland Peace Council, Portland Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Portland Women's Peace Council; Salem, Salem Peace Council.

Pennsylvania: Allentown, Allentown Council for Prevention of War; Easton, Easton Peace-Action Association; Erie, Erie County Peace Council; Gettysburg, Adams County Peace Fellowship; Glen Mills, Delaware County Women's International League; Harrisburg, Harrisburg Peace Council, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Lewisburg, Union County Council for Prevention of War; Meadville, Meadville Fellowship for Peace; Media, Media Council for Prevention of War; Kirkwood, Conowingo Peace-Action Committee; Philadelphia, Friend's Peace Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, Northeast Council (Peace), Pennsylvania League of Nations Association, Pennsylvania Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia Peace Council; Pittsburgh, Allegheny County Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Council for Progressive Action; Reading, Peace League of Berks County; Sewickley, Committee on Education in Ways of Peace; Shamokin, Northumberland County Peace Action Committee; Shippensburg, Shippensburg Peace Committee, Youth Peace Council; State College, Peace Action Committee; Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; York, York Peace and Temperance Society.

Rhode Island: Providence, Rhode Island Committee on Cause and Cure of War, Rhode Island Council for Peace Action, Rhode Island League of Nations Association, Rhode Island Peace Society; Westerly, Westerly Council for Peace Action.

South Dakota: Huron Peace Council; Sioux Falls, Sioux Falls Peace Council.

Tennessee: Chattanooga, Tennessee Council for Prevention of War; Clarksville, Montgomery County Peace Society; Knoxville, Knoxville-Morris Women's International League, Knoxville Peace Council; Nashville, Nashville Peace Council, Nashville Youth Peace Council; Austin, Austin Peace Council, Texas Women's International League; Fort Worth, Fort Worth Committee on Cause and Cure of War; San Antonio, San Antonio Peace Association.

Utah: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake City Peace Council, Utah Peace Council.

Vermont: Barre, Barre Peace Council; Bennington, Bennington County Women's International League; Brownsville, Peace Action Committee; Middlebury, Middlebury Peace Council; Montpelier, Montpelier World Peace Forum; Rochester, Peace Action Committee; Rutland, Rutland Peace Council.

Virginia: Lynchburg, Lynchburg Peace Council; Norfolk, Norfolk Peace Council; Petersburg, Peace Council of Petersburg; Richmond, Richmond Peace Council; Roanoke, Virginia Women's International League.

Washington: Seattle, Seattle Peace Council, Seattle Women's International League; Tacoma, Tacoma Committee for Peace Action.

West Virginia: Fairmont, Peace Action Committee; Wheeling, West Virginia Women's International League.

Wisconsin: Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac Voters Peace Council; Kenosha, Kenosha Peace Council; Madison, Wisconsin Voters Peace League, Wisconsin Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Fellowship Council of Wisconsin Women; Milton, Milton Peace Action Committee; Milwaukee, Milwaukee Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Ripon, Foreign Policy Association; Rhinelander, Wisconsin Committee on Cause and Cure of War.

Now, of course, the pacifist movements, if they were sincere, would use this large machine in trying to stamp out communism in the world outside of the borders of Russia, in which country none of them operate. In this respect they could have possibly helped to save the lives of some 20,400,000 human beings whom have been slaughtered as a result of the Communist scourge that has swept the world since the World War.

The estimated number of people killed on all sides in the World War has been estimated by authorities as 8,538,315. The estimated on all sides as the result of the Communist devilry since the World War is 20,400,000 up to June

1937. So the pacifists who tolerate communism and in fact in most instances make affectionate eyes at it, are doing the Nation a disloyal service to say the least, where their wide machinery turned against all types of dictatorship and in support of our representative republic could turn millions away from the dangerous plots of revolution that are being built up within our borders and within the borders of the many other countries in which these pacifist movements have powerful organizations.

Killed in Russia in Communist revolution, either through activities in fighting or diseases, infant mortality, or assassinations (including priests, ministers, church people, former Government officials, landowners, farmers, businessmen, and dissenters), from the report of British labor union investigating committee in 1924, 6,500,000.

Died of famines in 1921 and 1922 in Russia as a result of the "red" revolution and the Communist system of government (report of British labor union investigating committee, 1924), 5,200,000.

Died of famines, assassination, etc., in Russia since 1922 (estimate from newspaper and other reports), 2,500,000.

Killed in China during the 10-year period of revolution (estimate from newspaper and other reports), 1,200,000.

Died of famine resulting from Communist revolutions in China (estimates from newspaper and other reports), 1,000,000.

Killed in revolutions and counterrevolutions in Hungary during and after the Bela Kuhn Soviet Government periods, 700,000.

Killed in Germany during Communist revolution following World War (estimates from newspaper and other reports), 300,000.

Estimated killed in Spain in present and recent revolutions of a Communist nature, 1,500,000.

Killed in the remainder of the world as a result of Communist revolutions, counterrevolutions, assassinations, revolts, or famines resulting from same, 2,500,000.

SOCIALISM

Socialism in the United States is primarily of German derivation. The pioneer work was done by German disciples of Karl Marx, who came to the United States in 1848. These and other radicals in this country formed the Socialist Labor Party in 1874.

In 1895 Daniel de Leon founded the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the object of which was to replace craft unions with industrial unions. When opposition arose, the dissenters in the de Leon movement were expelled. Eventually a riot broke out in the ranks, and in 1899 a rival movement was founded.

Two years before Eugene Debbs had organized the Social Democracy of America. Debbs and his coworkers soon noticed that dissatisfaction was increasing, so they withdrew and organized the Social Democratic Party of America.

In 1901 all except de Leon's wing of the Socialist Labor Party united in forming the Socialist Party, the present major movement of the socialist political formation in the United States today.

Because we have seen the socialists in other countries unite with the Communists (both are followers of the Karl Marx manifesto), and because there has been a tendency in the United States, as witnessed by the uniting of socialists in the American Student Union, American League for Peace and Democracy, Workers' Alliance, and many others, we believe that socialism is as great a menace today as other movements out to change our form of government to a Marxian plan.

You will note by the following that the Socialists are set up similarly to the Communists in the Nation.

WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE, 112 EAST NINETEENTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Just as the Communist Party has its defense movement, the International Labor Defense, so also has the Socialist Party, the Workers' Defense League. The latter organization was formed in May 1936 by leading members of the Socialist Party. It maintains branches in many States, including Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, California, Cuba, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Missouri.

The national committee of the Workers' Defense League is composed of the following Socialist and extreme left-wingers: Devers Allen, William R. Ambersson, Murray Baron, Alfred Bingham, Paul Christopher, Jerome Davis, Franz

Daniel, George Clifton Edwards, Harold E. Fey, Royal W. France, Albert Goldman, Murray Gross, Powers Haggood, Louis Hacker, Herbert Kimmel, Maynard Krueger, Freda Kirchway, Harry W. Laidler, Robert Morss Lovett, Walter Metcalf, N. L. Mitchell, Paul Porter, A. Philip Randolph, Carl Raushenbush, Joseph Schlossberg, Morris Shapiro, Tucker Smith, Monroe Sweetland, Norman Thomas, and Charles Webber.

The executive committee of the league is likewise composed of Socialists and extreme left-wingers: Abraham Abramowitz, Grace Carlson, John Edelman, Mary Fox, Aron S. Gilmartin, Mary Donovan Haggood, Joseph Jacobs, Howard Koster, David Lasser, Margaret Marshall, James W. Miller, Katharine Terrill, and Ashley L. Totten.

The membership dues in the Workers' Defense League are \$1 yearly (active); 25 cents yearly (auxiliary—no vote); \$5 yearly or more (sustaining).

The league has been active in "every section of the Nation among migratory workers," according to its own documents. Included in the fields of action are the Imperial Valley of California, the turpentine sections of Florida, the terror-stricken Southwest, along the industrial eastern coast; the "feudal Cotton Belt of the South," among sharecroppers, including those in Arkansas, Memphis, and Kentucky; among seamen strikers in Massachusetts, strikers in Austin, Minn.; Ford workers in Edgewater, N. J.; among "migratory agricultural workers" in California, among "W. P. A workers and unemployed in New York City; among "citrus workers in Florida," among disturbing elements in Cuba under the "Batista rule," referred to by the league as the "machine-gun Batista rule."

On the literature of the league is printed the following statement: "Every person who believes in the uncompromising defense of the rights of workers and farmers can belong to the Workers' Defense League." It claims to have cooperated with the Kentucky miners' defense committee and the committee for the defense of civil rights in Tampa. It announces that it is the "only organization authorized to solicit contributions for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union defense fund" and the authorized legal defense agency of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union * * * in the feudal Cotton Belt of the South." It sponsored National Sharecroppers Week, March 1 to 7, to arouse sharecroppers. It has been active in "countless cases of organizers and members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union framed by plantation owners * * *." It is fighting for the "disinherited of the South," among fraternal and labor organizations, church and college groups.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union committee of the Workers' Defense League is composed of Aron S. Gilmartin, executive secretary; Howard Kester, William R. Amberson, W. E. Smith, Wiley Harris, S. L. Gollehon, and H. L. Mitchell.

In one appeal for the raising of \$5,000 the league includes a release published by the Federal Council of Churches (vol. XV, No. 26). This release dealt with the cotton choppers' strike which occurred in 1926, the Workers Alliance, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the American Civil Liberties Union, Gardner Jackson, and Sherwood Eddy, taking up the cudgel for the organized leaders who, they claim, were falsely arrested and are "unjustly being sentenced to long terms in the horrible jails of Arkansas."

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party candidate for President of the United States, is the real head of the league. David Glendennin, national treasurer of the American Civil Liberties Union, is also the treasurer of the Workers' Defense League. He was the Socialist Party candidate in 1936 for assemblyman from New York City. He sponsored the (Communist) American Student Union "homecoming" in 1937.

Morris Milgram, said to have been added to the official list of the league as executive secretary, was a member of the executive committee of the Student League for Industrial Democracy before it combined with the (Communist) National Student League in organizing a movement now known as the American Student Union. The Student League for Industrial Democracy was an extreme left-wing movement organized for the purpose of "guiding the revolution on the campus." It was an advocate of the Marx Communist manifesto theory of government. In 1934 Milgram was a member of the continuation committee of the American Youth Congress, set up by the Marxian Socialists and Communists to continue the American Youth Congress after it had been penetrated by them and its first convention, held at New York University, had been broken up. He was an organizer of the (Communist) American Student Union at Newark University and was active in C. I. O. strikes in Jersey City, November 1937.

David Lasser, also a member of the committee, cooperates with Herbert Benjamin, the widely known Communist leader, in heading the Workers Alliance, a Communist-Socialist united front, which includes in its membership 800,000 W. P. A. and unemployed radical workers. Lasser attended the Soviet Government anniversary celebration which was held in Moscow in 1937.

Charles Webber, a member of the committee, has long been associated with various communistic movements in the United States, including the Anti-Imperialist League, John Reed Club, Recognition of Russia Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, League for Industrial Democracy, American League Against War and Fascism (now the American League for Peace and Democracy), and the American Youth Congress. He claims to be a Socialist.

Howard Kester, connected with the league, has been active in left-wing circles, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He was an endorser of the First National Convention of the Friends of the Soviet Union in 1934, is treasurer of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and a member of the committee sponsoring National Sharecroppers Week in 1937.

Devere Allen, a left-winger, has been officially connected with at least 22 national left-wing movements, including the League for Industrial Democracy, the American Advisory Board for the Organization of Progress, which advocated giving Soviet Russia hundreds of thousands of dollars to use in purchasing goods from the United States before the recognition of Russia; the United States Congress Against War, League Against Fascism, Advisory Committee for the Defense of Trotsky, the American Student Union, the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (supporters of the "red front" in Spain).

William R. Amberson, a member of the national committee of the league, is head of the Tennessee branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Murray Baron is one of the group heading the League for Industrial Democracy. He was editor of Socialist Call in 1936, and was a Socialist Party candidate for alderman in New York City in 1934.

Prof. Jerome Davis, who severed his connections with Yale in 1936, was a signer of the Golden Book, which contained eulogies to Russia in 1937. It was published by the Friends of Soviet Russia. Davis opposed the New York State legislative act which barred Communists from holding office (March 1938). Communist publications consider him in the light of an authority on Russia. He is a frequent visitor to Russia, and has learned to speak its language. Davis is State (Connecticut) chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League; a member of the national advisory committee of (communistic-atheistic) Commonwealth College of Mena, Ark.; national advisory committee of the American Youth Congress; advisory committee of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; sponsored the Communist celebration honoring the widely known Communist, "Mother" Bloor, in 1937; member of the advisory board of the Russian Reconstruction Farms, 1923; national committee of the League Against Fascism, 1932; League for Industrial Democracy; Federal Council of Churches, and the Society for Cultural Relations with Russia.

Franz Daniel was (and may be yet) connected with the John Reed Club. He is also active in the League for Industrial Democracy, and was Socialist Party candidate for Congress from Pennsylvania in 1932.

George Clifton Edwards is a member of the national advisory committee of Commonwealth College; is State chairman (Texas) of the American Civil Liberties Union, and was Socialist Party candidate for Governor of Texas in 1932.

Harold Fay is a member of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union; Norman Thomas campaign committee in 1936; is connected with the emergency peace campaign and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Royal W. France is a professor at Rollins College, Fla. He was one of the signers of the Fellowship of Reconciliation petitions in 1932 for recognition of Russia; a sponsor of a testimonial dinner to Norman Thomas in 1936; a member of the national committee of the Workers' Defense League.

Albert Goldman was treasurer of a banquet given for the Communist candidate for Vice President of the United States in 1932. He was a member of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky in 1937.

Murray Gross was a Socialist Party candidate in 1930 for New York Assembly. He sponsored Thomas and Nelson, candidates for President and Vice President of the United States in 1936. He was a Socialist Party candidate for Congress in 1936. He is a member of the board of directors of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Powers Hapgood, although not an alien-born, has certainly adopted the rankest of alien theories. With his brother, he set up an experiment in "industrial de-

mocracy" in Indianapolis which was a complete flop insofar as carrying out the theory to a successful conclusion is concerned. It has been charged that the experiment became an instrument of dictatorial control instead of "industrial democracy," as planned. Although Hapgood was roundly denounced by radicals for his final attitude in its operation, he is back in the radical ring, active in C. I. O. agitation and organization in the New England section. He was arrested and jailed in the Maine shoe strike uprisings. He was a member of the executive committee of the Socialist Party in 1933, and has been a candidate for various offices in Indiana on the Socialist Party ticket. He is a member of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a contributor to America for All, the Challenge, and the Socialist Call, prominent Socialist publications. The official organ of the Communist Party quotes Powers Hapgood as having said: "If the Socialist Party wants a united front with the labor unions, the Communist Party must be included."

Louis Hacker is a member of the advisory board of the American Student Union; the American Committee for the Defense of Trotsky in 1937; the Thomas and Nelson Socialist Party Campaign Committee in 1936; sponsor of the Consumers Union of the United States.

Maynard C. Krueger is a member of the national council of the League for Industrial Democracy; vice chairman of the Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament; sponsor of the testimonial dinner to Norman Thomas, and was connected with the National Religion and Labor Foundation. Krueger was a contributor to Socialist publications in 1936.

Freda Kirchwey is Mrs. Evans Clark, whose husband was secretary to Ludwig Martens, deported to Russia as a bolshevik agent in this country during the World War. She is a member of the board of directors of the American Fund for Public Service; Garland fund which has contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to Communist movements in the United States; a member of the national committee of All-American Anti-Imperialist League; contributor to the Communist publication, *New Masses*; advisory board of the American League Against War and Fascism; board of directors of the League for Industrial Democracy; supporter of Norman Thomas for President of the United States; American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky in 1937; central committee of the medical bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy; advisory board of the American Student Union; supporter of Brookwood College; demanded pardon of two German Communists who were accused of treason in 1937.

Harry Laidler, a well-known Socialist Party politician, was a candidate for Borough president in New York City in 1932, and ran for office on the Socialist Party ticket on several occasions; member of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky; signer of Friends of Soviet Union Golden Book; board of editors of *New Frontier*; sponsoring committee of the American Student Union dinner in 1937; sponsor of Brookwood College fund appeal in 1936; delegate to Socialist Party convention in 1936; arrangements committee for United States Congress Against War in 1932; Federal Council of Churches; contributor to Socialist Planning and A Socialist Program.

Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, of the University of Chicago, was a member of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; national committee, American Birth Control League; national committee, All-American Anti-Imperialist League which helped finance the Nicaraguan revolutionists against American Marines in 1930; national council of the Committee on Militarism in Education, which opposes military training; International Committee for the Defense of Political (red) Prisoners; president, League for Industrial Democracy; one of editors of *New Republic*; national committee, American League for India's Freedom; signer of Fellowship of Reconciliation petition for recognition of Russia; contributor to Socialist Planning and A Socialist Program; contributor to Socialist publications; advisory board of Russian Reconstruction Farms; arrangements committee for United States Congress Against War; American Committee for Struggle Against War; national committee of League Against Fascism; national committee, International Labor Defense; endorser, national convention of Friends of Soviet Union; advisory committee, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; executive committee, Farmer Labor Political Federation; League for Mutual Aid; advisory editor, *Champion of Youth*; general committee, Friends of Spanish Democracy; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of the Communist, "Mother" Bloor; advisory committee, American Youth Congress; endorser, Conference of China Aid Council, 1928; defended Soviet purges and killings of objectors in Russia, 1938 (see *Sunday Worker*, Mar. 20, 1938, p. 6).

H. L. Mitchell, a member of the Southern Tenant Farmers; a member of the United Canning, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America, a C. I. O. unit, headed by Donald Henderson, a Communist.

Paul Porter is field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy; Student Enrollment Committee of the War Registers League; Socialist Party candidate for State senator, New York, in 1932.

A. Phillip Randolph, chairman of the Norman Thomas campaign committee in 1936, is director of the Consumers Union of the United States; sponsor of the Emergency Peace Campaign; advisory board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation; sponsor of the celebration for "Mother" Bloor; executive committee of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; advisory board, Commonwealth College; Chinese aid movement of the League for Peace and Democracy; president, Negro Congress; sponsor, League for Mutual Aid; sponsor Second World Youth Congress to be held in August 1938.

Carl Rausenbush is a member of the executive committee of the League for Industrial Democracy; member of the Norman Thomas Campaign Committee; board of directors, New Frontiers.

Joseph Schlossberg, born in Russia May 1, 1875, edited *Das Abendblatt*, 1900-1902, and *Der Arbeiter* in 1904-11; member of Socialist Workmen's Circle; national committee, American Civil Liberties Union; national committee, League Against Fascism; board of directors, League for Industrial Democracy; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Emergency Peace Campaign; Rand School, extremely Socialist institution.

Morris Shapiro is a member of the board of directors of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy; Socialist Party candidate for New York County City Court, 1936.

Tucker P. Smith is a secretary of the Committee on Militarism in Education; Socialist Party candidate for Congress (New York), 1930; World Peace Posters; National Religion and Labor Foundation; Emergency Peace Committee; War Resisters League; Brookwood Labor College; Emergency Peace Campaign; signer "Golden Book."

Monroe Sweetland is a member of the Intercollegiate Council of the League for Industrial Democracy; arrangements committee for the United States Congress Against War; Emergency Peace Campaign; sponsor, American Student Union homecoming celebration, 1937.

Abraham Abramowitz is a member of the Socialist Party and was candidate on the Socialist Party ticket for city court, Bronx, N. Y., 1936.

John Edelman is a member of the general committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy; board of directors, Affiliated Schools for Workers; State Committee of Pennsylvania, American Civil Liberties Union; Committee for Total Disarmament.

Mary Fox is executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy; arrangements committee, United States Congress Against War; advisory board, Cooperative Distributors, Inc.; secretary, Norman Thomas Campaign Committee, 1932; delegate to Socialist Party Convention, 1936; secretary-treasurer, Joint Committee (Communists and Socialists) to Aid Herndon Defense (Communist Negro of Atlanta, Ga.); advisory committee, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; advisory board, American Student Union; national advisory committee, American Youth Congress.

Most of these individuals are connected with various other radical movements in the United States. Some have records dating back to the New York State Legislature investigation of subversive activities in 1924. (See report.) Many of them are active in C. I. O. circles, even though they may not be listed accordingly above.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

Workers Defense League cooperated with Communist International Labor Defense, American Civil Liberties Union, and American League for Peace and Freedom in fund-raising for C. I. O. drive against "Hague" of Jersey City (1938, February 11, 1938, Mecca Temple, New York City).

Workers Defense League cooperated with the American Civil Liberties Union, General Defense Committee (Industrial Workers of the World), Workers Alliance, Negro Labor Committee in Tampa, Fla., in 1936.

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

(The main propaganda and agitation agency of the Socialists)

When listening to this report keep in mind the fact that the History of the Russian Revolution, written by Communist authors, like that written by William Z. Foster (leader of the Communist Party of the United States), asserts, as on page 112: "It has been truly said that the early revolutionary movement in Russia did not originate with the masses (workers) but was brought to them by the intellectuals. This is partly true everywhere * * *"

In 1905, in a loft over Peck's Restaurant in New York City, Jack London and other American intellectual revolutionists organized the Inter-collegiate Society, only later to be known as the League for Industrial Democracy. Their explanation of the movement was that it has been organized "for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates." The movement was placed in charge of a group selected to represent "the largest possible number of universities and colleges in the different parts of the United States, all alumni taking an active interest in socialism and who could promote it among students and faculties." Jack London, world-famed radical, acted as the first chairman of the affair.

It developed shortly into open advocacy of, instead of merely interest in, Marxian socialism based upon the Marx "Communist manifesto." Chapters were established in a large number of colleges and universities, cities, and towns. It has arranged for and sent lecturers on tours to various educational institutions, where it has also organized conferences, discussions, groups, and conventions. It issues publications, pamphlets, and books, and directed in a systematic way the Socialist propaganda among students and graduates, collaborating with the socialistically inclined members of the faculties.

The secretary of the society was Harry W. Laidler (Socialist propagandist, and author of Socialism in Thought and Action), and up to 1916 it had successfully organized chapters in 72 or more of our largest educational institutions. The society's report of 1915-16 showed their chief lecturers had addressed 30,000 students in 120 colleges, and 12,000 others. They addressed some 80 economics and other classes and spoke before a score of entire college bodies.

The original official organ of the society, known as the Intercollegiate Socialist, edited by Harry Laidler, gave as its object the promotion of "an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women."

Mrs. Florence Kelley (Wischnewetsky) became president of the society. Mrs. Kelley translated the Communist Manifesto into English, and has been a direct correspondent with Friedrich Engels, coauthor with Marx, of the Communist Manifesto. Even Clark was vice president, and Prof. H. W. L. Dana, second vice president. Officially connected with the organization were Norman Thomas (Socialist), Vida Seudder, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Helen Phelps Stokes (Communist), Robert W. Dunn (Communist), Winthrop Lane, Alexander Trachtenberg (Communist), Freda Kirchwey, and others (some Socialists, others Communists).

Among the contributors to the movement were Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Helen Stokes, William Bross Lloyd (later indicted as a Communist organizer in Chicago), A. M. Todd, Max Senior, Lucy Eastman, Mrs. A. H. Daken, William S. Ladd, and other radicals. Many of the articles in the organ dealt favorably with the Russian revolution and the Communist experiment. In the April 1919 issue of the magazine, Trachtenberg's article, on page 32, said in brief: "The Russian revolution is the heritage of the world. It must be permitted to develop unhampered. It must live, so that Russia may be truly free, and through its freedom blaze the way for industrial democracy throughout the world." On pages 47 and 48 of the same issue appears a long diatribe upholding the Industrial Workers of the World and condemning the United States Government for its severe treatment of them.

In another organ of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the Socialist Review, also edited by Harry Laidler, February 1920 issue, pages 151, 152, and 153, the United States Government is again condemned for its harshness in dealing with Communists and Industrial Workers of the World, and it encourages students arrested to indulge in "folded arms" strikes. It urges "a resort to violence" (such as the French Revolution) and also urges "members of the working class to rally to the defense of the Industrial Workers of the World.

In 1921 the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was renamed, at the instance of Jane Addams, one of its leaders, to the League for Industrial Democracy, but it was agreed that the general activities should continue along the same lines as previously. So much opposition had confronted the Socialists in their efforts toward promoting socialism under a Socialist name that it was concluded a new name under which to operate was essential to save the movement. The old scheme of socializing the youth continued as before, and greater headway was made under the new name.

The new officers of the organization included Prof. Robert Morse Lovett, president; vice presidents, Prof. John Dewey, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Florence Kelley, Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff, Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, James H. Maurer, Mary Sanford, Vida Scudder, and Helen Phelps Stokes; treasurer, Stuart Chase; executive directors, Harry Laidler and Norman Thomas; secretary of Chicago office, Karl Borders; field secretary, Paul Porter; special lecturer, Paul Blanshard; and executive secretary, May Fox, all radicals. The new pronouncement was that, "the League for Industrial Democracy is a membership society engaged in education toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

The organization is especially active in agitating for "public ownership," which, of course, means "Government ownership" and not individual ownership, of banking, transportation, insurance, communication, mining, agricultural, and manufacturing enterprises, and social management of forests, oil reserves, etc. The League for Industrial Democracy has been with the Communists the chief advocates of social, unemployment, sick, old age, and other State doles to the public, and the socialization of land and property.

One of its publications of a militantly revolutionistic nature, widely circulated, is Southern Labor in Revolt, by Professor Meiklejohn, a vice president of the organization.

The League for Industrial Democracy advocates the disarmament of the so-called capitalist state and the arming of the proletariat state, and they endeavor to convince the worker that this will bring about "prevention of war," claiming the "capitalists use the armed forces to fight for markets," etc. History proves that the Socialists themselves use armed forces to rule the workers after the system they institute has made of them paupers and slaves.

Roads to Freedom, a Syllabus for Discussion Groups, issued by Harry Laidler for the League for Industrial Democracy, is possibly the most revolutionary of all their productions. This study takes up the main issues dealt with by them beginning with The Need for Change, The Socialist Society, Utopia and Scientific Socialism, Bolshevism and Communism, Anarchism and Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, The Cooperative Democracy, and Single Tax. It quotes from the Communist Manifesto, and urges for use by "discussion groups" the following: Communist Manifesto, The Challenge of War, Rev. Harry F. Ward's The Profit Motive in Industry, Public Ownership, Decay of Capitalist Civilization, Your Money's Worth, Causes of Industrial Unrest, Socialism in Thought and Action, Distribution of Incomes in United States, Business Cycles and Unemployment, Story of Civil Liberties in United States, Thorstein Veblen's Absentee Ownership, The Brass Check, The Goose Step, The Goslings, New Democracy, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Engels, Progress and Poverty, Socialism vs. Capitalism, People's Fight for Coal and Power, The Labor Revolution, Lenin's State and Revolution, Soviets at Work, Trotsky's Dictatorship vs. Democracy, State Capitalism in Russia, Russia After Ten Years, New World and Old, etc.

The organization believes in bringing all people down to a single low level (no class state).

In a pamphlet entitled "A Challenge to Students," in which the assertion is made that "the radical movement of the twentieth century will succeed only as an organized attack for power by a triumvirate, to consist of militant and intelligent labor, the class-oriented technicians and engineers, and that shifting but tangible, and certainly not negligible, entity, the Nation's youth; the privilege of serving in a real and aggressive labor movement will challenge and fire the energies that are now for sale in the intellectual commodity markets of the country," J. B. S. Hardman, one of the leaders of this movement, says that the league has organized in 125 colleges a chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, a social problem, radical, or Socialist club. It calls on the youth to "help put the War Department out of colleges by stamping out the Reserve Officers' Training Corps," etc. It claims that the organization enlisted 10,000 students in such a campaign in 1931 who signed petitions against military training.

The organization claims a wide distribution of its publications, *Unemployed and Disarm*, and says that the Johns Hopkins University Liberal Club alone sold over 8,000 copies in 1931.

Another pamphlet calls for "action" on the campus, for an "industrial front," "picket line," "radio chapters," "solidarity forever," publications and platforms. This pamphlet, issued following the one above mentioned, says that the League for Industrial Democracy is organized in 141 colleges and universities, raising funds for strikers, forums, etc., and is speaking out on street corners for a "new social order" and "mobilizing student sentiment." It asserts that the organization now has four national offices—New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit.

This group also issues a news service to the leading papers throughout the United States. It has a national board of directors in 23 States composed mostly of leaders of over 300 other interlocked organizations.

In December 1931 the organization held a national student conference at the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. The program was entitled, "Guiding the Revolution." William Melish, of the Union Theological Seminary, acted as chairman, and greetings were given by Iva Stocker, chairman of the Intercollegiate Student Council. The topics were, *America in a State of Revolution*, by Norman Thomas and Harry Laidler; *College Students in a Changing World*, by Arnold Johnson, of the Union Theological Seminary and a representative of the Communist John Reed Club; *What Tactics Should Students Use?* by Norman Thomas.

Another conference (for the West) was held in the University of Chicago, where the subjects discussed included, *The Students in World Revolution*, by Levitan (of Russia), Isaac Chizik (of Palestine), Bingham Dai (of China), and Maccoll (of England), while Phillip Booth, of the University of Chicago, presided; lectures on *Politics and the Pitfalls of Progressivism*, by Clarence Senior; *Revolution Through Education*, by Prof. Karl Guenther, of Michigan State Normal; *The Students on the Labor Front*, by Cullum, of Albion College; and *The American Civil War of 1931*, by Tom Tippet, a "red" from Brookwood Labor College, were made.

A conference was held by the Intercollegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy on January 7, 1930, on *Southern Labor in Revolt*, by the Philadelphia chapter, at which Duke, of North Carolina, was represented by Robert Marshall, along with Yale, Smith, Princeton, Vassar, Swarthmore, Union Theological Seminary, and other universities.

The *New York Times* of December 19, 1931, mentions a conference called by the league, at which Laidler "urged the students to lead in revolution," and at which conference 200 representatives of 44 colleges were delegates.

As well as can be ascertained, the annual budget for the New York branch of the League for Industrial Democracy is over \$34,731. In 1929 the expenditures of that branch amounted to \$33,463.80, \$26,695.97 having been contributed. This branch called for \$42,000 for the next year's activity. Part of the League for Industrial Democracy money has come from the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), a fund of nearly \$1,000,000 administered by a committee of Socialists and Communists and dealt out to Communist, Socialist, and pacifist movements.

Unemployed, rent strike, and anti-eviction committees have been set up by this organization throughout the Nation.

In 1931, one lecturer of this organization claims to have talked before 93 church, club, and college audiences, before over 15,000 people, and to have visited 21 colleges, speaking before assemblies, classes, liberal clubs, and campus audiences. Over 20,000 copies were reported to have been sold of only one of their numerous pieces of literature during the period.

The organization sent \$1,300 to West Virginia coal districts for picket and relief work.

The Chicago office in 1930 spent \$9,080 for its part of the campaign. This group has been agitating for Government appropriations of \$5,000,000 for relief doles.

An annual summer camp conference is held at Lake Tamiment (Pa.) each year for students. The youths are taken into this camp and drilled in radicalism throughout the summer season.

In 1929, a pamphlet was issued by the League for Industrial Democracy entitled, "Social Revolution in England." It played up the advent of the socialistic Labor Party. Another publication, *The College Student as a Rebel*, was

issued, appealing to students to "ignore the opportunity to become Army or football heroes" and to become "rebels."

Municipal Housing is another publication recently released by the League for Industrial Democracy, while still another recently launched by them for students is called, Student Outlook. This latter publication was first entitled "Revolt," but the league was forced by the Government to change the name. The campaign among the Nation's youngsters includes the poisoning of their minds against the "present order" of government, the banishing of military training in the schools and colleges, etc.

In the meantime, Communists have begun to cash in on the groundwork laid for them by these Socialists and have used these young radicals in so-called "antiwar" conferences and miners relief corps and in protests through a National Students League, set up at the direction of the "reds" for the injection of communism and socialism into the young blood.

A dispatch from New York City, dated January 9, 1933, and appearing in the Washington (D. C.) Herald says: "Orders from Moscow have dropped more than 1,000 speaker agitators who have harangued the multitudes from various street corners, it was learned today, and hundreds of college students are being put forward in their place as spokesmen for the Communist Party. Campaigns are to be launched immediately to recruit more college students." This recalls the statement of a leader of Communist students in the United States recently addressing a radical student meeting in New York City, who said: "We recognize the existence of class struggle and bend our efforts to making students better fighters to their class in that struggle."

It will take generations to break down the damage to our country that radicals have already caused in poisoning these young minds, and until there has been a wholesale housecleaning in the educational institutions of our country, the "red" march in that field will not cease. Already educators are calling for Government financial aid. Many philanthropists who have heretofore supported certain educational institutions financially have withdrawn the support because of their disapproval of the principles being disseminated by radical professors in institutions. This has silenced the faculties somewhat, but it has not affected the youth, nor has it cut off the flow of "red" funds apparently reaching the "red" professors and organizers who, to the knowledge of college faculties, are marching on to revolution.

The announced purpose of this organization is education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit—which is as definitely socialistic as any program could be.

Officers of this organization are for the most part those who guide the "red" defending American Civil Liberties Union, namely, Robert Morss Lovett, president; John Dewey, John Haynes Holmes, Alexander Meiklejohn, Vida Scudder, James H. Maurer, Norman Thomas, Devere Allen, Jerome Davis, William Pieken, B. C. Vladeck, Elizabeth Gilman, A. J. Muste, Morris Hillquit, Norman Hapgood, Morris Ernst, A. M. Todd, Forrest Bailey, Edward L. Israel, and others—officers of both organizations.

The league lists for distribution literature on communism such as: Lenin's, The State and Revolution; Harold Laski's (London), Communism; Scott Nearing's Dollar Diplomacy, etc. They assert that such material is "used by progressives, liberals, radicals, from coast to coast, to mold opinion, back up arguments, give teeth to liberal thinking."

Paul Porter, field secretary of the organization, announces that last year he alone addressed 51,000 students in 154 colleges and universities and high schools in 40 States during a period of 8 months.

The Folly of Work was the subject of the conference of the organization at Camp Tamiment, near Stroudsburg, Pa., last June.

The League for Industrial Democracy is part of the Radical Legislative Lobby formed in June (1931) to combat certain legislation in Congress and to promote certain radical legislation.

In the schools and colleges the League for Industrial Democracy operates under the guise of intercollegiate student councils and liberal clubs. They also hold summer student conferences throughout the United States.

The New York branch of the organization operates on an announced budget of approximately \$50,000 annually—how much more is not publicly known. There are four branches in the United States.

The league publishes at least four regular national periodicals that are known to us, in addition to many local school-student publications which are under their control. The national publications are known as the I. I. D., Revolt, The

Unemployed, and Disarm. Thousands of leaflets and pamphlets have been issued by the organization and have been given wide distribution. One especially significant is, *The College Student as a Rebel*.

One of the familiar expressions of the organization is "The college student as a rebel." The organization, which terms itself "the League for Industrial Democracy," declares that its job is "to turn the fire and idealism of the American college rebel against the wrongs of our industrial order in such a way that constructive solutions will result." It also decrees that it is "an organization composed almost entirely of college students and graduates who have themselves rebelled against unthinking conformity on an American campus and who realize the futility of aimless rebellion." The League for Industrial Democracy announces that it aims "to develop among college men and women an intelligent understanding of the labor movement and the movement toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

"*The College Student as a Rebel*" is the title of a pamphlet issued to students by the League for Industrial Democracy, for the purpose of arousing the youth to interest in its revolutionary work. The following foreword to the pamphlet was written by George Bernard Shaw: "All who achieve real distinction in life begin life as revolutionists. The most distinguished persons become more revolutionary as they grow older. * * * Any person under the age of 30 who, having any knowledge of the existing social order is not a revolutionist is an inferior." The pamphlet further states that "the mass production of college graduates in our American educational system has led to the appearance on every campus of a rebel-type student." It mentions the fact that "this leaflet is addressed to the college student who is a rebel because he has a vigorous intellect. * * * He feels that American democracy will never be genuine until it is applied to industry * * *."

This organization (the League for Industrial Democracy), composed largely of Socialists and Communist sympathizers, is busily subverting our educational system and transforming it into a number of socialistic centers. Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, of the University of Chicago, its president, is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union (legal defenders of "reds") and numerous other organizations made up of Socialists and Communists. Other members are John Haynes Holmes, a minister who frequently visits Moscow, and an officer of the American Civil Liberties Union; Vladimir Karapetoff, professor at Cornell, born in Leningrad, Russia, a Socialist and author of many articles on socialism; James E. Maurer, also of the American Civil Liberties Union and Socialist candidate for Vice President in the recent election; and the late Florence Kelly, general secretary of the National Consumers League, translator of Friedrich Engel's works, and correspondent of Lenin; all of whom are vice presidents of the organization. Stuart Chase, prominent in Socialist ranks, is the treasurer. Alexander Meiklejohn, Vida Scudder, also vice presidents, are likewise officers of the American Civil Liberties Union; Norman Thomas is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and is a member of numerous other Social-Communist groups, including the American Fund for Public Service, which organization has for several years subsidized red radicalism in the United States.

To poison the minds of these students, discussion groups have been organized in the colleges throughout the Nation, where so-called critical problems are discussed and lectured upon. Pamphlets propounding practically every phase of socialism and communism are circulated among the youth.

The pamphlets listed for use in 1929 included subjects dealing with Public Ownership, Challenge of War, Dollars and World Peace, Dollar Diplomacy, Imperialism, Socialism, Communism, Christianity and the Social Crisis, Roads to Freedom, The State of Revolution, Soviet Russia, The Profit Motive, Economic Revolution, and Capitalist Control of the Press. These pamphlets were prepared by such individuals as Norman Thomas, Kirby Page, Scott Nearing (Communist), Bertrand Russell, Norman Angell, Harry Elmer Barnes, Morris Hillquit, Lewisohn, Stuart Chase, Harry F. Ward (frequent visitor to Moscow and officer of the American Civil Liberties Union), Harry W. Laidler, Lenin (Communist), Robert Dunn (Communist), Tugwell, Upton Sinclair, Prof. John Dewey, Jett Lauck, John Fitch, Prof. J. E. Kirkpatrick, Paul Blanshard, and others of this stripe.

Addressing "the forum of revolution" held at Barnard College, December 27, 28, 29, attended by the intercollegiate student council of the League for Industrial Democracy, Norman Thomas, well-known radical, discussed plans for the revolution which they feel is bound to come, and envisioned a world built of,

by, and for the proletariat. Delegates from 29 colleges and universities were in attendance. Lewis Mumford, author, Paul Blanshard, and others spoke. Birth control and other topics were discussed. The students were asked to live Communists in preparation for the general upheaval to come.

In a publication first known as *Revolt*, but now known as the *Student Outlook*, gotten out by the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy for circulation to thousands of students attending American colleges and universities, the leading article in the February number is *The Day Before the Revolution*. The article insists that "a socialist revolution will only come through the efforts of a passionate minority which are ready to abnegate forever the comforts of the twenty-thousand dollar a year income." This article is contributed by Lewis Mumford, connected with the "red" defending American Civil Liberties Union and also a contributor to the Communist publication, *New Masses*.

Another article, *The Blessings of Unemployment*, is contributed by Felix Cohen, a contributor to *Socialist Planning* and the *Socialist Program*.

The secretary of the Socialist Party, Maynard Krueger, is the author of another article in the publication on the Socialist so-called anti-war conference.

The publication, according to its editors, "shown a salutary shift in student thinking on social issues caused primarily by the fact that students now consider themselves participants in the class struggle, and not merely spectators." This revelation from the Socialist ranks may convince some of the still yawning Americans that they had better come out from their pacifistic shells and meet the real problems that are facing America, the saving of the youth, our future leaders, from the poisonous viper, socialism, which is constantly weaning them away from the Nation's ideals and institutions by poisoning their minds and making theorists and actual revolutionists of them.

Paul Porter, field secretary of the radical Socialist League for Industrial Democracy, is reported to have been in Washington, D. C., undertaking to agitate "tenants" in the Capital City to follow the fight against "landlords" as it has been carried on in New York and other large cities.

"One of the familiar expressions of today is 'The College Student as a Rebel.'" An organization which terms itself *The League for Industrial Democracy* declares that its job is "to turn the fire and idealism of the American college rebel against the wrongs of our industrial order in such a way that constructive solutions will result." It also decrees that it is "an organization composed almost entirely of college students and graduates who have themselves rebelled against unthinking conformity on an American campus and who realize the futility of aimless rebellion." *The League for Industrial Democracy* announces that it aims "to develop among college men and women an intelligent understanding of the labor movement and the movement toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

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Stuart Chase, prominent in Socialist ranks, is the treasurer of the organization. Alexander Meikeljohn, Vida Scudder, also vice presidents, are likewise officers of the American Civil Liberties Union, as well as Norman Thomas, who is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and a member of numerous other Socialist-Communist groups, including the American Fund for Public Service, which organization has for several years subsidized "red" radicalism in the United States.

To poison the minds of these students, discussion groups have been organized in the colleges throughout the Nation where so-called critical problems are discussed and lectured upon. Pamphlets propounding practically every phase of socialism and communism are circulated among the youth.

The pamphlets listed for use in 1929 included subjects dealing with public ownership, Government control of certain industries: Challenge of War, Dollars and World Peace, Dollar Diplomacy, Imperialism, Socialism, Communism, Christianity and the Social Crisis, Roads to Freedom, The State of Revolution, Soviet Russia, The Profit Motive, Economic Revolution, and the Capitalist Control of the Press. These pamphlets were prepared by such individuals as Norman Thomas, Kirby Page, Scott Nearing (Communist), Bertrand Russell, Norman Angell, Harry Elmer Barnes, Morris Hillquit, Lewisohn, Stuart Chase, Harry F. Ward, Harry W. Laidler, Lenin (Communist), Robert Dunn (Communist), Tugwell, Upton Sinclair, Prof. John Dewey, Jett Lauck, John Fitch, Prof. J. E. Kirkpatrick, Paul Blanchard, and others of this stripe.

Paul Porter, field secretary of the organization, reported at a recent conference, leaders of the league had addressed 51,000 students during the last 8 months in 154 colleges and universities in 40 States.

In 1935 at a joint convention of the Youth section of the League for Industrial Democracy and of the National Student League (latter Communist youth movement), the two Marxian youth movements organized into what is now known as the American Student Union. This united front, called together by the Young Communists, finally fell into the control of the Young Communist hands, but the Socialists still hold some minor offices in it and work with the young Communists in the movement.

A FEW OF THE MOST ACTIVE LEADERS AND LECTURERS OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

The League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialist propaganda bureau which "seeks to promote education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit," is offering the following speakers for colleges and forum lectures. The League for Industrial Democracy receives financial aid from the American Fund for Public Service, subsidizers of "red" and pacifistic radicalism.

Forrest Bailey, a director of the American Civil Liberties Union (defenders of "reds" who break our laws).

Roger N. Baldwin, a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and of the American Fund for Public Service, which fund is administered by a board of Socialists and Communists and disbursed to communist, Socialist, pacifist, and birth-control organizations. Philosophical Industrial Workers of the World believe in right of citizen or alien to advocate murder, assassination, and the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence and has so expressed himself before a congressional committee.

McAlister Coleman, author of *Don't Tread On Me* and *Pioneers of Freedom*.

Albert F. Coyle, promoter of tours to Russia and former editor of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Journal*, from which it is reported he was fired because of his radical tendencies.

Paul F. Douglas, of the Chicago branch of the American Civil Liberties Union and professor in the University of Chicago. Socialist; head of Thomas and Maurer (Socialist candidate for President and Vice President of the United States) Campaign Committee, 1932.

Powers Hapgood, C. I. O. leader, arrested in St. Louis "red" riot.

William P. Hapgood, president of the Columbia Conserve Co., of Indianapolis, which Socialist enterprise contributes to many Socialist activities.

Frances A. Henson, of Yale.

Jessie Wallace Hughan, head of the War Resisters League, slacker organization.

John Ise, University of Kansas.

Paul U. Kellogg, editor of the radical magazine, *Survey*. Vice president, League for Organization of Progress, endorsed by Litvinoff, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Russian Government.

Florence Kelley (deceased), of the National Consumers League and many other radical groups; translator of Fredrich Engels (coauthor with Karl Marx of the Communist Manifesto); and an agent of radicalism in the United States.

Paul Jones, radical pacifist of Antioch College. Strongly advocates recognition of Russia.

Joseph N. Mathews, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization composed of many radicals who work among churchmen; circulator of Recognition of Russia petition.

Rev. John Nevin Sayre, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; leader in American Civil Liberties Union, John Dewey's People's Lobby, the Socialist Mooney-Billings Committee, etc.

James H. Maurer, vice chairman of the "red" defending American Civil Liberties Union, American Birth Control League, Anti-Imperialist League (financing rebel Sandino in Nicaragua), Mooney-Billings Committee, Socialist.

Broadus Mitchell, of Johns Hopkins University; American Civil Liberties Union; John Dewey's People's Lobby, etc.

A. J. Muste, of the Socialist Brookwood College; American Civil Liberties Union; Pioneer Youth of America; American Federation of Teachers; War Resisters; World Tomorrow; Federal Council of Churches; American Civil Liberties Union.

Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, conscientious objector; editor World Tomorrow; Committee on Militarism in Education (against); contributor Christian Century; Socialist; Recognition of Russia Committee, etc.

William Pickens (colored), of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made up of many radicals (Socialists and Communists); served as lecturer to Chinese Communist generals in training in Russia.

Cynthia Reede, organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party.

Tom Tippet, of the Socialist Brookwood College.

Rev. Harry F. Ward, of the American Civil Liberties Union ("red" defenders); Methodist Federation for Social Service with Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

Louis Waldman, New York attorney and Socialist candidate for Governor of New York in 1930.

LECTURERS

Jesse H. Holmes, member of Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Farms; vice chairman of Pennsylvania branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

S. Ralph Harlow, professor at Smith College; circulator of sex questionnaire; member of John Reed Club (Communist); member of War Resisters; proponent of Recognition of Soviet Russia; member of Reconciliation Tours to Industrial Workers of the World and Communist dens of New York City.

Colston E. Warne, American Civil Liberties Union; Socialist; Russian Travel Department, Open Road; member of Cooperative League.

Benjamin C. Marsh, Socialist; member of the John Dewey group; in the Book Review Department of New Masses, Communist organ.

Powers Haggood, given above.

Harry W. Laidler, Socialist; Rand School (Socialist); supporter of Thomas and Maurer, Socialist candidates.

COMPLETE OFFICIAL PERSONNEL OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Officers: President, Robert Morss Lovett; vice presidents, John Dewey, John Haynes Holmes, Vladimir Karapetoff, James H. Maurer, Alexander Meiklejohn, Mary R. Sanford, Vida D. Scudder, Helen Phelps Stokes; treasurer, Stuart Chase; executive directors, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas; secretary, Chicago, Karl Borders; field secretary, Paul Porter; special lecturer, Paul Blanchard; executive secretary, Mary Fox.

Board of directors: Andrew J. Biemiller; Leroy E. Bowman; Heywood Brown; Anna Caples; McAlister Coleman; Franz Daniel; Abraham Esstein; Frederick V. Field; Elizabeth Gilman; Hubert C. Herring; Nicholas Kelley; Francis J. McConnell; Williams Pickens; David Saposs; Donald Smith; Charlotte Tuttle; B. C. Vladeck; Louis Waldman; Bertha Poole Weyl; Howard Y. Williams, National Council, California; Ethelwyn Mills; Upton Sinclair, Colorado; Theodore Fisher, Connecticut; Jerome Davis; George D. Pratt, Jr., District of Columbia; Mercer G. Johnston, Georgia; Mary Raoul Millis, Florida; Edwin L. Clarke, Illinois; Harold Lasswell; Catherine L. Bacon; Paul Hutchin-

son; Clarence Senior; James M. Yard, Indiana; Gilbert S. Cox; Powers Hapgood; William P. Hapgood, Iowa; Minnie E. Allen; Laetitia Moon Conard, Kansas; John Ise, Maryland; Edward L. Israel; Broadus Mitchell, Massachusetts; Albert Sprague Coolidge; Emma S. Dakin; H. W. L. Dana; Alfred Baker Lewis; George E. Roewer, Minnesota; Sarah T. Colvin, Missouri; Joseph Myers, New Hampshire; James Mackaye, New Jersey; James W. Alexander, New York; Harriet Stanton Blatch; William E. Bohn; Louis B. Boudin; Paul F. Brissenden; Morris Ernst; Frederick V. Field; Louise A. Floyd; Norman Hapgood; Morris Hillquit; Frederick C. Howe; Darwin J. Meserole; William P. Montague; A. J. Muste; Frank L. Palmer; J. S. Potofsky; Evelyn Preston; H. S. Ranshenbush; Nellie M. Seeds; George Soule; N. I. Stone; Caro Lloyd Strobell; David Rhys Williams; Helen Sumner Woodbury, North Carolina; Mary O. Cowper, Ohio; Isaac E. Ash; Alice P. Gannett; Paul Jones; Phil Ziegler, Pennsylvania; Emily F. Dawson; Percy M. Dawson; Maynard C. Krueger; Simon Libros, South Carolina; Josiah Morse, South Dakota; Josiah Morse, South Dakota; Daniel J. Gage, Utah; James H. Wolfe.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLES

(Arbeiter Ring)

Workmen's Circles is a "radical fraternal Jewish order" (American Labor Year Book, vol. VI, p. 218), which considers itself part and parcel of the Socialist and trade-union movement. During its 1914 congress a resolution was adopted which made it a part of the Socialist movement in the United States. It also resolved to vote for parties striving for "abolition of private property." The organization has over 1,000 branches in this country and a membership of more than 150,000. It was organized in 1905 with 6,776 members. Workmen's Circles conducts numerous Jewish schools in the United States. It encourages "active participation in and contributions to all phases of the radical movement and relief of the Jewish people at home and abroad" (*ibid.*, p. 218). In 1929 it maintained 103 Jewish schools attended by about 7,000 pupils. Its textbooks include biographies on Karl Marx.

The youth section of Workmen's Circles was active in support of Harlan County (Ky.) mine strikers, Pennsylvania miners, Paterson silk strikers. It participates in May Day demonstrations. The National Youth chairman is Elias Lieberman; secretary, Jack Zuberman; national director, J. L. Afros. Its organ is *The Bulletin*. It also publishes *Our School and Friend*.

According to the last available report the officers of Workmen's Circle were: Joseph Weinberg, president; Joseph Baskin, general secretary; Barnett Woolf, vice president; and Sam Silverberg, treasurer.

This is a radical Jewish fraternal order which considers itself a part of the Socialist movement in the United States, according to American Labor Year Book, page 329 (1926).

It was organized in 1900 and has about 100,000 members and 100 schools (19 of which are in New York City) with 5,000 children attending.

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND

(Arbeiter-Franken-und-Sterbe-Kasse)

The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund was organized in the United States on October 19, 1884, by German Socialists. According to *Volksfront* (The People's Front), organ of the German American League for Culture, July 15, 1938, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund for the United States has 360 branches, 13 of which are in the United States. It has a membership of 50,000.

The fund has a reserve of approximately \$4,000,000. It has a relief fund amounting to \$100,000 which is held for distribution to members who cannot obtain relief otherwise.

The following western sectional offices are listed: Main office, 714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 1920 Dayton Street, Chicago—Frank Klein, manager; 542 Valencia Street, San Francisco—Fred Kohl, manager; 2430 Twenty-sixth Street, Oakland, Calif.—Otto Anhal, manager. Thomas Stiegerwald, manager, San Diego office; 2509—Forty-second Street, Sacramento—F. Schachtli, manager; 1250 West Seventieth Street, Los Angeles—A. Apronz, manager; 6037 Sycamore Avenue, Seattle—John B. Uttenweiler, manager; 7414 South Wapato

Street, Tacoma, Wash.—Bern L. Mischke, manager; 3284 Southeast Lincoln, Portland, Oreg.—M. Kleiner, manager.

The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund contributes to national strikes, Socialist activities and propaganda. The majority of its members are affiliated with labor unions in the United States. Its official organ is *Solidarity*, which is sent free to members every month.

The officers of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund are: Henry Petzolt, president; John Beisswenger, treasurer; William Spuhr, secretary.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY

The Fabian Society was founded in England in the form of a debating society by Thomas Davidson, an ethical anarchist-Communist. In 1884 it adopted the name The Fabian Society. Among the early leaders were Frank Podmore, Percival Chubb, Hubert Bland, J. Ramsay MacDonald, R. B. Haldane, George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, Mrs. Ansel Besant, Dr. Pankhurst, and Mrs. Charlotte Wilson.

It has been alleged that there was an apparent connection between the Fabian Society and anarchists in England. However, the society finally became a legislative and propaganda agency for socialism. Approximately half of the members belonged to the Independent Labor Party in England, which was founded in 1893 by Kier Hardie and Frederick Engels, disciples of Karl Marx. The Independent Labor Party took over the original political activity of the Fabian Society, leaving the latter to carry on with the propaganda and literary work.

In 1931 the Fabian Society advocated "Socialism by municipalization and nationalization of industry and a world control by a centralized superpower," and a heavy income tax and inheritance tax to accomplish it.

Stuart Chase is said to be the leader of the Fabian movement in the United States. Chase is also treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy; treasurer of the Russian Reconstruction Farms in 1926; member of the national committee of the League for Independent Political Action, which tried to put over a successful Third Party campaign in 1924; advisory committee of the People's Lobby, which, under the leadership of Prof. John Dewey, the defender of Leon Trotsky, advocates Government ownership; vice president of the Public Ownership League; sponsor of the Emergency Peace Campaign; advisory council of the American Association for Old Age Security; advisory council of the Society for Cultural Relations with Soviet Russia; advisory committee, Co-operative Distributors, Inc.; and an instructor at the Rand School of Social Science. It is understood that Chase was implicated in the Communist-controlled Fur Workers' International Union scandal some years ago, according to an American Federation of Labor report. He is author of *Socialism of Our Times*, *Socialist Planning* and a *Socialist Program*, and *A New Deal*, which was first published in August 1932.

FINNISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION

The Finnish Socialist Federation was organized in the United States in 1899. It is affiliated with the Socialist Party. The federation has over 10,000 members and about 200 branches in the United States. It carries on Socialist propaganda activity.

HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST CLUB

The Hungarian Socialist Club was organized in the United States in 1894. Its membership is exceedingly small. Many of its members joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1911. It was reorganized in 1912 and called the United Hungarian Federation. It is affiliated with the Socialist Party. Its organ is *Elore*, a daily publication.

JAPANESE SOCIALIST ASSOCIATION

The Japanese Socialist Association was organized in San Francisco in 1900. Its membership is small. Its publications are the *Revolution* and *Heimin*.

LITHUANIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION

The Lithuanian Socialist Federation was organized in Newark, N. J., in 1904. It carries on struggle against capitalism. It became affiliated with the Socialist

Party in 1914. The federation has 5,000 or more members. Its headquarters are located in Philadelphia. Its organs are *Kova* (the Struggle) and *Naujoji Gadyne* (New Age).

The Polish Alliance of the Socialist Party was organized in the United States in 1913. The Alliance of Polish Socialists of America is another organized group in this country, as is the Polish Socialist Federation, Scandinavian Socialist Federation (organized in Chicago in 1910), Slovak Socialist Federation (organized in Chicago in 1904), South Slovak Socialist Federation (organized in 1910), Italian Socialist Federation (organized in the United States in 1896, with headquarters in Chicago), German Language Federation of the Socialist Party (organized in the United States in 1912).

There are some 28 foreign-language federations organized in the United States, which include Bohemians, Lettish, Ukrainian, etc.

JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

(National headquarters, 133 Second Avenue, New York City)

The Jewish Socialist Labor Party affiliates and cooperates with international and American Socialists. It is the American section of Poale Zion. The major objective of the party is the building of a "Jewish Socialist Commonwealth in Palestine" (*American Labor Year Book*, vol. VI, p. 144-145). Its members are obligated to join labor unions. It conducts 35 schools along Socialist lines, with an enrollment of over 2,000. It also maintains a teachers' seminary in New York City.

The Jewish Socialist Labor Party was organized in 1905. It has 70 branches in 16 States. It has 40 junior clubs. *Der Yiddisher Arbeiter*, *Youth*, and *Pioneer Woman* are its official organs in the United States. A central committee of 17 directs the activities of the organization. Isaac Hamlin for many years was general secretary. It has raised over a million dollars for the Palestine movement.

An auxiliary fraternal body of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party is the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, which has a membership of approximately 6,000. Its publication is the *Jewish Workers' Voice*.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The Socialist Labor Party was organized in 1877. It polls about 21,000 votes a year in national elections.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY

The Farmer-Labor Party was organized in Chicago in 1920 at Carmen's Hall. On the same day, also in Chicago, The Committee of 48 was organized at a meeting held at the Hotel Morrison. Those attending this meeting marched to Carmen's Hall and joined in the Farmer-Labor Party new formation. Parley P. Christensen was elected president of the party.

The Committee of 48 was headed by J. A. H. Hopkins, Howard Williams, Charles Ingersoll, McAllister Coleman, John Haynes Holmes, Leslie Allen, Frank Stevens, and Horace B. Liveright.

In 1933 the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party was similar to that of the Communist Party, so much so, in fact, that the Communist Party later withdrew its ticket and threw its support to the Farmer-Labor Party. In 1938 Benson was nominated by the party as its candidate for Governor of Minnesota, after a split of the right wing had weakened the support by nearly 50 percent.

ANARCHISM

Anarchism is another destructive force that is organized in our country. It is so nearly like bolshevism in theory and practice that it is hard to distinguish between them. The leading anarchist organization in the United States is the International Anarchist Publishing Committee of America, the headquarters of which are located in New York City. The following are sections of this movement: Free Society Group of Chicago, Anarchist Federation of America, United Libertarian Organizations, Jewish Anarchist Federation, Federation of the Russian-Anarchist-Communist Groups of the United States of America and Canada, International Workingmen's Association—Russian aid fund for anarchists and

anarchists imprisoned and exiled. Progressive Society, Mohegan Anarchist Group, Swaboda, Freedom Forum, Russian Progressive Club, Confederate Libertarian Union, and the International Group, whose headquarters are said to be in Switzerland.

Among the regular anarchist publications in the United States are *Man*, published in Los Angeles, editor, Marcus Graham; *Road to Freedom*, published in New York City; *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Jewish), New York City; *L'Adunata* (Italian), Newark, N. J.; *Alba*, Pittsburgh; *Emancipazione*, San Francisco; *Culture Proletaria* (Spanish), New York City; *Eresia*, New York City; *Dielo Truda* (Russian), Chicago; *Free Society*, Chicago; *The Liberator*, Chicago; *The Firebrand*, Portland, Oreg.; *The Vanguard*, New York City; *Il Martello* (Italian), New York City, and *Mother Earth*, New York City. As other revolutionist organizations, the anarchists, of course, print and circulate hundreds of pamphlets and books of agitation for anticapitalist and antireligious groups.

It will be recalled that many of the early leaders of the Socialist and Communist movements in the United States were former anarchists—Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, P. Kropotkin and others, including Marcus Graham. The American Civil Liberties Union has in the past and within the last few years campaigned to prevent the deportation of such anarchists.

The anarchists maintain a number of farms, camps, and meeting places in the United States, but these appear to be transient with the season.

Anarchist and syndicalist organizations are all-in-one in this country. William Z. Foster, present head of the Communist Party of the United States of America, was formerly a member of this group, as was Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party.

The anarchists held national conventions in Chicago, September 2-3, 1934, and in New York City, September 18, 1937. Over 300 delegates attended these conventions. Walter Starrett, editor of *Road to Freedom*, was chairman. Harry Meyers, an Industrial Worker of the World; Leston M. Oak, formerly publicity director of the Valencia Government of Spain; Marcelino Garcia, who recently returned from Spain; Carlo Tresa, and Pedro Segura were among the speakers.

The Jewish Anarchist Federation held a convention in New York City, January 31-February 1, 1936. Rose Pesotta, C. I. O. organizer in the 1937 Cleveland knitting-mill strikes; active in Ohio rubber and auto strikes; vice president of the C. I. O. International Ladies Garment Workers Union, addressed the convention, as did L. Levy, described as "another paid union official."

According to one anarchist publication, anarchist groups are active in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Idaho, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland. They are known to have a youth group in Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee was organized by the American Civil Liberties Union to attempt to prevent the deportation of the editor of the anarchist publication *Man*. Members of the committee include Prof. Newton Arvin, Roger Baldwin, Harry Elmer Barnes, Louis Untermeyer, James Waterman Wise, Harry F. Ward, George Soule, George Seldes, James Rorty, Kirby Page, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Arthur Garfield Hays, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Max Eastman, Robert Dunne, Prof. John Dos Passos, Prof. John Dewey, Prof. George S. Counts, Alice Stone Blackwell, Kate Crane-Gartz, Donald Oden Stewart, and Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn.

Another defense committee, set up in the United States to defend two anarchists from deportation, was the Ferrero-Salletto Defense Committee. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, League for Industrial Democracy, Workers' Alliance, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the American Civil Liberties Union and C. I. O. unions, as well as Scott Nearing, Kirby Page, Kate Crane-Gartz, Norman Thomas, David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, and Joseph Schlossberg cooperated with this committee (according to an anarchist journal).

On December 23, 1936, a delegation headed by Rose Pesotta, Albert Strong, Ulisse de Domenicis, and William Taback visited Mrs. Perkins and demanded that the deportation orders against Ferrero and Salletto be dropped.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

(National headquarters: 555 W. Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.)

The Industrial Workers of the World was organized in the United States in 1905. The general secretary was John I. Turner. Members of the general board were Carl Keller, W. E. Spear, S. Hendrickson, Raymond Henry, Alfred Kohn,

William Dremman and Felix Mattson. The organization holds conventions annually. Many of its members have met with arrest.

The Industrial Workers of the World has a great many members in the marine transport industry. Its main purpose has been the promotion of industrial unionism. The present head of the Communist Party in the United States was at one time one of the leaders of the movement.

In 1924 the Industrial Workers of the World was reorganized, and a number of its members were expelled. It maintains departments on agriculture, land fisheries, water products, mining, construction, general manufacturing, transportation, communication, and public service. Its publications are *The Industrial Worker* and *Industrial Solidarity*.

Herbert Mahler, James Price, and C. B. Ellis have been the leading lights of the movement in recent years. At its last convention 310 delegates were reported present.

The defense movement of the Industrial Workers of the World is known as the General Defense Committee. Its headquarters are located at 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill. It has upwards of 33 national unions in the United States.

ATHEIST AND MARXIST CHURCH MOVEMENTS

The atheist movement is quite as much a Communist movement as is any branch of the Communist Party, in that it is one step toward communism. Atheism is one of the main ideologies of the Communist movement. While it cannot be said that all atheists are Communists, it is a well-known fact that all Communists are atheists, and the gulf between the two, if one exists, is not very wide.

In *Imprecor*, No. 21, volume 16 (official organ of the Third (Communist) International), an article appeared from which the following quotation is taken:

"The hope, which Romaine Rolland (leading French Communist) expressed in his message to the Prague Congress of the International Freethinkers Union, the hope that all progressive forces would unite, has been fulfilled. The congress closed with a meeting of the now amalgamated leadership of the Freethinkers International Union and the Proletarian Freethinkers International. The amalgamation of the two world organizations has now become a fact.

"The prolonged frenzied applause which greeted the Soviet delegation made it manifest that the freethinkers organizations of 12 countries which were represented at this congress recognized in the Soviet Union, in the country of socialism, the chief support of their efforts." * * *

The freethinkers organization is a world-wide atheist movement in which, to use the words of the Third (Communist) International (*Imprecor*, No. 38, vol. 16, p. 1033), "liberal, Socialist, Communist, and nonparty freethinkers are already cooperating for the achievement of their common aims (atheism)." * * *

The principal atheistic movement in the United States, other than the Communist Party, its various sections and allied movements, as well as the Socialist Party and its affiliates, is the "American Association for the Advancement of Atheism," the headquarters of which are located at 307 East Fourteenth Street, New York City. The officers of this organization are:

Charles Smith, president; Woolsey Teller, vice president; Freeman Hopwood, general secretary; Freda Rettig, treasurer.

Board of directors: O. H. Bailey, Ohio; George Bedborough, New York; William S. Bryan, Missouri; Louis J. Bergson, Pennsylvania; Felix Borbon, Michigan; John A. Bremner, Washington; Ira D. Cardiff, Washington; Stanley J. Clark, Oklahoma; Robert C. Conine, Oklahoma; J. Howard Cummins, Texas; N. Louis Dorion, New York; Mary E. Elliott, New York; Howell S. England, Michigan; James E. Even, Illinois; Linn Gale, District of Columbia; Paul P. Glaser, Indiana; E. Haldeman-Julius, Kansas; Robert F. Hester, South Carolina; John T. Kewish, New York; George T. Marclay, New York; Philip G. Peabody, Massachusetts; M. A. Stolar, Illinois; Walter Van Nostrand, New York; Clark H. Yater, New York.

Next in order of strength, is possibly the Freethinkers of America. Its national headquarters are located at 317 East Thirty-fourth Street, New York City. The following is a list of its officers:

Joseph Lewis, president; Dr. Charles L. Andrews, vice president; Mrs. May Bell Morgan, treasurer; Charles Strohmeyer, secretary; Maj. Joseph Wheless, attorney.

Honorary vice presidents: J. F. D. Hoge, Joseph McCabe, Rupert Hughes, Herbert Ashbury, Chapman Cohen, Clarence Darrow (deceased), Bertrand Russell, Sir Arthur Keith, Philip G. Peabody, Mme. Olga Petrova, William J.

Fielding, Theodore Schroeder, M. Edouard Herriot, Harry Elmer Barnes, Prof. G. Elliot Smith, Prof. Leslie A. White, Prof. Harold J. Laski, Prof. Chauncey D. Leake, Dr. Henry Smith Williams, Mrs. Maude Ingersoll Probasco.

If the influence of Christ and His religion prevails broadly, communism, socialism, anarchy, syndicalism, and other brands of materialism cannot make alarming inroads. For that reason God and religion are the special targets of the subversive forces. Since governments constituted by man on the basis of Christian principles bind the religious influences together into a formidable force for good, such governments are also the targets of subversivism. Because the home and family and their influence for good are creatures of God's teachings and are encouraged and protected by governments established on Christian principles, they, too, are targets of the Marxian forces.

Atheism is a world-wide movement. The Marxian movements are the creators and supporters of it throughout the world. The greatest stronghold of atheism today is Russia, although its poisonous fangs spread into every section of the world. In Russia one finds the Government founded on atheistic principles, protecting atheism, and discouraging and destroying Christianity.

While the fight against Christ can be traced back centuries, the present-day organized movement begins with the world organization of Marxism. The First, Second, and Third Internationals spread the anti-Christ propaganda. This organized theory is to be found in the Communist Manifesto, which is the bible of the followers of Marx, Communists, and Socialists. In this sacrilegious document Karl Marx and Frederick Engels emphasize the fight against God. His teachings and the church, the Government based upon the principles of Christianity, the home, and the family. From the Communist Manifesto present-day Marxian movements take their cues.

Very few if any are influenced by the proponents of the various un-Christian-like, communistic, and socialistic "isms" that have apparently spun a vast web of atheism, as well as communism and socialism, over our Nation, and, therefore, they may be enlightened to know that there are now in the United States some 600 or more national movements of this character having thousands of State and local branches and hundreds of propaganda organs which are blanketing the country with their poisonous attacks.

One new combination in the field of atheism should be sufficient to prove the seriousness of the situation. In January 1933 the radical publishers, Haldeman-Julius, of Kansas, launched a new publication. His pockets were no doubt already overflowing with the gold collected through sales of his Socialist, Communist, sex, trial marriage, atheist, and birth-control periodicals and pamphlets. The new publication, which was named the *Militant Atheist*, began in January with a circulation of 1,540. The September number had reached 4,051, a gain of 2,511 subscribers within only 8 months. This anti-God sheet, the size of a daily newspaper, is edited by E. Haldeman-Julius and "Rev." Joseph McCabe. It contains ballyhoo articles on atheism, on Russia, on the Oxford movement, on Professor Einstein, on Karl Marx, on revolution. It derides Catholicism, Protestantism, and the church and God Himself.

There are scores of atheistic movements in the United States issuing literature such as that issued by the Haldeman-Julius publishers, one of the largest distributors of atheistic filth in the country. The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism is attempting to abrogate all laws enforcing Christian morals; to stop "bootlegging of religion in public schools"; to stop "issuance of religious proclamations by Government officials," such as Thanksgiving, etc.; to tax ecclesiastical property; to repeal Sunday (blue law) legislation; to tax and nationalize church property. It maintains a youth group, the Junior Atheist League, which enrolls children between the ages of 7 and 17. These carry on a program of propagation.

The Society of the Godless fights against Bible reading. It sponsors lectures and debates for the atheist cause in the United States. The American Anti-Bible Society, organized to prevent the use and belief in the Bible; College Liberal Clubs, Hedonic Hosts of Hell-Bent Heathens, Thespian Society, the Church Taxation League, the Conception Controlled Society, Free Speech Defense League, World Union of Atheists, Sons of Satan, the Socialist and Communist Parties and their hundreds of subsidiary movements, the Proletarian Anti-Religious League, the Damned Souls, the Ingersoll Forum, evolutionist movements, birth-control organizations, the American Rationalist Association, National Society of Free-thinkers, the American Secular Union, the Anti-Religious Workers League, etc., are only a few of the far-reaching atheistic movements in this country.

The program of the Truthseekers seeks "to educate the people out of religious superstition." It denies the infallibility of the Bible and "denies the existence of the theological heaven and hell." It upholds the theory of evolution. It believes in free speech, free press, and free mails. It demands that church and ecclesiastical property be exempt no longer from taxation. It combats the use of chaplains in the Army and Navy, prisons and asylums, militia and legislatures. It opposes public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character. It demands that all religious services now sustained by the Government be abolished. It opposes the use of the Bible in schools. It demands the cessation of the appointment (by officials) of religious festivals and fasts. It demands the discontinuance of judicial oaths in courts and Government departments. It fights for the abolition of Sunday observance laws and the repeal of all laws directly or indirectly enforcing Christian morality.

Following are a few of the many attacks on God, church, and religion, indicative of the importance the radical Marxians consider the destroying of the faith in religion. These were made by leading Marxians and atheists.

Karl Marx: "Religion is the opiate of the people. The suppression of religion as the happiness of the people is the rescindation of its own happiness."

The official manifesto of the British Socialist Party, as reprinted and circulated in the United States by the Socialist Educational Bureau, says, in part: "No man consistently will be both a Socialist and a Christian. It must be either the Socialist or the religious principle that is supreme, for the attempt to couple them betrays charlatanism or lack of thought."

The catalog of the Freethought Press Association lists hundreds of books and pamphlets. Everything from *The Clash of Angels* to *Anti-Christ* by Nietzsche is available. It emphasizes, however, the works of Robert G. Ingersoll. Last year it attempted to push through a resolution in Congress to set up a monument to Ingersoll in the Nation's Capital. The resolution was introduced by Congressman Sirovich, of New York, and was identified as House Joint Resolution 285. Church people have so bitterly opposed this resolution that it has not yet been reported out of committee. Naturally, no one can prevent the erection of a statue, even to Karl Marx, on private grounds in Washington, D. C., or any other place; but one can, by common-sense methods, urge Congress not to place a stamp of approval on such moves. There are 55,000,000 church members and 22,000,000 Sunday-school students in the United States, and certainly they can prevent such a move on the part of the atheists.

There are also many movements which are not atheistic, but which, because of their efforts to divide congregations and drive people away from the church by their injection of Marxian theories into the church realm, are equally as harmful. There is a grave source of danger to our religion in the so-called "modernized Christianity," whose real purpose is to carry phases of Marxism into churches with the end in view of eventually winning their members to the cause. The result has been to cause division and dissension within the several denominations. One part of the Communist movement is to eliminate all Christian and other religious sentiment. Unfortunately a number of our clergy have gone (what they term) liberal. The Union Theological Seminary in New York is named in the Lusk report as one of the dangerous centers of revolutionary Socialist teaching of a university type. Just how many of its graduates have become contaminated is difficult to say. It fostered the organization styled the Fellowship of Socialist Christians.

Gregory Zinovief, president of the Third International, and long a high official in the Communist Soviet Government, said:

"Our party cannot be indifferent to religious questions. * * * The Communist Party says what Marx says, that religion is an opiate of the people. Of course, it is very important how your antireligious propaganda is conducted, whether it is done shrewdly or crudely. * * * This work of getting back of, and pushing on, those who are active in their present-day controversy over creeds, and who are rather defiant by church authority, it being handled by those who know how to conduct their 'antireligious' propaganda shrewdly."

This degraded, imported, anti-God theory and activity in the United States is only one of the many activities the highly financed and powerfully organized radicals, Socialists, Communists, and anarchists have established for the purpose of breaking down the moral fiber of the people and at the same time destroying their patriotism and respect for organized government, law, and order.

Possibly the largest centers of atheistic literature in the United States are the Communist and Socialist centers, but the organized atheist movements have their own centers. The Truthseekers, located at 38 Park Row, New York City, sell

hundreds of books and pamphlets. They have available everything from the *Biography of Satan* and the *Bible Unmasked*, by Kersey Graves and Joseph Lewis, to an *Open Letter to Jesus Christ and Theism or Atheism*, by Chapman Cohen. They distribute books by Communist and Socialist writers, as well as literature written by atheists, agnostics, and believers in evolution. They also issue a semimonthly journal, the *Truthseeker*, a journal devoted to the spread of anti-Christ theories. In the program of the *Truthseekers*, they defend, of course, "free thought, free speech, democracy, equal rights, impartial liberty," yet the purpose of all atheistic groups is to cripple the church by taxation, by muzzling the religious in schools, and so forth. They also distribute a publication known as the *Bible in the Balance*, in addition to the *Bulletin of Freethinkers of America*, a monthly publication.

This term "fellowship" has been used by the "Christian reds" to trap the unwary. In 1929 the fellowship for a Christian Social Order was organized and merged with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which was an organization employing Christian terms in order to find a ready acceptance for its communistic propaganda. It is a section of the international Fellowship of Reconciliation, which emphatically demands a radical reorganization of society along communistic lines. Out of two movements developed the Fellowship of Faiths; Kedarath das Gupta's Union of the East and West (Hindu) combined with the League of Neighbors, whose American founder was Charles Weller, a reputed radical. It was founded in 1924 and by 1927 had held 253 meetings in America in the last 12 months of that period. Its first world congress took place in Chicago in 1933. Atheist communism was actually received as a faith. Frantic applause was given the speaker who expressed the opinion that "there will exist a complete world fellowship of faiths only when the gods are banished from the skies and the capitalists from the earth."

Mrs. Albert W. Dilling writes that "speakers for the debasing and degrading Hindu, Mohammedan, pagan, and agnostic cults are placed in fellowship and on an equal footing with speakers for Jesus Christ. The audiences chant a mixture of prayers and ritual from all these. The savage Mohammedan call of the Muezzin as heard in darkest Asia is mingled with the propaganda of the Hindu, Jew, and agnostic."

A London publication states that among the most important personalities of the congress was Dr. Glenn Frank, then president of the University of Wisconsin. There were many "reds" whose names you would recognize. Such a jumbling of contradictory beliefs could only lead to confusion and unbelief and perhaps designedly robs Jesus Christ of his rightful place as light of this world. It seeks to propagandize the anti-national internationalism and reconciliation of all races and creeds into one, or none, the latter is part of the program of the communists. The Riverside Church of New York City advertises that the church is an inclusive fellowship, looking forward to the union of all disciples in one body. This church is replete with pagan icons which are placed in competition with figures representing Jesus Christ.

In Chicago, in 1932, 84 ministers, their wives, and some laymen formed the radical Christian Social Action Movement, whose aim was to introduce communism-socialism in some of its phases into the churches. Apprehensive that they might lose their pulpits, they also organized a Socialist Ministers Protective Association.

In 1928 the National Religion and Labor Foundation was organized to propagandize the New Social Order (socialism and communism) within the Catholic, non-Catholic, and Hebrew Churches. Its atheistic bulletin is styled "Economic Justice," and its vileness is only equaled by publications of Soviet Russia. One issue of the bulletin carried an alleged likeness of Jesus Christ with the legend "Wanted—for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Vagrancy, and Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government." There was additional blasphemous matter.

In 1911 the Church Socialist League was organized in the Episcopal Church and later was absorbed by the (Episcopal) Church League for Industrial Democracy, which is a subsidiary of the League for Industrial Democracy, a powerful radical organization which in turn grew out of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which had been organized to introduce Fabianism into our country. The Protestant Episcopal Church bows its dignified and devout head at the presence of the Church League for Industrial Democracy in its midst.

The Fabian movement was initiated in England and developed into a group of parlor Socialists who evidently refused to contaminate themselves by openly joining the Socialists, but appeared willing to affiliate with them through the Second International and endorse and promote their Marxian principles; but

through the legislative rather than the revolutionary way. Fabianism was introduced to the United States of America through the formation of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1905. The Fabians advocated the overthrow of our system of government because it guaranteed the private ownership of property. They emphasized the right of the people to nationalize all property and to this end advised a graduated system of predatory taxation in lieu of confiscation. They maintained that the best government is the one which spends the most and taxation is the means whereby to obtain the money to spend. In 1921 this organization became the League for Industrial Democracy, and its promoters largely assisted in forming the policies of the New Deal and the Church League for Industrial Democracy.

The Methodist Church bends under its cross of radicalism. There is a radical group in that church called the Methodist Federation for Social Service who aim to make their denomination a totalitarian church and thus control political, religious, social, economic, and international life. These Methodist "reds" favor communism with atheism omitted and have joined the trek to Moscow. The slogan of their monthly bulletin is "For the abolition of the profit system." Profits, they declare to be immoral. The opposition to the proposed merger of the three Methodist Churches is largely based on the communistic tendencies of those who hold many high positions in that denomination. In the final analysis the Communists have succeeded in their efforts in completely dividing the church.

There has developed in the Congregational Christian Church a social-order complex and there has been organized a Council of Social Action which has become quite active in promoting the new social order.

The radical affiliations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ is a subject of extensive discussion. Apparently, in lieu of primarily promoting Christianity among its several members it more represents a huge political machine and appears to intermeddle with radical politics. Its directorate indicates that it interlocks with many of the most extreme radical organizations. Through its 22 affiliated church denominations it possesses a strategical position from which to direct radical political trend of thought.

The Church League for Industrial Democracy, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and the Conference of Southern Churchmen now have a united front called the United Christian Council for Democracy. It is time that the nonradical part of the church form a united front.

Various national and international groups have been largely instrumental in causing our deplorable national condition. In 1776 Adam Weishaupt formed the order of the Illuminati in Bavaria, and his destructive theories have been injected into our era and are adopted by numerous groups who seek to deprive human beings of life, liberty, and property. The Illuminati were suppressed in 1785; its theories survive in the world revolutionary movement. Illuminatism was hostile to all forms of religious thought and this attitude is reflected in the plagiaristic writings of Karl Marx. One of its phases is atheism. The Illuminati were also enemies of all organized governments. General George Washington feared the effect of its teaching upon our newly born struggling Nation. His fears were well founded, for many of our people have been politically poisoned by its teachings. Our own generation has witnessed the sapping of the life and vitality of the "Russian bear"; now, the Communist despoilers of its civilization are preparing to feast on the "American eagle." The day we recognized the Communist Government of Russia, with its moral and political depravity, we bartered away American principles of liberty and honesty for a mess of pottage and turned loose on our American public a crowd of official propagandists to carry out their Communist oath to crush our Government.

From time to time since Weishaupt's era the promoters of the world revolutionary movement have sought also to enlist labor in their cause and have sought to influence and control its vote. It was Pravda that invited the workers of all countries to provoke revolution and civil war. Normally we have about 50,000,000 wage earners (38,000,000 males and 12,000,000 females). Possibly less than one-fifth are organized. The radicals hope to organize all labor who have a right to vote. Organized American labor has been compelled to carry on a constant fight against subversive activities among those within its ranks who seek to dominate it.

Not only have the Communists invaded the church and labor, but they have penetrated our schools, colleges, and universities, the movies and the press, with the end in view of controlling the political life of our Nation.

Quite a number of special publications are being devoted to the Marxian church movements. One which has just appeared is *Radical Religion*, published quarterly by the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, the editor of which is Reinhold Niebuhr of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, referred to elsewhere in this report.

LEADING RADICALS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES

In violation of the immigration laws, the Department of Labor has permitted numerous "reds" to come into our country during the last few years to work with the communistic forces here and to lecture in behalf of communism throughout our Nation. Although there are scores of these, we will only attempt to mention a few of the best known of these:

Henri Barbusse.—French Communist leader, who died in Moscow several months ago; organizer of "red" association of ex-service men in France after the World War; summoned before criminal court in 1923 on charges of inciting disobedience among soldiers after his speech advising them not to march against the Germans; author of many communistic books; until his death, editor of leading Communist organ in France; joined the Communist Party in France in 1920.

Tom Mann.—English Communist; active in British dockers' strike, 1889; president, Dockers' Union, 1890-93; president, International Ship, Dock, and River Workers' Union, 1892-96; general secretary, Amalgamated Engineers Union, 1919-21; general secretary, Independent Labor Party, 1894-96; secretary, London Reform Union, 1893-96; Communist organizer, Australia, 1902-04; editor, *Socialist*, Melbourne, 1904-9; visited Russia, 1921; agent for American Industrial Colony in Kuzbas, Siberia, 1924; affiliated with Red International of Labor Unions, Moscow, 1920; member, Communist Party of Great Britain.

Floremont Bonte.—Communist leader in France; Communist member of French Chamber of Deputies; permitted to visit the United States to appear before the tenth annual convention of the Communist Party held in New York City in 1938; later toured the country lecturing.

Mrs. Marjorie Pollitt.—Writer for Communist publications in United States; wife of Harry Pollitt, general secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain.

Emma Goldman.—Widely known anarchist.

John Strachey.—Member, Communist Party, Great Britain; writer for Communist publications and speaker on communism.

V. Lombardo Tolcedano.—Head of C. T. M., "red" labor front in Mexico; active in radical ranks in Mexico since 1920; forced to resign as professor at National University of Mexico because of his Marxian views; directs editorially *Futuro*, communistic journal of Mexico; president of the Mexican Federation of Labor (C. T. M.), 1938; openly condemned Trotsky's presence in Mexico, which opposition was agitated by the Stalinist Communists; also criticized Trotsky for condemning the purges in Russia; defended Leninist and Stalinist thoughts and actions; visited Moscow in 1935; returned a converted friend of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics referred to by Trotsky as a "lackey of Stalin and an agent of the G. P. U."

Ernest Toller.—An exiled German and refugee in the United States; for years active in communistic revolutionary work in Germany; now in the United States; first active in munition-plant strikes in Germany in 1918; after the arrest of Kurt Eisner, another revolutionist in Germany at the time, he became a member of the revolutionary strike committee in Munich, where he participated in the November 1918 Munich revolution as chairman of the Central Council of the Workers, Farmers, and Soldiers, patterned on the workers' and soldiers' councils set up by Lenin and Trotsky in Russia to wage the revolution there; made chairman of the central committee of the Bavarian Soviet and a member of the "red" guard, following the Communist revolution in Germany in 1919; a reward of 10,000 marks was offered by the German Central Government for the capture of Toller in 1919; arrested and imprisoned until 1924; came to the United States some time ago and immediately launched himself into Communist activities; barred from Queens College, New York City, in April 1938, when he attempted to agitate students to strike action; it is understood he is or has been writing plays for the Federal Theater projects. One of these plays, *No More Peace*, produced by the Federal Theater project, headed by Hallie Flanagan, former head of Vassar College Experimental College, who, it is alleged, received her theatrical education in Russia during the Communist regime, had its scenes designed at Vassar Experimental College. We understand that Toller is the author of seven propaganda plays. Whether all of them are being produced by Federal projects, we have not been able to learn.

BROOKWOOD COLLEGE

Brookwood College was established in 1921 under the leadership of A. J. Muste. Muste's record is as follows: Member of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; vice president, American Federation of Teachers; national council, Committee on Militarism in Education; chairman, Conference for Progressive Labor Action; vice president, Labor Age; executive committee, League for independent Political Action; national council, League for Industrial Democracy; chairman, Manumit Associates, Inc.; vice president, Pioneer Youth of America; national committee, War Resisters League; contributing editor, the World Tomorrow; vice chairman, Fellowship of Reconciliation; advisory board, National Religion and Labor Foundation; Committee on Labor Injunctions; New York Committee for Progressive Miners Relief; representative of Conference for Progressive Labor Action in Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction; arrangements committee, United States Congress Against War; lecturer, Camp Conawopa and Summer Institute, Mohegan Colony House, Crompond, N. Y.; vice chairman, National Sacramento Appeal Committee; contributor, Common Sense.

In May 1933 the long-expected break in the radical Brookwood College of New York City became an actuality. Contention between the right and left wings had existed for some years. As a result, the left-wingers, Muste and Tippet, resigned. The student body split with the two factions, and the majority of the students went with the left-wingers. The usual battle for supremacy that grows with the advocacy of such revolutionary dictatorship theories again arose, and it was rule or ruin with the odds in favor of ruin.

The December 1, 1928, issue of International Labor News, official organ of the American Federation of Labor, contained the following articles:

"LABOR COLLEGE IS REVEALED BY WOLL AND GREEN AS FRIEND AND ADVOCATE OF COMMUNISM

"Thrown into the arena after a long list of constructive policies had been developed in action on committee reports, Brookwood Labor College served as the piece de resistance for those whose fighting energies had found no other bones to rend.

"And Brookwood, to put it all concisely, got it in the neck. It was socked on the jaw, in the solar plexus, on the corns, in the small of the back, in both eyes, and, as been related, in the region of the esophagus. At the end it was a dangling wreck of a thing, its few friends gazing in sorrow at the shadow of what once had pretended so mightily.

"Vice President P. J. Shea, of the streetcar men, arose to ask what was all the fuss about Brookwood and what were the facts. He did this during a report on a proposal to plan for a labor college, to be guided by the federation. He said Brookwood had been condemned, but the evidence had not come forth and he, for one, thought it proper to know all about the business. The car men have had their troubles with the "red" and "pinkish" brethren.

"Vice President Woll got up and he stayed up for fully an hour, and they learned about Brookwood from him. To single out a few of the highlights of Mr. Woll's address, he said that Brookwood had three Communist members on its faculty, including A. J. Muste, its head, and Arthur C. Calhoun, who taught in the New York Communist school.

"He read a letter signed by Calhoun pledging his vote to Foster and Gitlow. He said Brookwood celebrated none of the labor holidays, none of the national holidays, but did celebrate May Day and the anniversary of the Soviet assumption of power in Russia, at which times the main hall was draped in red, with pictures of Lenine, Trotsky, Marx, and Ruthenberg gazing down benignly upon the assembled boys and girls.

"Mr. Woll said the organ of the American Federation of Teachers had printed a letter signed by Abraham Lefkowitz saying the executive council had 'too much confidence in the integrity of Matthew Woll,' who was delegated by President Green to investigate Brookwood and report. Social psychology, as taught at Brookwood, Woll said, was mainly about sex behavior and similar matters. Economics, he said, was taught by Tom Tippet, Communist, while foreign labor history was mainly about the "red" International.

"President Green said the revelations had 'shocked and amazed' the council. He said that at Brookwood they 'damned Sam Gompers, Bill Green, and John L. Lewis,' and that Muste, in a lecture, had likened the American Federation of Labor to 'a gigantic company union.' John H. Walker said no more capable

confidence men have ever operated, adding that they were experts in the art of seeming to be 'as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves.'

"The college had its defenders, one being Charles L. Reed, of Salem, Mass.; another Tobias Hall of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Brookwood would seem to be finished, as far as trade-union support is concerned."

The officers and directors of Brookwood College were as follows: Labor directors—James H. Maurer, Fannia M. Cohn, Abraham Lefkowitz, John Brophy, Phil E. Ziegler, and A. J. Kennedy; faculty chairman, A. J. Muste; business manager, Clinton S. Golden; extension director, Tom Tippet. Officers: James H. Maurer, president; A. J. Muste, vice president and treasurer; David J. Saposs, secretary. Executive committee of board of directors: Labor members, Fannia M. Cohn, A. Lefkowitz; faculty members—A. J. Muste, Josephine Colby, David J. Saposs, Helen G. Norton, Clinton S. Golden; graduate members—Mary Coff, George Creech; student member—August Danielsson.

Brookwood College has received about \$75,000 for operating expenses from the American Fund for Public Service, a million-dollar fund distributed by a board consisting of Communists and Socialists.

The following item was taken from the July 15, 1926, issue of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Community Party:

"TEXTILE 'PROBLEMS' TO BE DISCUSSED AT BROOKWOOD COLLEGE

"KATONAH, N. Y., July 13.—Problems of organizing the textile industry will be discussed at the textile institute which opens at Brookwood Labor College today. The United Textile Workers' executive committee will hold its annual meeting in connection with the institute. About 40 persons will attend the institute.

"Speakers will include Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor; Edwin Newdick; Spencer Miller, Jr.; Ethel M. Smith, of the Women's Trade Union League; George Soule, A. L. Bernheim, and Stuart Chase, of the labor bureau; and John Sullivan, president of the New York Federation of Labor. Discussion of organization problems will be led by Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun, instructor of economics at Brookwood."

The following appeared in the August 9, 1928, issue of the Star, Washington, D. C.:

"BAN LABOR SCHOOL AS COMMUNISTIC—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ASKS UNIONS TO WITHDRAW SUPPORT OF BROOKWOOD COLLEGE

"ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., August 9.—Intellectual 'boring from within' has been dealt its first hard blow by the American Federation of Labor by the ban which the executive council has ordered placed on Brookwood College, at Katonah, N. Y. Brookwood is patterned after famous Ruskin College and has been called the seat of labor learnings in America. All labor organizations are now asked to withdraw support to the college. Unions which have established scholarships are asked to withdraw them.

"Dr. A. J. Muste is the head of Brookwood's faculty. Another leading member is David J. Saposs (now serving the National Labor Relations Board in an official capacity). Several trade-union officials, including James Maurer, for years president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, are officers and members of the board.

"The charge against Brookwood is, of course, that it is out of accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, which means that its teachings are Communist.

"Action followed the filing of a report made by Matthew Woll under direction of President Green. In the report it is charged that three members of the Brookwood faculty also are lecturers in a New York Communist school. It is further set forth that the teaching in sociology deals chiefly with sex.

"The significance of the action on Brookwood is that it presages a drive to root out the influence of a sizeable group of 'intellectuals' of 'left-wing tendencies' and Communist affiliations. It is known, for example, that Brookwood leaders have not been entirely free from connection with Communist efforts in the Pennsylvania coal fields and in the New Bedford textile strike.

"The Workers' Education Bureau endorsed by the American Federation of Labor does not in any sense share the stigma placed on the institution at Katonah."

Students of Brookwood have taken part in many labor and college strikes. The philosophy of Marx influences all of the subjects taught at the labor college.

The following is a list of the endorsers of Brookwood: Mr. John Dewey, Columbia University; Prof. Paul H. Douglas, University of Chicago; Dr. John L. Elliott, Ethical Culture Society; Prof. George S. Counts, Columbia University; Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Teachers College; Prof. Broadus Mitchell, John Hopkins University; Prof. Henry R. Mussey, Wellesley College; Prof. John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin; Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, College of the City of New York; Dr. Everett Dean Martin, Peoples' Institute; Prof. LeRoy Bowman, Child Study Association; Prof. Paul F. Brissenden, Columbia University; Prof. Jesse H. Holmes, Swarthmore College; Dr. Abraham K. Harris, Howard University; Miss Alice Hanson, industrial department, Young Women's Christian Association; Miss Eleanor Copenhaver, industrial department, Young Women's Christian Association; Miss Mary C. Barker, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss Selma Berchardt, Washington, D. C.; Prof. John A. Fitch, Mew School of Social Work; Prof. William M. Leiserson, Antioch College; Prof. Robert Morse Lovett, University of Chicago; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Columbia University; Prof. E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin; Prof. Alfred D. Sheffield, Wellesley College; Miss Hilda W. Smith, director, Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers; Prof. George A. Coe, Columbia University; Miss Lucile Kohn, Women's Trade Union League Conference; Dr. E. C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work; James H. Maurer, ex-president, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers; A. J. Kennedy, president, Amalgamated Lithographers' Union; John P. Burke, president, Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers; Dr. Henry R. Linville, president, American Federation of Teachers; J. B. S. Hardman, editor of official journal, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Robert Fechner, vice president, International Association of Machinists; Miss Fannia M. Cohn, educational department, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Abraham Lefkowitz, vice president, American Federation of Teachers; Justus Ebert, editor of official journal, Amalgamated Lithographers; Powers Hapgood, Columbia Conserve Co.; Walter Ludwig, director, Pioneer Youth of America; Julius Hochman, vice president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Phil E. Zeigler, editor, official journal, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Oscar Cooley, executive secretary, Cooperative League of America.

AUTHORS, EDITORS, AND PUBLICISTS

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor, the Nation; Bruce Bliven, editor, the New Republic; Devers Allen and Kirby Page, editors, the World Tomorrow; Edmund Wilson, the New Republic; Sara Bernheim, Labor Bureau, Inc.; F. J. Schlink, Consumers' Research; Carl Brannin, editor, the Vanguard; Harry W. Laidler, League for Industrial Democracy; Freda Kirchwey, the Nation; Sinclair Lewis; Stuart Chase; Paul Sifton; Vida Scudder; Walter Frank; Arthur Garfield Hays; Mrs. John F. Moore; R. W. Haebisch; Upton Sinclair; Clare Sifton; Frederick V. Field; Elizabeth Gilman; Evelyn Preston; George Soule; Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Bishop F. J. McConnell, Dr. John H. Holmes, Reinhold Niebuhr, Charles C. Webber, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, William Adams Brown, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Bishop Paul Jones, Sherwood Eddy, Francis A. Hanson, J. B. Matthews, William B. Spofford, Prof. Jerome Davis, John Nevin Sayre, James M. Myers.

Tucker P. Smith, now head of Brookwood College, is also head of the C. I. O. auto union offices in Detroit.

REVOLUTIONARY RADICALISM

The menace of revolutionary radicalism in the United States is but faintly comprehended by many who judge of its potentialities only through observation of its public activities. That agitation is but one of the phases of a general pervasive movement directed toward a common end. That end is the creation ultimately of a popular psychology which, if permitted through lack of resistance to attain its final phase, would make easily possible the overthrow of our Government and civilization either suddenly by violence or gradually through serious changes brought about by the unintelligent use of the ballot.

The three main targets of the Marxianist attack in its varied forms and sects are:

The State, under which private property, including the church, the home, and the press is sanctioned; the family, which is the bulwark of individualism, and religion, which prescribes a system of ethics incompatible with the principles of Marxism.

The aims of communism might be best explained by the Communists themselves.

According to the Communist Manifesto, the following are among the admitted aims of the Marxians everywhere and including those in the United States.

Page 29, chapter 2 (Communist Manifesto): "The immediate aim of the Communists is—the formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois" and "conquest of political power by the proletariat. * * *

Page 30: "The theory of the Communists may be summed up in a single sentence: Abolition of private property * * *," and the—

Page 34: "Abolition of the family." Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists. It says (p. 35): "On what foundation is the present family based? On capital, on private gain. The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capitalism."

Page 39: "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat.

"In most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable: Abolition of property in land * * *, abolition of all rights of inheritance * * *, confiscation of the property of all immigrants and rebels * * *, centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and exclusive monopoly."

Of course the church is in for it too, for it says that "religion is the opiate" that the capitalist administer the working class and that it must go with the "capitalist" system of which the Marxians claim it is a part.

Now, in another document, this by Lenin, who fathered the Communist Manifesto into action in the present-day world, he says that after the above is accomplished the "State will be abolished." Meaning, of course, that after everything has been centralized into the hands of the State, that the State as such will be abolished and in its place will come the dictatorship of the proletariat, which he says will have to adopt suppressive means to protect the dictatorship from counterrevolutionists, meaning all who dissent.

Mr. Browder and other revolutionaries give much lip service publicly, to the suggestion that they are all out to "save democracy," they are particular not to state, however, that they are out to "save our Republic." But in their instructions to revolutionaries in the schools of training in our country, one of their lessons taken from *The State and Revolution* by Lenin, says: "The more developed democracy is, the nearer at hand is the danger of a program of civil war in connection with any profound political divergence."

That statement appears to be in keeping with the statement of Madison in the Constitutional Convention in which statement he tells of leading the fight against the creation of a democracy instead of a republic as was finally created under our Constitution. He warned that a democracy could subject our people to "external and internal dangers" through actions of organized minorities and that a proper interpretation of the Constitution as adopted and which created the Republic, could guard the people against such dangers.

It may be pertinent then to show in the course of my testimony how the revolutionaries are trying to force the Republic toward a democracy of the "more developed" type referred to by their leader (Lenin), which he says would lead to civil war.

Let us consider then Earl Browder's analysis of the situation in the United States at present. That is what he says briefly concerning present conditions in the United States (taken from *What Is Communism*, by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party):

"In America most of our difficulties lie precisely in the achievement of power for the working class, in the establishment of the soviet government. After that has been accomplished, the American capitalists will have no great powerful allies from abroad to help them continue the struggle. It will already be clear that world capitalism has received its death blow. The soviet government of America will take over a society already technically prepared for communism. Where in Russia it was necessary to go through the prolonged period of war communism, the N. E. P., the first and second 5-year plans, in America we will start economically at a stage even further advanced, at about the point which Russia will reach in her fourth 5-year plan.

The only thing that could change this favorable perspective for a soviet America would be a possible, but unpredictable, destruction of American economy by an imperialist war, carried out by agencies of destruction hitherto unknown.

The United States, in short, contains already all the prerequisites for a Communist society except the one single factor of soviet power. In Russia, Lenin, said, several years after 1917, "The Soviet power, plus electrification, equals communism." In America the electrification already exists, so we can shorten Lenin's formula.

You may begin to see, gentlemen, that the many efforts to destroy the balance in our Government, by attempts to usurp State rights and to shackle the Supreme Court, while not alone engineered by Communists, but demanded by all Marxians and by some non-Marxians, would lead right down the Marxian alley and help them to accomplish their goal.

I am not contending that all who favor such changes are Marxians or that all who favor such changes are purposely trying to destroy our system of government. Some are undoubtedly sincerely hopeful of helping sustain our system by such methods, but if the results regardless of the motives behind them threaten to be the same, we should tread carefully.

NAZI-ISM, FASCISM, COMMUNISM, AND RELIGION

We charge the Socialists, atheists, anarchists, and Communist movements with being a direct effort to destroy the Christian religion. We need not point further than to what Marxians have done in the way of destroying the Christian religion in Russia and Spain to prove that.

We charge on the other hand that fascism and nazi-ism are out to destroy the Jewish religion and to at the same time place the Christian religion under State control robbing it of its freedom and eventually changing if not destroying it.

We have to point to no other source as proof, than present-day happenings in Italy, Germany, and Austria. To destroy religion the State necessarily destroys the individualism of the people making them dependent directly on the Government, thereby subjecting them to its rules regarding religion and making the State the god. All of these attacks on religion comes about through varied interpretations of Marx works who built the program of destructive action against religion.

SUMMARY

We have shown that "60" persons (central committee of the Communist Party of the United States) absolutely control and rule the Communist movements in the United States. We have shown likewise that "60" (executive committee, Communist International) control the world Communist movement which includes the section in the United States.

We have shown that in the Communist Party and its fronts the Communists have a membership and following of over 6,500,000 which we estimated for all un-American movements in the United States, but we made our estimate low to provide for duplication of which there are many.

We have shown by submitting financial reports of some of the larger organizations and by showing the wide propaganda and organizational activities that it is easily estimated that over \$10,000,000 a year is spent or collected for un-American activities in the United States.

We have shown that most of the un-American campaigns are among foreign-born and under foreign dictation and encouragement.

We have shown that over 80 internationals—and we could have enlarged that—control the activities of many national branches of un-American actions in the United States.

We have shown that the "reds" use a member of "Wall Street bankers" families in their efforts in the United States while parading before the workers that "Wall Street" bankers control America.

We have shown that in the face of Communists' campaign against the American press as a "capitalistic monopoly" that the Communist press is the world's biggest monopoly and trust.

We have proven that the Communists claim an 800,000 following in New York alone.

We have proven in every respect our opening statement to this committee.

We charge that communism, socialism, pacifism, atheism, and anarchism are of the same school of thought and purpose and that fascism and nazi-ism are but

varied brands of socialism, that all are contrary to the American traditions and form of government and that they are therefore un-American.

As to the Khaki Shirts organized in 1933 by Art J. Smith in Philadelphia, this organization never was large nor was it national. However, it may have become a menace if it had not been discouraged by rough roads. It was undoubtedly a form of Fascist movement. It was found to be armed and to have had very subversive plans.

The Silver Shirts, another shirt movement with headquarters in Asheville, N. C., and with branches over the Nation, believes that all Jews are behind the Communist movement and they therefore carry on an anti-Jewish propaganda along with the anti-Communist propaganda. Its propaganda denotes a close favoritism for Hitler because of his action in stamping out the Communist movement in Germany, and, of course, along with it, his attacks on the Jews. Its organ is the Liberator and its head is William D. Pelley. The publication is said to have 8,000 circulation, which indicates that the movement is rather small in comparison with other movements. Its slogans are: "For Christ and Constitution," for ridding the Nation of aliens and to further Nordic aims.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, AUGUST 18, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. We will hear Mr. Shoemaker.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS B. SHOEMAKER

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is what?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Thomas B. Shoemaker, Deputy Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Shoemaker, you have delivered, in accordance with our request, the file in reference to the Harry Bridges case; is that true?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you delivered the full and complete file?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I have, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you personally checked to see that this is the full and complete file?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I have endeavored to check, so far as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether you have all of the reports and correspondence of Mr. Bonham, who is identified with the Department out on the west coast, in this file?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I am satisfied they are there.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a statement to make generally with reference to this file?

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Are you the only official authorized to have custody of the file in the Bridges case?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Not at all.

Mr. MOSIER. Are there other officials who may have files in the Bridges case?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. There might perhaps be. But, you understand, in bringing this file I am bringing the file of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Mr. MOSIER. You are bringing just the file of that Service?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Exactly. And, I take it, that may be regarded also as the departmental file.

Mr. MOSIER. If you know, will you tell us of the existence of any other file in any other bureau of the Department on the Harry Bridges matter?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I know of no other file in the Government service on the Harry Bridges case.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not Secretary Perkins has a file, independent of this file?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I presume that she does not. I take it that I have a complete file.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you know whether Secretary Perkins had any special, personal file on the Harry Bridges matter?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. In all reasons, I would, from the fact that we were told to bring the file up here. I presume I have brought the entire file, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is a presumption on your part, however?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Of course, I do not know, and could not know, personally, just what is in the thousands of files that we have.

Mr. STARNES. That is true; but it is a fact that you have a file in a case, which is called the regular departmental file?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And oftentimes you have documents in connection with that file that are so confidential in their nature that the Department keeps them separately, or throws additional safeguards around them, other than keeping them in the regular departmental file; is that true?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I have known of that very infrequently.

Mr. STARNES. That does happen, though; that is a practice of the Department when they have exceptionally confidential or important documents with reference to a particular case; they keep them in a separate file?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That might perhaps be true; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I happen to know, because I made some investigations down in the Department heretofore and was so informed by the Department.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I see.

Mr. STARNES. Have you investigated the file with reference to Harry Bridges to ascertain whether or not they have kept a separate file there with reference to him, other than the regular file, containing unusually important affidavits and other documents pertaining to the case?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I have tried to get every file that pertains to this case, for the information of the committee.

Mr. STARNES. How many such files have been kept with reference to Harry Bridges, Mr. Shoemaker?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I should say they are all there.

Mr. STARNES. How many files do you recall?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. You see, these files, as the cases arise, as the cases continue, rather, may be placed into separate folders.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I am driving at.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. And so far as my knowledge goes, they are all included in those papers, sir, that I have turned over to the chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Who handles those files down in the Department, Mr. Shoemaker?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. They would be handled by the file clerks, and might, perhaps, inasmuch as I have been interested in the case—might have been handled by me.

Mr. STARNES. What other officials of the Department who have been interested in this case down there?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I know the Secretary has, and the solicitor of the Department, and the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

Mr. STARNES. It is a fact that Mr. Bridges himself has personally been to the Department, is it not?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. If he has, I have not seen him; I do not know that as a fact.

Mr. STARNES. Have you held any conferences or consultations with Mr. Bridges?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. None whatsoever.

Mr. STARNES. Has the Secretary, or other officials of the Department, held any conferences with him here in Washington?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. If they have, I do not know it.

Mr. STARNES. You know nothing at all of his having come to Washington this year and having consulted with officials in the Department of Labor with reference to the deportation proceedings which have been instituted against him?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Not so far as I know; no, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You are just testifying to your personal knowledge?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You are not saying that that was not done?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I am not in a position to say.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an attorney, are you not?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your only concern is with the legal aspects of the matter?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Who really had charge of this case from the standpoint of making the investigation? Do you care to disclose that?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Well, I might say the Seattle office and the San Francisco office.

The CHAIRMAN. What official in the Washington office is thoroughly familiar with it?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I should say Mr. Reilly, and perhaps myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with the legal phase of it?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Mr. Reilly, I should say.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Bonham, of the Immigration Service, is the official in Seattle who handled the case?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything at all about the case being taken from his hands and handled directly from the Washington office?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I do not know that the case has been taken away; so far as my knowledge goes, it has not been taken from the hands of Mr. Bonham.

Mr. STARNES. It has been handled, though, from the Washington office direct?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. It has since the rendition of the opinion of the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit in the *Strecker case*; it has been handled here from Washington.

Mr. STARNES. Which have stopped any proceedings against Mr. Bridges.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. For the time being, yes, sir; it has deferred proceedings.

Mr. STARNES. Harry Bridges is an alien, is he not?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is correct; so far as my knowledge goes; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What is his real name?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. So far as the record shows, Harry Renton Bridges.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of the record and with knowledge that the Department must have oftentimes other than just what is contained in the files, does he have any other name? Does he use any other name or alias?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. It has been alleged by various persons—

Mr. STARNES. What was that alias that he has used?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. If it referred to the individual, it meant the name of Dorgan—the name of Dorgan has been mentioned. I do not recall just off-hand what they were, although I know there have been several—

Mr. STARNES. Several other aliases, other than Dorgan?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. It is alleged that he has gone under the name of Harry Dorgan?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That has been alleged; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Has any evidence been brought to the attention of the Department in that connection?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. There have been some papers introduced, which might be termed evidence; whether it amounts to evidence, of course, I am not in a position to tell you.

Mr. STARNES. We understand that. What I am driving at is, certain papers alleging that he has been known under the alias of Harry Dorgan have been brought to the attention of the Department?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And the Department has those papers in its possession?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I think they are there, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a statement to make, Mr. Shoemaker, concerning the turning over of these files to the committee. Would you mind stating that to the committee now?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I would not; in handing these papers to the committee it is most respectfully asked that, if the committee can see it that way, they give us, for record purposes, a request in writing therefor.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have that for you.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. And, in the second place, I wanted to ask that, if possible, the names of many of our affiants and deponents—in fact, all of them—be kept within the knowledge of the committee entirely, because many of these people fear the results of their statements. We do not wish to break confidence with them or to have

them fear that information has been disclosed about them which may react to their disadvantage.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of one witness, whose affidavit we have anyway and who will appear as a witness.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe I mentioned that to you when I received the files.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is right; within the discretion of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we do not want to disclose anything that may result in physical harm or violence to any of these deponents. But, at the same time, one witness has already been subjected to threats and intimidation, and it is my opinion, personally, that publicity in reference to the matter would be his greatest protection.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I do not see why we should agree entirely to that request for this reason. We may inquire of some people whose names are in this file with whom we may want to get in touch. It would come out that we wanted to get in touch with them. We might even mention the names right here in the committee. That does not necessarily mean, just because we mention the name, that any harm is going to come to that person. As you say, it may be his or her greatest protection. But I think to agree to the request that the Commissioner has made might hamper the committee; it might not, but at the same time it might. And in view of the fact that it might, I do not think we ought to agree.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is not surrendering the file on those conditions. He is merely making a request, and trusting the discretion and judgment of the committee, that we will exercise the greatest of caution.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; but he did not put it that way.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. That is just the way I mean it, sir. I do not have any desire to try to tell the committee what to do in a matter of this kind. I am perfectly willing to take whatever the committee does. But I am thinking of those individuals who fear for their own safety, perhaps needlessly, perhaps uselessly, but they do fear, and they have given their statements in confidence. It is in the discretion of the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. You are willing to leave it in the discretion of the committee?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Shoemaker, have you a record of what is in this file? It seems to me there ought to be such a record of what is surrendered to us, receipt for which ought to be signed by our committee clerk.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I did not have the time to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we have the file inventoried and signed by our clerk, acknowledging receipt of these certain documents, so that your record will have that receipt. In that way there will be no question in the future as to what was in this file.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I just took them all together and brought them up.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask one question. You say that it is customary for the Secretary to keep a confidential file in certain matters. Did you ask the Secretary, or the Secretary's

office, after you received this particular request, whether or not they had a confidential file in that office on the Harry Bridges matter?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I want to answer that question just as you asked it. I do not think I made that statement that they had a confidential file.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he did not make that statement.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. But I am sure, I feel confident myself, that we have everything the Secretary has.

Mr. THOMAS. But you did say that occasionally—I think the record will show that—occasionally in the Secretary's office they keep some sort of files on various matters—

Mr. SHOEMAKER. They may, perhaps, of course. I am not familiar with the Secretary's office.

Mr. THOMAS. They may, perhaps. That is what I mean. If they may, perhaps, then did you ask in this particular case whether they had such a file?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I asked for all of that, for everything.

Mr. THOMAS. In that particular office?

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Everything; yes, sir. And I am confident that we have it.

The CHAIRMAN. When we have completed an examination of this file, we will notify you and Mr. Reilly and others with whom we may want to go thoroughly into the matter and I am sure they will be glad, of course, to cooperate with us.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. I may say that Mr. Reilly will return from his vacation on Tuesday. He is perhaps more familiar with the file than anyone else, and will be glad to appear himself, I am sure.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be well to have him, and probably we will want to have that in executive session, for the very reason which you have given. We do not want to do anything that will bring physical harm or danger to any of the affiants or deponents in this case.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. So that we will notify you later about this.

Mr. SHOEMAKER. Very good.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Shoemaker.

We will hear Miss Kerr.

TESTIMONY OF MISS MARGARET A. KERR

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name distinctly, Miss Kerr.

Miss KERR. Margaret A. Kerr.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in Los Angeles, Calif.?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now and have been for some time identified with the Better American Federation?

Miss KERR. For 18 years.

The CHAIRMAN. For 18 years. That is a patriotic organization in the State of California?

Miss KERR. Yes; incorporated in the State of California.

The CHAIRMAN. Engaged in patriotic work?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your position with this organization?

Miss KERR. I am a member of the board, executive secretary, and manager of the office.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a member of the board, executive secretary, and manager of the office?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You had occasion to make some investigations and do some work with reference to the Harry Bridges case, did you not?

Miss KERR. Yes; along with an investigation into seditious activity generally.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made numerous investigations over a long period of time into subversive activities throughout California; is that true?

Miss KERR. Yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You have kept in close touch with various communistic and Nazi and Fascist movements, wherever they occurred or whenever they occurred in California; is that true?

Miss KERR. We have conducted research along those lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Over a long period of time?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with the Harry Bridges case, you, as an official of this organization, had occasion to see the alleged membership card of Harry Bridges in the Communist Party, did you not; that has been introduced in evidence by Mr. Frey?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen that card, or a photostatic copy of that card?

Miss KERR. The alleged card; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The alleged card, which is signed Harry Dorgan?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You had occasion to make an investigation to determine whether or not in fact Harry Dorgan was the same person as Harry Bridges, did you not?

Miss KERR. Information came to me voluntarily on the subject, which we felt it our duty to bring to your attention.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, you obtained information with reference to the identity of the two names, is that right?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You followed that up; a witness came to you?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He showed you the membership card?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that membership card?

Miss KERR. I do not have it here at the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. You have it on the west coast?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have sent for that membership card, together with a telegram from Dr. Copeland to yourself?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Together with a triplicate affidavit of the particular witness, whom I am coming to?

Miss KERR. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you filed all those papers with the Copeland committee, did you not?

Miss KERR. Yes; last February.

The CHAIRMAN. When you came to Washington you thought you could get those papers from the Copeland committee, did you not?

Miss KERR. Yes; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made a request to the Copeland committee, since you arrived this time, for those papers, did you not?

Miss KERR. Yes; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And the clerk told you he was unable to give you those papers without authorization; is not that a fact?

Miss KERR. Yes; from the chairman, direct authorization from the chairman, giving specific instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. And the chairman is now Senator Bailey of North Carolina?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You had me communicate with Senator Bailey?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And I may state for the purpose of the record that Senator Bailey declined to give the papers unless the committee passed upon it. He said he had no authorization to surrender the papers.

Now, among the papers you surrendered was an affidavit from this witness of whom you are speaking?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That witness' name is what?

Miss KERR. Irving N. Markheim.

The CHAIRMAN. Irving N. Markheim?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent that affidavit to Dr. Copeland, did you not?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what the date was when you sent it.

Miss KERR. It was in the latter part of February, as I recall it.

Mr. MOSIER. This year, 1938?

Miss KERR. Yes; it was along in February 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have the telegram from Senator Copeland to you as soon as it gets here from the west coast?

Miss KERR. I will turn it over immediately when I receive it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Senator Copeland acknowledged receipt of that affidavit in a telegram, did he not?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And told you he had transmitted it to the Labor Department; is that not a fact?

Miss KERR. Yes. According to my recollection, he stated that he had turned it over to Mr. Gerard Reilly, of the Labor Department.

Mr. MOSIER. Gerard Reilly?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the affidavit to which we have referred, you secured a second affidavit from Irving N. Markheim, did you not?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that affidavit is the one that it seems to me we should discuss in the committee before making its contents public. That is a matter, however, the committee will take up a little later.

You, of course, read the affidavit from Markheim many times?

Miss KERR. A number of times.

The CHAIRMAN. And you will have here tomorrow or the next day, as soon as it arrives, a triplicate affidavit; did he sign it in triplicate?

Miss KERR. Yes; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent one of the affidavits to Senator Copeland?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The other affidavit you have in your office in California?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is on its way to Washington?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What became of the third affidavit?

Miss KERR. Senator Copeland turned it over to the Labor Department. He so stated to us.

The CHAIRMAN. And then he asked you for another one?

Miss KERR. Yes; for his files.

The CHAIRMAN. So that accounts for the three affidavits, does it not?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Markheim is now living, is he not?

Miss KERR. As far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the last time you knew about him?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In Los Angeles?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is ready to appear as a witness for this committee; is that not a fact?

Miss KERR. I imagine so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the committee can get him when they go to the west coast.

Miss KERR. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Or, if the committee sees fit to subpoena him here and pay his railroad expenses and other heavy charges, we can get him here. But since the committee is going to the west coast, the chances are we can defer subpoenaing him until we get there.

Miss KERR. I have no responsibility for him whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. Now, did you make an investigation of this man's antecedents after you took his affidavit, or before?

Miss KERR. Yes. He came to me and said that he had this particular knowledge and showed me his identification.

The CHAIRMAN. His membership card in the Communist Party?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to get that for us?

Miss KERR. Yes. He also had a membership in the International Labor Defense, which is the Communist legal defense. Col. Andrew J. Copp, Jr., who is the president of the Better American Federation, then took the affidavit from this man, when I introduced him to Colonel Copp.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you investigate with reference to this man's background, as to whether he had ever been a criminal or had a criminal record?

Miss KERR. Yes. We checked both his real name and his party name of John Burton.

The CHAIRMAN. His party name was John Burton?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you find with reference to that?

Miss KERR. We found nothing against him.

The CHAIRMAN. We found nothing against him so far as the police records under those two names were concerned?

Miss KERR. A clear record; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In the files that have been submitted to us by the Labor Department is an affidavit from Irving N. Markheim, signed before Andrew J. Copp, Jr., sworn to on the 15th day of February 1938.

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This purports to be a photostatic copy of the affidavit?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you come around here to our table and examine it?

Miss KERR. Could I compare it with the original when I receive it? Would you rather I looked it over now, or compare it with the original when I receive it?

The CHAIRMAN. I would rather you look it over now. If you will wait a moment, perhaps the original is in these files.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that if the original was turned over to the Department of Labor and is part of their files, we should have the original and not a photostatic copy.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked Mr. Shoemaker to point out the affidavit, and this is what he got for me.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, do you not think it would be a good idea if Mr. Shoemaker would sit or stay around the committee room until we get through with this?

The CHAIRMAN. He is not here.

Mr. THOMAS. We might meet him later on.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kerr can identify the photostat copy. Suppose you read the affidavit first, Miss Kerr, and see if it is a true copy of the photostat affidavit you secured. Read it through.

Miss KERR. Do you want me to read it word for word? It looks like the original signature on each page.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the contents, too, so you can identify it.

Miss KERR. Mr. Chairman, the inside of this book is missing.

The CHAIRMAN. The book accompanying it?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; exhibit B, which is the program of the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are the other affidavits that accompanied this? Have you seen any other affidavits besides the affidavit by Markheim?

Miss KERR. No, sir. I do not recall that. I do not recall what Senator Copeland may have got.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the photostat copy of the affidavit, there is a membership card or what purports to be a photostat copy of a membership card, of John Burton. Is that a photostat copy of the photostat card you are speaking of?

Miss KERR. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the membership card of Irving N. Markheim?

Miss KERR. Under the name of John Burton.

The CHAIRMAN. That is his party name?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not need to go further into the other affidavits: Is that a photostat copy of the affidavit you sent to Dr. Copeland?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir. I do not find the photograph of Harry Bridges.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say?

Miss KERR. The photograph of Harry Bridges I do not find in the exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. Do you say that a photograph of Harry Bridges belongs with this document?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir. It is marked as the photograph of Harry Bridges, but I do not find it.

Mr. THOMAS. You sent that photograph along with the affidavit?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send these other supporting affidavits, to the effect that Markheim was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss KERR. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you go ahead and read that last one.

Miss KERR (after reading it): Here is one of the supporting affidavits.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one you sent?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the other?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There are two supporting affidavits that you sent, in addition to the affidavit of Markheim.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read this affidavit, or the photostat copy?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This photostat copy of the affidavit was given Dr. Copeland.

Miss KERR. To the best of my information.

The CHAIRMAN. And he wired you he was transmitting it to the Labor Department.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read the affidavit:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

County of Los Angeles, ss:

Irving Norman Markheim, being duly sworn, deposes and says that affiant is now the age of 29 and was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 19, 1908. Affiant first came to California in the summer of 1930, after having served 4 years in the employment of the Standard Oil Co. in Peru and Ecuador in South America. Affiant arrived in Los Angeles by rail from New York, the port to which he returned after termination of his South American business contract, and upon his arrival in Los Angeles, he was unemployed. His contract with the Standard Oil Co. had been terminated after 3 years, the original contract period, and he remained an additional year. When he arrived in Los Angeles, he was unmarried.

Affiant found employment in the Los Angeles County courts as interpreter of Spanish into English and English into Spanish. This work as interpreter continued, sometimes regularly and sometimes intermittently, until some time in the year 1935. This affiant in the meantime, as a consequence of a very keen sense of patriotism and as a result of observations and experiences both in South America and in the United States, he gained an appreciation of the

dangers of subversive and Communist activities and their dangers to the United States, and concluded that it was his duty as a loyal citizen of the United States of America to inform himself by proper methods as to subversive activities and place such information at the disposal of patriotic agencies active in compiling and disseminating such information for the welfare of the United States Government, its several agencies and institutions. In the year 1932, affiant became acquainted with Miss Margaret A. Kerr, secretary-manager of the Better America Federation, a California corporation dedicated to the procurement, compilation, and dissemination of factual information respecting organized movements subversive to American principles of government and to the Constitution of the United States. Since that time affiant has talked with Miss Kerr on frequent occasions, has told her of Communist activities and of his efforts to obtain an accurate knowledge of the situation.

At one of the said conferences with Miss Kerr in the latter part of 1932 affiant offered to obtain information for said Margaret A. Kerr, concerning said communistic activities in Los Angeles and vicinity, which said offer Margaret A. Kerr then and there accepted. Pursuant to that understanding and upon the suggestion of Margaret A. Kerr, this affiant joined the Communist Party and was furnished membership book No. 2025, of the Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International, and was assigned to "Shop or Street Nucleus No. 18," of district 13, city of Los Angeles. A photostatic copy of this membership book is attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit A."

Is that the book you said was missing?

Miss KERR. No, sir; I said that the book dealing with the thesis of the Communist International is missing.

The CHAIRMAN. Reading further—

This membership book was issued with the seal of the Communist Party, Sam Darcy, district organizer, duly initialed, on January 22, 1933. When this affiant applied for membership in the Communist Party he gave his true name, which name is Irving N. Markheim, but was instructed by the Communist Party organizer not to use his true name but instead to use a fictitious name, which name was agreed upon for Communist enrollment purposes as John Burton. The same Communist organizer explained that all members of the Communist Party, or many of the members of the Communist Party, use aliases and stated further to affiant that it was advisable for affiant to do likewise so that there would be no clear record of his membership in the Communist Party, in case enemies of the Communist Party should obtain possession of or access to records of membership. This affiant consented to that arrangement and allowed his name to be entered under the name of John Burton as aforesaid, and as indicated on said membership book. Then and thereafter, with the use of said membership book, affiant was enabled to and he did attend unit and district meetings of the Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International, in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. During such visitations at Communist meetings affiant was introduced to and had casual conversation with Harry Bridges, sometimes known as Harry Renton Bridges, Harry R. Bridges, etc., but generally as Harry Bridges, and who is now Pacific coast director of the Committee for Industrial Organization (C. I. O.) and president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, a Committee for Industrial Organization affiliate.

On the first occasion when this affiant met and was introduced to said Harry Bridges he was in attendance at a unit meeting of Street Nucleus No. 18 of the Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International, which was held at Belvedere Gardens, on Floral Street, in Los Angeles County, in the spring of 1933. There were present all told at said meeting, including Harry Bridges and affiant, about 8 or 10 men, all of whom except Harry Bridges were members of the aforementioned Communist Nucleus 18. The place of the meeting was the residence of one of the members on Floral Street. This affiant was appointed literature agent at said meeting of nucleus or unit No. 18. The order of business at that meeting was the study and discussion of the program and rules as set down by the Communist International and discussion of the pamphlet attached hereto as exhibit B.

That pamphlet, you say, is no longer in the folder?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; it is no longer intact.

The CHAIRMAN. The affidavit continues:

The said booklet was analyzed and portions read and emphasized by various members. Said Harry Bridges engaged in general conversation and discussion with the members present. He was not referred to at any time by the name of Harry Bridges, nor was that name given to him, nor did affiant know at that time that his true name was Harry Bridges, but instead of Harry Bridges was referred to as and introduced to affiant under the name of Comrade Dorgan or Durgan or Dergan, and this was the sole name he was given at that meeting.

Having been appointed literature agent for the nucleus or unit, affiant in pursuance of his duties, called the next day as instructed at Communist Party headquarters in downtown Los Angeles, at 224 South Spring Street, and procured literature for distribution and sale at the next meeting of the nucleus or unit. While in the Communist Workers' Bookshop, at 224 South Spring Street, to procure literature for such distribution, then and there at said book store, affiant met the same man who was at the meeting the previous night and who had been referred to and introduced under the name of Comrade Dorgan, and who was then present and introduced by one of the men at the bookshop under his true name of Harry Bridges. Affiant in acknowledging the introduction, remarked that he had met Harry Bridges the night before meeting of Nucleus 18, to which Harry Bridges recalled the meeting, or words to that effect. Thereupon this affiant left the bookshop with the literature procured, said Harry Bridges, remaining in the bookshop at the Communist Party business office and downtown headquarters, at 224 South Spring Street, Los Angeles.

Affiant next saw and met Harry Bridges on the day following at the office of Lawrence Ross, at 224 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, in the same building, in the forenoon, and on said occasion there were present Lawrence Ross, Emma Cutler, Harry Bridges, affiant, and one or two others. Affiant was furnished by Lawrence Ross with about 5,000 printed leaflets intended for distribution among members of the National Guard of California, One Hundred and Sixtieth Infantry, State Armory, Exposition Park, Los Angeles, Calif., a photostatic copy of said circulars being attached hereto as Exhibit C.

Did you examine to see if it is in the folder?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; I believe this to be a true copy.

The CHAIRMAN. The affidavit continues:

Affiant was then instructed to place them in individual lockers of said regiment without previous knowledge of any members of the regiment, between the time the armory doors were opened and the men arrived for drill, and affiant was further instructed to leave the locker room of each company without being observed or detected in such distribution. Said Harry Bridges was present when these instructions were given to affiant and read the leaflets. Said Harry Bridges was mentioned by this name on that occasion and after having read the leaflet, stated he approved of them and the instructions Lawrence Ross had given, and commended Lawrence Ross for the manner in which he was conducting the Communist campaign. At the time of said conversation, said Lawrence Ross was a candidate on the Communist Party ticket for the office of mayor of the city of Los Angeles. This affidavit identifies as a striking likeness of Harry Bridges a picture of Harry Bridges which is attached hereto and marked Exhibit C, which he selected from a group of pictures which were so arranged as to completely conceal all identity.

Is the picture there?

Miss KERR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

On all three of the aforementioned occasions, when affiant met and talked with Harry Bridges, alias Comrade Dorgan or Durgan or Dergan, Harry Bridges was treated as one of the Communist functionaries and apparently spoke with authority.

On the 16th day of May 1933, for the same purpose, I joined the Julia Mella branch of the International Labor Defense, through Lillian Goodman, district organizer, at Los Angeles, Calif., under the name of John Burton, a photostatic copy of affiant's membership card being attached hereto and marked "Exhibit D."

Is that the membership card you identified a moment ago?

Miss KERR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you see if that exhibit is there in the folder?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it there?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading further):

This affidavit is given freely without duress, menace, or undue influence being exercised upon me by any person or in any manner.

Affiant swears, declares, deposes, and certifies that he will testify before any competent tribunal, officer, or person in any case now pending, or hereafter to be instituted, in the particular manner and to the particular facts as in this affidavit set forth.

IRVING N. MARKHEIM.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of February 1938.

ANDREW J. CAPPE,

*Notary Public in and for the County of
Los Angeles, State of California.*

My commission expires October 23, 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in addition to that affidavit, we have some supporting affidavits, but we had better not disclose the names. You have two supporting affidavits that have been submitted, and I will read them, omitting the names:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

County of Los Angeles, ss:

I, being duly sworn, depose and state that I reside at city of Los Angeles, county of Los Angeles, State of California. I am a legal resident of the above-named city and State.

I hereby state that during the years 1933 and 1934 I had acquaintance with Mr. Irving N. Markheim, and knew that he was a member of the Communist Party here in Los Angeles. I personally saw his membership book at that time and drove him to the place of meeting on one or more occasions.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 14th day of February 1938.

H. DEXTER MCKAY,

*Notary Public in and for the County
of Los Angeles, State of California.*

My commission expires May 22, 1940.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

County of Los Angeles, ss:

I, being duly sworn, depose and state that I reside in the city of Los Angeles, county of Los Angeles, State of California. I am a legal resident of the above-named city and State.

I hereby state that during the year 1933 I had acquaintance with Mr. Irving N. Markheim, and know that he was a member of the Communist Party in this city and county. I personally saw his membership book at that time and drove him to the place of meeting on one or more occasions, and know he used the name of John Burton in that connection at that time. I also, in 1933, saw his membership card in the International Labor Defense, Mella branch, which was also issued to him in the name of John Burton.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 15th day of February 1938.

ANDREW J. CAPPE,

*Notary Public in and for the County
of Los Angeles, State of California.*

My commission expires October 23, 1940.

Mr. STARNES. Those are the supporting affidavits which Mr. Shoemaker, from the Department of Labor, asked us not to make public, or not to make public the names of the affiants.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. The only reason we are making public the name of Markheim is because they already know that.

Miss KERR. Mr. Chairman, I can also testify as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you support this statement?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You saw the original membership card in the Communist Party of John Burton.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; and also the membership card in the International Labor Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is membership book No. 2025; the name is John Burton, section A, shop nucleus 18; John Markheim. The date of issue is January 22, 1932. It is signed "Communist Party" with the signature of the district organizer with seal, district No. 13. It bears the seal. Are any of you gentlemen interested in reading the contents of this document, giving an idea of what they require? I think it would be well for the record to show that.

Mr. STARNES. If it contains the objectives of the Communist Party, I think that has already been set out.

Mr. MASON. We have already had that in evidence submitted by one of the former witnesses. This is similar to all the other membership books.

Miss KERR. It changes from year to year, however.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read it:

[Extracts from the Statutes of the Communist Party of the United States of America]

3. MEMBERSHIP

1. A member of the party can be every person from the age of 18 up who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the United States of America, who becomes a member of a basic organization of the Party, who is active in this organization, who subordinates himself to all decisions of the Comintern and of the party, and regularly pays his membership dues.

4. Members who change their place of work, or in case they are members of a street nucleus, their place of residence, must secure a transfer card from the party unit in which they have held membership and must present this card to the unit to which they have been transferred. A duplicate of the transfer card given the member shall be sent to the leading committee of the territorial section from which the member transfers and transmitted by this committee to the territorial section to which the member transfers.

If the member transfers from one section to another, the transfer card shall be transmitted through the D. C.; if the member transfers from one district to another, the transfer card shall be sent through the C. C. Transfers from one district to another shall be entered in the membership book of the member.

6. Every member of the party who is eligible to be a member of a trade union must become a member of the union to which he is eligible.

4. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

1. The Communist Party, like all sections of the Comintern, is built upon the principle of democratic centralization. These principles are:

(a) Election of the subordinate as well as the upper party organs at general meetings of the party members, conferences, and conventions of the party.

(b) Regular reporting of the party committees to their constituents.

(c) Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher party committees by the lower, strict party discipline, and immediate and exact applications of the decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International and of the central committee of the party.

(d) Any party committee whose activities extend over a certain area is considered superior to those party organizations whose activity is limited only to certain parts of this area.

(e) The discussion on basic party questions or general party lines can be carried on by the members only until the central committee has decided them. After a decision has been adopted at the congress of the Comintern, the party convention, or by the leading party committee, it must be carried out uncondi-

tionally, even if some of the members or some of the local organizations are not in agreement with the decision.

2. The highest authority of each unit of the party is the general meeting of party members, conference, or party convention.

3. The membership meeting, conference, or party convention elects the leading committee which acts as the leading party organ in the interim between the membership meetings, conferences, or conventions and conducts the work of the party organization.

5. THE PARTY NUCLEUS

1. The basis of the party organization is the nucleus (in factories, mines, shops, etc.), which all party members working in these places must join. The nucleus consists of at least three members. Newly organized nuclei must be endorsed by the leading committee of the section in which the shop nuclei are organized.

3. Party members who cannot be immediately affiliated with a shop nucleus shall join temporarily the street nucleus in the section of the city in which they reside, until it shall be possible to create a shop nucleus in the factory.

12. PARTY DISCIPLINE

1. The strictest party discipline is the most solemn duty of all party members and all party organizations. The decisions of the C. I. and the party convention of the C. C., and of all leading committees of the party, must be promptly carried out. Discussion of questions over which there have been differences must not continue after the decision has been made up.

13. PARTY DUES

1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of 50 cents (unemployed, 10 cents), which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the C. C. Fifty percent of the sum of the initiation stamp shall go to the national office and 50 percent to the district office.

2. Each member shall pay dues weekly approximating 2 percent of his earnings, which shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the central committee. Dues stamps shall be issued in five categories, as follows:

All members receiving—

\$15 per week wages or less (including housewives and working farmers) pay 10 cents dues weekly.

Over \$15 and up to \$25 per week wages shall pay 25 cents dues weekly.

Over \$25 and up to \$30 per week wages shall pay 50 cents dues weekly.

Over \$30 and up to \$40 per week wages shall pay 75 cents dues weekly.

Over \$40 and up to \$50 per week wages shall pay \$1 dues weekly.

Members receiving over \$50 per week wages shall pay in addition to the regular \$1 per week dues additional dues (special tax) at the rate of 50 cents for each \$5 (or fraction) of their weekly earnings above \$50.

3. The district organization shall purchase all dues stamps at 50 percent retail price; the district shall sell at 80 percent retail price to sections; and the sections shall sell them at 90 percent retail price to units.

4. All local or district assessments or collections are prohibited except by special permission of the Poleon. Special assessments may be levied by the national convention or the C. C. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

5. Members unable to pay regular dues on account of unemployment, strikes, illness, or similar reason, shall pay 2 cents per week.

6. Members who are 4 weeks in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are 3 months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member of the party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than 6 weeks.

WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

The party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, the most class conscious, most active, the most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle, basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will, and of proletarian revolutionary action. (From the program of the Communist International.)

We are the party of the working class. Consequently, nearly the whole of that class (in time of war and civil war the whole of that class) shou'd work under the guidance of our party, should create the closest contacts with our party (Lenin.)

ON DISCIPLINE

He who weakens, no matter how little, the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the period of dictatorship) effectually helps the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. (Lenin.)

The party as the best training school for working-class leaders is the only organization competent, in virtue of its experience and authority to centralize the leadership of the proletarian struggle, and thus to transform all nonparty working-class organizations into accessory organs and connect-belts linking up the party with the working class as a whole. (Lenin.)

The CHAIRMAN. Referring to the section on membership, and what does that D. C. signify?

MISS KERR. District committee, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is the C. C.?

MISS KERR. Central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The next on the record is the program of the Communist International, referred to in the affidavit.

MISS KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And from the folder is omitted that program.

MR. THOMAS. That is the second thing that is missing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The next is exhibit C, Fight Against Imperial War. That is the pamphlet that he was instructed to issue to the National Guard?

MISS KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next is exhibit D, membership card in the International Labor Defense. We have that.

The next is a photostatic copy of something that does not appear to be an exhibit, so I will not read it.

MR. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, before going further, in order to set the record of the committee clear, these are photostatic copies of what are supposed to be affidavits of Markheim, and exhibits thereto, which were delivered to this committee by the Department of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. And which she certifies she delivered to Senator Copeland during his lifetime.

MR. STARNES. And it is indisputable that the originals have been in the hands of the Department of Labor. That is the thing I want to bring out.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Now, Miss Kerr, when you sent that affidavit and exhibits to Senator Copeland, did you receive any acknowledgement of those papers?

MISS KERR. He telegraphed.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are going to have that telegram here?

MISS KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He telegraphed you what?

MISS KERR. That he was turning his copy over to the Department of Labor, and to the best of my recollection he said to Mr. Gerald Reilly, and requested that I send him another copy at once, or that the Federation send him another copy at once.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did send him one of the three original copies of the affidavits?

MISS KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened immediately after you received the telegram from Senator Copeland? What did Harry Bridges do?

Miss KERR. That telegram was sent, as I recall it, on a Sunday, and on that date the press announced that Mr. Harry Bridges left San Francisco very hurriedly for Washington, D. C., as I recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. The press announced that he left hurriedly for Washington, D. C.?

The CHAIRMAN. That was immediately after you got your telegram from Senator Copeland?

Miss KERR. Practically simultaneously.

The CHAIRMAN. Practically simultaneously; all right. Now, who else left with Mr. Bridges, according to the press at that time?

Miss KERR. I do not recall that anyone left with him, but mention was made that Mr. Roy Hudson, of the central executive committee of the Communist Party, also came from New York to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. That was simultaneous with the announcement of the journey of Harry Bridges to Washington?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did anyone know of the fact that you had sent this affidavit and these exhibits to Senator Copeland except yourself and Senator Copeland?

Miss KERR. Colonel Kopp, our president, also knew that, because we telephoned Senator Copeland, and he requested that the material be sent at once, and Colonel Kopp talked with Senator Copeland over the long-distance phone.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone else have that information?

Miss KERR. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Markheim know that you were going to send it to the Copeland committee?

Miss KERR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not know what you were going to do?

Miss KERR. We had not discussed any plans. He turned this over to us, and we felt it our duty to bring it to the attention of the proper authorities.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you thereafter tell anybody that you had sent it to the Copeland committee?

Miss KERR. Later——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am talking about immediately thereafter.

Miss KERR. No; and we did not—Colonel Kopp and I did not even disclose the details of the matter to the board of directors of the Better America Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. After this telegram reached you, Mr. Markheim came to you, did he not?

Miss KERR. He did, voluntarily.

The CHAIRMAN. And he told you of certain intimidations and threats made against his life, did he not?

Miss KERR. Last July.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you of that?

Miss KERR. Yes.

Mr. MESLER. By "last July" you mean this last month? This is August.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir. That was on my return from the East. I had been in the East while this was going on.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in the East, and when you returned he came to you?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And told you of certain threats and intimidations made upon his life?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That had occurred at the date that he mentioned in this affidavit?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, he made an affidavit?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In triplicate or in duplicate?

Miss KERR. In triplicate. I asked him if he would be willing to put it in an affidavit and give us a clear statement as to what had occurred, and you have one copy of that affidavit.

The CHAIRMAN. I have one copy of the affidavit. Who else has a copy of the affidavit?

Miss KERR. Both copies are in our possession—of the Better America Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. This affidavit is the one that you handed to me, is it not?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Signed by Irving N. Markheim, and properly notarized and sworn to?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what about this affidavit, gentlemen?

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, there is something lacking that has not been brought out, and that is the fact that if no one knew about the contents of the first affidavit that was sent to Senator Copeland and afterwards turned over to the Labor Department, except those that have been mentioned, how could outsiders get the information that this man had sworn to testimony, and therefore proceed to bring these threats? There is something there that ought to be brought out.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a conclusion—

Mr. MASON. There must have been a leak somewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, no one knows about it, but we have his affidavit here in which he describes exactly what occurred to him when it was learned, from some source, that he had made this affidavit.

Mr. MASON. Well, the leak must have occurred either in that organization that the lady represents or in the committee that Senator Copeland headed, or in the Labor Department.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the affidavit be read.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the wish of the committee?

(After an informal conference of the committee:)

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I think this is a very important document, and I think that everybody should hear it; and so I move that it be read.

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest, in view of the importance of this, and of the disclosure of the contents of it, that we meet in executive session before we decide on releasing it.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I am more interested in establishing where that leak came. In view of the fact that the original affidavit

is not in the files, and that these are only photostatic copies, the original must be somewhere, and it seems to me that that is the connecting link to where this leak came.

Mr. THOMAS. I think we can take that up at a little later date, and I suggest that we take it up at a later date; but I think this affidavit ought to be read; and if the chairman thinks that we ought to go into executive session first, I will suspend my motion until we go into executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. We will hold the affidavit until we have an executive session. Miss KERR, you will be here for some days, will you not?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have here some witnesses whose testimony we want to start on, and we will call you back a little later.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, how soon do you expect Miss Kerr to come back? Is she coming back this afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to ask her some questions?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I would like to ask her some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, then.

Mr. THOMAS. In view of the charge that our investigator, Mr. Sullivan, made to the effect that "Evidence is also available to show that Bridges received aid and advice from officials of the Labor Department," and so forth, I would like to ask you this question.

Miss KERR. Surely.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you any personal knowledge regarding Harry Bridges receiving assistance from any Government official regarding his conduct or giving him advice of any kind?

Miss KERR. No first-hand knowledge; only hearsay, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Just hearsay?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir. I might be able to check that out if it would be of interest to you.

Mr. THOMAS. It would be of great interest to me if you would check that out.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. But as I understand it, from things that you have said in the past, it is generally known and felt on the west coast that this is so.

Miss KERR. That seems to be the general impression.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you check that out and get whatever you can on it?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; I will.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may withdraw, Miss Kerr; and you will be ready for the committee at any time?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to swear in two witnesses at the same time. Will you two witnesses come around here?

(Abraham Sobel and Alvin I. Halpern were thereupon duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You gentlemen understand that you are under subpoena from this committee, and you are to stay here and wait upon the pleasure of the committee until your testimony is concluded?

Mr. SOBEL and Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The first witness is Mr. Sobel.

TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM SOBEL

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want to give your street address? There is no necessity for giving your street address?

Mr. SOBEL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you reside in the city of Boston, Mass.?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is what?

Mr. SOBEL. Abraham Sobel.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you, Mr. Sobel?

Mr. SOBEL. I will be 23 in October.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no occasion to be nervous or anything of that sort, Mr. Sobel. You are under subpoena from this committee and the United States Government, and will receive the full protection of that Government in anything you may testify.

Mr. SOBEL. Oh: I am not scared of anything.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not scared of anything?

Mr. SOBEL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Now, you met Mennie Blanke, in company with Orville West and Hi Jacobs, at the Ukranian Workers Club on Causeway Street on May 2, did you not?

Mr. SOBEL. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. What city is that?

Mr. SOBEL. That is in Boston.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. SOBEL. 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. May 2, 1937?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your school history? Did you go to college?

Mr. SOBEL. I completed 1 year at Northeastern Law School.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you finish high school?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any academic work in college besides your law?

Mr. SOBEL. Besides law: no.

Mr. MOSIER. What high school did you go to?

Mr. SOBEL. Roxbury Memorial High School.

Mr. MOSIER. And you spent a year at Northeastern Law, which is located in Boston?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time you spoke about, which was May 2, 1937, Mennie Blanke spoke to you about going to Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What reason did he give to you for wanting you to go to Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. He gave many reasons, one of which was to take a crack at Hitler; another was that every unstanding young man that had democratic ideals, and so forth, and so on, should give his all for the fighting country that was being invaded by foreigners—meaning Italy and Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you at that time that you would be well taken care of?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that as a volunteer you could leave Spain any time you wanted to?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that Mannie Blanke was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. I did not know for certain.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he the recruiting officer for the American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy?

Mr. SOBEL. At that time; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he at any time during his conversation with you mention communism?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he have to say about that?

Mr. SOBEL. That the Communist International from all over the world were sending men of the highest standing to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. To aid the Spanish people?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Which side?

Mr. SOBEL. The Loyalist side.

The CHAIRMAN. And that he was doing his share?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As the result of your conversation with Mannie Blanke, what did you do next?

Mr. SOBEL. I got my passport.

The CHAIRMAN. There were three of you, were there not?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the other two?

Mr. SOBEL. Hi Jacobs and Orville West.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you went to get your passports in the Federal Building at Boston: is that correct?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mannie Blanke give you any money?

Mr. SOBEL. He paid for our passports and photos.

The CHAIRMAN. Which amounted to how much?

Mr. SOBEL. \$11.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he send anyone with you when you went to the passport bureau?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that person?

Mr. SOBEL. Bessie Jones.

The CHAIRMAN. Alias—

Mr. SOBEL. Bessie Lubetz.

The CHAIRMAN. I-u-b-e-t-z?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why was she sent?

Mr. SOBEL. As a witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. I think she was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she make any statements to you expressing her sympathy—

Mr. SOBEL (interposing). No.

The CHAIRMAN. With the Communist movement?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, she made statements expressing sympathy for the Spanish people, but at that time she was secretary to the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she make any statements to you indicating sympathy with the Communist Party or the Communist movement?

Mr. SOBEL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What reason did you have to believe that she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Because I found out they had to have one who was from the Communist Party state that the person was all right; in other words, that he was one to be trusted—in order to go to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not let anyone recruit who did not have the approval of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, no; a party member.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me interrupt there. Do you think all the boys who went to Spain had to be approved by the Communist Party before they could go?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; all the American boys.

Mr. MOSIER. All of the American boys?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know how many were over there, approximately?

Mr. SOBEL. Well, at one time there were as many as 2,300.

Mr. MOSIER. And they could not get a passport until they were approved by a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Well, they could get their passport all right, but they could not very well go to Spain—have their way paid to Spain.

Mr. MOSIER. Until they were approved?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he give you or this woman any instructions as to what you were to say to the passport agent?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What were those instructions?

Mr. SOBEL. I was to tell the passport agent that I would not go to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a fact that you were told by Mannie Blanke that all of you—

were not under any circumstances to be able to get into Spain if we told them the truth that we were going there, so that both of us had different stories?

Is that correct?

Mr. SOBEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You were instructed to have different stories about why you wanted the passport. Now, was your story that you were going to Australia?

Mr. SOBEL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Hi Jacobs' story was that he was going to Palestine as a religious scholar; is that correct?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what West's story was?

Mr. SOBEL. No; because I think he got his passport in New Hampshire.

The CHAIRMAN. What instructions did Mannie Blanke give to Bessie Jones?

Mr. SOBEL. That she was to be our witness. I think that was the only instructions he gave her.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct:

I believe the instructions were that she was to be our witness and to sign under a different name than she uses as a Communist Party member—

Is that correct?

Mr. SOBEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when you and Orville West and Hi Jacobs left Mannie Blanke, you were accompanied by Bessie Jones to the Federal Building; is that correct?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What questions were asked you by the passport agent?

Mr. SOBEL. I was asked to sign an affidavit stating that I was not going to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything else that you were asked?

Mr. SOBEL. There were numerous questions that I answered.

The CHAIRMAN. Just the ordinary questions?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You denied that you were going to Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was per the instructions that were given to you by the recruiting agent?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many days elapsed before you received your passport?

Mr. SOBEL. Approximately six.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what did you do?

Mr. SOBEL. Then I took a bus to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go back to Leverett Street?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes; we had to receive our money to go to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get from Mannie Blanke a photograph, signed, and a receipt, and you signed the receipt, for \$11?

Mr. SOBEL. I had to sign my own photograph and sign a receipt for that much.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a photograph of a building with the words "Leavitts." Is that the place where you went?

Mr. SOBEL. That is the Ukrainian Workers Club that I was at.

The CHAIRMAN. The Ukrainian Workers Club in Boston?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is where you were recruited?

Mr. SOBEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I offer this as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit —.")

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a receipt was it?

Mr. SOBEL. Just a receipt; the ordinary paper stating that they had given me \$11, and I signed it; that was all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it say, "Received from the Communist Party?"

Mr. SOBEL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. It was just a receipt saying that he had given you \$11?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. On what date did you return to Leverett Street?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, I should say—

The CHAIRMAN. The recruiting headquarters?

Mr. SOBEL. About May 10, 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Then after you returned to the recruiting headquarters you were instructed to go to New York, were you not?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mannie Blanke give you any money to go to New York with?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money did he give you?

Mr. SOBEL. He gave it to Hi Jacobs, who was our group leader. You see, every group of fellows has one man who takes care of the other two—the most responsible person. I think he received about \$18.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Hi Jacobs a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He acknowledged that he was?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, I was brought up with Hi Jacobs. I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mannie Blanke tell you where to report in New York?

Mr. SOBEL. Not me—Hi Jacobs.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when you arrived in New York, where did you go?

Mr. SOBEL. The Thirty-fourth Street "Y"—Y. M. C. A.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to the Thirty-fourth Street "Y" after reporting. Now, where did you report in New York? Was it East One Hundred and First Street?

Mr. SOBEL. It is around that district.

The CHAIRMAN. In what district, generally?

Mr. SOBEL. The furrier workers district.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember the name of the man who talked to you there when you reported?

Mr. SOBEL. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened while you were at that place?

Mr. SOBEL. We were given enough money to live on—approximately a dollar and a half a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you sent to Thirty-fourth Street, the Y. M. C. A.?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes; that was all paid for when we got there.

The CHAIRMAN. Everything was paid for when you got to the Y. M. C. A.?

Mr. SOBEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, your lodging, room, and board?

Mr. SOBEL. No; not our board; just our room.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, before you went to the Y. M. C. A. did any-one telephone in advance?

Mr. SOBEL. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know to whom they telephoned?

Mr. SOBEL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Thirty-fourth Street Y. M. C. A. the living quarters for the boys who were to go to Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. That among other places.

The CHAIRMAN. But mainly the Thirty-fourth Street Y. M. C. A.?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there some arrangement between the Y. M. C. A. and those who recruited you to go to Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. I suppose there was, because we did not have to pay for anything. As soon as we came in we were sent to our rooms.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they were expecting you, and sent you immediately to your rooms?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So there must have been some prearrangement?

Mr. SOBEL. I believe there was some sort of a telephone conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who the manager was; who had charge?

Mr. SOBEL. No; I never met him.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay in New York?

Mr. SOBEL. About 4 days, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. You left about the 13th of May, when you sailed?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What ship did you sail on?

Mr. SOBEL. The *Berengaria*.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you given any money while on board ship?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who gave you that money?

Mr. SOBEL. Zanderi, the group leader of the whole group. There were approximately 30 men sailing on the *Berengaria*, and this man was the one group leader of all 30.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a Communist?

Mr. SOBEL. He could not be anything else.

Mr. MOSIER. How do you spell that name?

Mr. SOBEL. Z-a-n-d-e-r-i.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money did he give you?

Mr. SOBEL. He gave us \$5, and then gave us \$15 to show to the French authorities, to show the French authorities we had money when we landed in France.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the names of any others of the 30 members of your group?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us some of the names.

Mr. SOBEL. John Lambert.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a Communist?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is he from?

Mr. SOBEL. Lambert—the west coast. Then there was John Kanderski.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to the last-named man, he had a criminal record and was fleeing from the authorities?

Mr. SOBEL. No; he was only on probation.

The CHAIRMAN. He had been convicted of some crime.

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the crime was?

Mr. SOBEL. He collected for the A. & P.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the A. & P.?

Mr. SOBEL. A grocery chain.

The CHAIRMAN. A defalcation of funds?

Mr. SOBEL. No; he was just helping the collector on Friday night instead of Saturday night—robbery.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us some more names.

Mr. SOBEL. Preserki.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a Communist?

Mr. SOBEL. I do not believe these two men were Communist Party members. They were, I think, Y. C. L'ers, Young Communist League members.

The CHAIRMAN. They were just novitiates, getting ready for the main organization later on?

Give us some more names.

Mr. SOBEL. There was a man named Sauermilk.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a lot of those.

Mr. SOBEL. He was a Y. C. L'er, too. He got away in Valencia and I never saw him again.

Then there was a man named Mabrigua, a Cuban.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes. There were numerous others that I cannot seem to recall.

Mr. MOSIER. If you do recall some additional names, will you give them to the stenographer?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes; of course. There was a man named West and Hi Jacobs, and a fellow from Oklahoma, whose name I cannot seem to recall. Then there was a man named Frodgeon.

Mr. MOSIER. I wish you could remember all the names you can out of the 30 and give them to us.

Mr. SOBEL. I am afraid I cannot remember many.

The CHAIRMAN. They gave you \$15 which you were to show to the authorities when you arrived in France, but after you got there the money had to be returned to someone.

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was understood you would return the money to whom?

Mr. SOBEL. To the group leader, who would return it to the big shot at Zankelly, the group leader of them all.

Another name is Wayne Ellis.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is he from?

Mr. SOBEL. I cannot remember. I have his picture, however, which may help you [producing picture].

The CHAIRMAN. Have you pictures of the different ones who went with you, in your group?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will come to that later.

While you were on board this ship, did you receive any assistance or encouragement from the crew of that ship?

Mr. SOBEL. On the *Berengaria*?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOBEL. They were English—no.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any Communists among the crew?

Mr. SOBEL. I do not think so. We spoke to no one in the crew.

There was another man in the group named Lapez.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you instructed not to speak to anyone?

Mr. SOBEL. We were instructed to speak to nobody on board about our going over.

The CHAIRMAN. When you landed in France, where did you go?

Mr. SOBEL. I went to the Hotel Montana.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to the Communist headquarters?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In what city did you land?

Mr. SOBEL. I landed in Cherbourg, and from Cherbourg we went to Paris by rail.

The CHAIRMAN. Your ship was torpedoed before you got into Spain and several men were killed?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You swam ashore?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, no; I swam to an airplane.

The CHAIRMAN. From there you were taken direct to what place?

Mr. SOBEL. The name of the place where we were torpedoed was Molgrot, and from there we went to Barcelona.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that before you got to France?

Mr. SOBEL. Of course not. We went there from Paris.

The CHAIRMAN. You reported to the Communist headquarters in Paris; is that right?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. What happened there?

Mr. SOBEL. We reported to the Hotel Minerva, while they were Communist headquarters, and some man took us down to give us our last minute talk.

Mr. MOSIER. Like a pep talk to a football team?

Mr. SOBEL. Certainly we got that. We were then taken to the Humanite Building, the building of the great newspaper, La Humanite, and while there we gave up our suitcases and clothing, and we were told they would be sent to Algeceez, Spain, to await us there. There are plenty of American clothes in that Humanite Building now.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay in Paris?

Mr. SOBEL. Seven days.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you free to talk to anyone in Paris?

Mr. SOBEL. No; but we did.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were there, did you have any conversation with any member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us something about that.

Mr. SOBEL. We had a pep talk at the Hotel Minerva. The Hotel Minerva today is Communist headquarters for Americans who are stranded in Paris, and who cannot get back to America.

He told us that as soon as we came back from Spain we would be feted and everything else, and sent back to America as heroes.

The CHAIRMAN. And what else would they do when you came back to America?

Mr. SOBEL. Again we were told we would be well taken care of.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you told that you would aid in the coming revolution in the United States?

Mr. SOBEL. That was understood.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Latin quarter—that is, in Paris—

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They have practically started—that is what you say in your affidavit—

they practically have started what I would call an American communistic center. Right now it is practically broken up because most of the members have gone to Spain and been killed.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember some of the names of the American Communists you talked with in Paris?

Mr. SOBEL. Most of them I remember by their first names. There was a fellow named Bill, and other man named Stevens, who is in Paris today.

The CHAIRMAN. They hide their last names?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose, to keep from being identified?

Mr. SOBEL. We were not in Spain yet; we could always get home from France.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet one man by the name of Samuel Kushman?

Mr. SOBEL. Kushmer.

The CHAIRMAN. And a Mr. Stevens?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; he is in France now.

The CHAIRMAN. They were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who addressed that pep rally you had in New York before you left?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, there were three or four speakers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did a man by the name of Radin address them?

Mr. SOBEL. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Brodsky, of the International Workers Order, present?

Mr. SOBEL. He always is.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the International Workers Order?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; it is not the I. W. W.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what sort of an organization that is?

Mr. SOBEL. I believe it is affiliated with the Communist outfit, because at their Communist headquarters they have an I. W. O. sign there.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Brodsky say, do you recall? That was in New York. We have come back now from Paris to New York.

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; on the last night before leaving. It was just another pep talk, so far as I was concerned, because I had heard it many times

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us briefly what it was, for the benefit of the committee

Mr. SOBEL. It sounds very awkward and stupid. What it consisted of was something like this: "You fellows are giving your all for democracy and freedom and the aid you will give the Spanish people;

you will be talked of for ages," and other stuff like that, which, to a normal mind, sounds foolish.

The CHAIRMAN. They told you that your experience over there would help you, so that when you came back here you could aid in the revolution in the United States?

Mr. SOBEL. That was understood. They did not say anything about that; the fellows talked about that themselves.

Mr. MASON. While you are still speaking of New York, do you not think it is rather significant that this unholy and ungodly alliance between the communistic group and the Young Men's Christian Association apparently existed? I think that is significant myself; it strikes me so.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not think that is particularly significant. It is entirely possible that the Y. M. C. A. did not know anything about these fellows, where they were going, or anything else.

Mr. SOBEL. I agree with the latter gentleman in that.

Mr. THOMAS. You agree with me in that?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; I do, because it is very easy to call up as a business firm and ask for accommodations for three or four salesmen.

The CHAIRMAN. Who paid the bills?

Mr. SOBEL. I do not have any idea; it could have been a business employee.

The CHAIRMAN. If some well-known Communist paid the bills, you would all have been suspected?

Mr. SOBEL. I suppose so; I do not believe they would do that.

The CHAIRMAN. When you arrived there, they greeted you?

Mr. SOBEL. No; the group leader went up and said: "Did you receive the telephone message about two or three fellows who are to stay at your hotel?"

Mr. MASON. Would you not say this was rather significant, that the Communists make use of such fine organizations, innocently, perhaps? This is just another example of what we have been having, or what we have heard about, right on through these hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go back to Paris.

Mr. SOBEL. Ah, Paris.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go from Paris?

Mr. SOBEL. To Marseilles.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom did you report at Marseilles?

Mr. SOBEL. To no particular person. We took rooms in the Latin quarter at the wharves. It was not the Latin quarter then; it was the Spanish quarter. We were served some meals there and put on board ship.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were there, your leader from Paris to Marseilles was Zankari.

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You stayed in Marseilles until the 28th of May, and then you sailed.

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What ship did you sail on?

Mr. SOBEL. The *Ciudad Barcelona*.

The CHAIRMAN. The *City of Barcelona*, in English?

Mr. SOBEL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. At what port did you enter Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. We were torpedoed outside of Malgro.

The CHAIRMAN. How were you rescued?

Mr. SOBEL. I swam to a seaplane following us in for protection, and Mr. Sullivan has a letter I wrote from Paris telling of that incident.

Mr. MOSIER. Did all of the 30 boys have to swim?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; they had to swim. But John Lambert went down with the boat, and there was one Greek fellow who went down with the boat, and a fellow by the name of Schwartz went down with the boat. There was an American named Schultz who went down with the boat. There were quite a few other Americans who hit bottom.

Mr. THOMAS. How many of the group went down?

Mr. SOBEL. We 30 were only a small part of the number who were on the *City of Barcelona*.

Mr. MOSIER. How many were on the *Barcelona*?

Mr. SOBEL. Approximately 450 men.

Mr. THOMAS. And approximately how many went down?

Mr. SOBEL. One hundred and fifty-eight went down. This was on May 30, 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke of this letter. Is this the letter you wrote [showing letter to witness]?

Mr. SOBEL. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. I see you have on the back of it the notation, "God save America."

Mr. SOBEL. I still feel that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we read this letter:

MAY 14, 1938.

DEAR FOLKS: Am writing from Paris, and this is the first letter in which I can tell you of what am doing and the suffering gone through in "beautiful" Spain (the first uncensored and honest report).

As you know when I left home, I had some very foolish ideas about communism and the "brave" stand of the Spanish Republic: here, in this letter, I will endeavor to show you the force that really is Spain.

On leaving New York I was continually "bummed" by my comrades (while on the *Berengaria*) for a beer, shoes, a shirt, etc.: but, thought I, when in Spain everything would be different. My first sight of Spain was a typical example of what I was to go through for practically 1 whole year. My group (we were all divided into groups for the sake of secrecy and easier handling) and I embarked in Marseilles on a Spanish steamer (*Ciudad de Barcelona*). We waited there for 2 days, lying between decks, not daring to appear on deck for fear the police would see us and arrest the whole caboodle. We finally set sail crowded down with nearly 400 passengers where there was about room (with decent comfort) for about 100.

It was nice sailing until we were off the coast of Spain, and there were met by two airplanes, who warned the ship of a submarine off our bow; our captain, taking no account of the warning just sailed on a straight course for his destination. Luckily for me, I was on deck when, 2:48 in the afternoon (May 30), there was a sudden lurch and an explosion followed, which knocked the ship over on a side, which made her start settling immediately. There was a great hubbub and noise on board trying to launch the lifeboats (which were tied on by cable), next to impossible to get off, so the majority of us took to the water anyway. Life belts couldn't be found anywhere aboard, so it was clearly a case of sabotage of the first degree. After 10 months I found out the actual amount of the victims (158) and compared it with the amount the Communist Party gave (50).

This was an example of what happened every day in Spain, where human life and misery are never thought of; you are as in jail, and nothing you think (actually) can be said or written. My letters read as though I had a good time, don't they? But if I could have put in them half the misery and bitterness that was my feeling against the Communist Party and Spain I would have been shot and mutilated horribly.

From the "*Ciudad de Barcelona* affair" I realized that something was amiss (if human life was thought nothing of on the sea, what would it be like in

the trenches?), so I decided to become a truck driver and live to see America again. The second day driving was robbed of my last \$30 by my "comrades" and again realized that I came out to fight for "a bawdle of crooks and selfish, rotten, cowardly, and downright cruel Spanish bastards."

The aforementioned are only some of the things, and they are the easiest on the conscience I had to go through (besides jail, freezing, boiling, and starving).

But now, thank God, am safe through no fault of theirs—Communist Party—for I saw my opportunity one day and walked for 8 days, over mountains, without food, without shelter, for 200 miles (in order to be safe) and enjoying myself here in "Paris in the spring."

Expect to be home shortly, and you can be sure to find a changed man, only a man that's going to make the Communist Party pay "through the nose" for what I suffered.

Hoping to find you in as good health as when I left, I remain, your

ABE.

P. S.—Don't want to use your ticket (White Cunard) as the Communist Party is going to pay to keep and send me home.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter describes very graphically your experience in Spain. After you swam ashore, where did you land?

Mr. SOBEL. At Malgrot.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to you when you landed ashore?

Mr. SOBEL. We were served cognac.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you applauded by anyone?

Mr. SOBEL. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. They greeted you as heroes?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. After you had had this cognac, where did you go from that point?

Mr. SOBEL. I did a little work.

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of work did you do?

Mr. SOBEL. I was trying to do some resuscitation on 15 corpses.

The CHAIRMAN. Those bodies had floated ashore from the wreck?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What else did you do there?

Mr. SOBEL. Nothing else; but we ate a meal there, and we all got together and we took taxis to Barcelona.

The CHAIRMAN. When you got to Barcelona, to whom did you report?

Mr. SOBEL. To the national guard, the *Guarde Nationale* is the correct word for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anything take place there after you reported to the national guard?

Mr. SOBEL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. From there you went to Albeseta.

Mr. SOBEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom did you report there?

Mr. SOBEL. We reported to the bull ring.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the bull ring?

Mr. SOBEL. That was the place where all the international people came before going to their respective services.

The CHAIRMAN. When you arrived there, were you assigned to any group? Is this a correct statement that when you arrived there you were assigned—were you assigned to any particular group?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; I was assigned to the Albeseta as a mechanic chauffeur. In America it is a truck driver.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were given another pep talk?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; we received pep talks every day.

The CHAIRMAN. A great many pep talks, but very little food.

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Marti, the Communist leader in France, make a speech?

Mr. SOBEL. Many speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. They did the speaking and you and the rest of them did the fighting. Were you assigned to any outfit for service at that point?

Mr. SOBEL. No; but 3 weeks later I was assigned to the Fourteenth Brigade—that is, the French brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. As a chauffeur-mechanic?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As a chauffeur-mechanic?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At what salary?

Mr. SOBEL. One hundred and fifty pesetas every 10 days; approximately 15 pesetas a day.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that in American money?

Mr. SOBEL. It has no international exchange, but it is approximately \$2 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you remain on the job?

Mr. SOBEL. In the Fourteenth?

The CHAIRMAN. As a chauffeur-mechanic.

Mr. SOBEL. I remained on the job until Teruel.

The CHAIRMAN. About 2 weeks?

Mr. SOBEL. You mean as a chauffeur-mechanic?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOBEL. I remained on the job from June 2 until Teruel, January 5, where I went into the lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Then where did you go—to the Fourteenth Brigade?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, I think it was June 25, I was assigned to the "Quatorzième," the French outfit.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a chauffeur-mechanic with them?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were put then in the front line?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, just driving ammunition to the front lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Just driving ammunition to the front lines?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe it is stated here that, "Well, I drove ammunition at the front in Brunette"?

Mr. SOBEL. Was I in Teruel?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I am just quoting from this statement and asking you if it is correct:

I drove ammunition at the front in Brunette. After that I was transferred to the American brigade, approximately around this time last year. At that time they were taking the Aragon and while there I drove ammunition and assisted in mopping up the towns; that is, grenade fighting. I did not officially enter the front lines until Teruel and there I entered as a machine gunner, not voluntarily.

Mr. SOBEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by "not voluntarily"?

Mr. SOBEL. Well, in American slang, I would say they tried to get me ever since I was there, because I was rather independent and I did

not believe in the party lines. After I got there I found out the party was not just communistic.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you were thrown in jail at Teruel, is that right?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And for punishment, they put you in the front-line trenches?

Mr. SOBEL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you instructed to loot at Teruel?

Mr. SOBEL. Only for the brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. Only for the brigade. But you were instructed to pick up everything of value and turn it in to the brigade?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you knew where it would go, if it was turned in to the brigade? Where did it go, in the officers' pockets?

Mr. SOBEL. Well, what I did not keep for myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you were turned in because you would not bribe an officer, is that right?

Mr. SOBEL. My lieutenant.

The CHAIRMAN. He wanted you to bribe him, and when you did not do it, they turned you in?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you wounded at that point?

Mr. SOBEL. I was wounded at Brunette.

The CHAIRMAN. You received another wound later on, did you not?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes; at Ternel.

The CHAIRMAN. At Moro-de-Ebro?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; at Moro-de-Ebro.

The CHAIRMAN. So you had two wounds altogether while you were in Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. After that, will you tell the committee the circumstances under which you left the country; how you left?

Mr. SOBEL. I was in a hospital at Mataro; that is 27 kilometers above Barcelona. While there, we were always speaking of trying to get away and I met a fellow named Robert Gavan. He is back also. We walked from Mataro over the border in a very round-about way. We went across country most of the way. It was approximately 200 miles. It was about 200 miles going over. We stopped at farm houses and bought food. We spoke to no civilians unless we were certain of who they were. Many of them mistook us for Spaniards, because up in Catalonia they speak a very different kind of Spanish than they do down south. We got over the Pyrenees from Mous-le-Moos, and the police picked us up and sent us to Perpignan.

The CHAIRMAN. In France?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You traveled by foot largely 200 miles?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you suffer much privation during that trip?

Mr. SOBEL. Quite a bit.

The CHAIRMAN. You were often hungry?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your clothes in rags, and so forth, when you arrived?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Bare footed?

Mr. SOBEL. I wore out two pairs of apegatos. That is a Spanish sneaker.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you walk bare footed part of the time?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They took your passport away from you, did they not?

Mr. SOBEL. Well, mine went down with the ship that was torpedoed.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they do with reference to the passports of the others; who had them?

Mr. SOBEL. They left them at the base at Figueras. They were taken and sent to the base at Figueras.

The CHAIRMAN. How many boys are over there, approximately, do you know?

Mr. SOBEL. I should say—Americans, you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOBEL. I should say in the vicinity of 1,600 or 1,700.

The CHAIRMAN. In your opinion, from your conversations with them and your experiences, if those boys were allowed to return to the United States today, would they come back?

Mr. SOBEL. Every one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. They are sick and tired of it and fed up with it?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Disillusioned?

Mr. SOBEL. They certainly are.

The CHAIRMAN. They are prisoners over there today, is that not a fact?

Mr. SOBEL. Virtually prisoners.

Mr. MASON. Would they be good American citizens after they got here, after their experiences over there?

Mr. SOBEL. I should say 999 out of 1,000 would.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us about the American flag that was flying over there, over some buildings there, over some building there with a hammer and sickle over it?

Mr. SOBEL. The flag was placed back of a certain officer, a Massachusetts man, too. They had a hammer and sickle over the stars and stripes; I mean the red and white stripes. The stars were left as if in the American flag.

Mr. THOMAS. Where did that happen?

Mr. SOBEL. In Tarrazona.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you salute the flag?

Mr. SOBEL. I never saluted that flag.

The CHAIRMAN. The ones who did salute it?

Mr. SOBEL. That flag was never saluted. The flag that was saluted was the Spanish flag.

The CHAIRMAN. How were you required to salute it, will you show us?

(The witness illustrated the salute.)

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Communist sign?

Mr. SOBEL. That is the sign of defiance.

The CHAIRMAN. The sign of defiance?

Mr. THOMAS. How did it happen that the American flag was flying over there?

Mr. SOBEL. As I said before, it was not flying. It was placed about in the same position that that screen is [indicating].

Mr. THOMAS. It was in an office?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What office?

Mr. SOBEL. The office of Major Johnson at Tarrazona, the American training base.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of these boys who went over there were Communists themselves or belonged to the Young Communist League, is that a fact?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; 9 out of 10 of them were.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was the Communist Party and their affiliates who were responsible largely for these boys going over there, is that a fact?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not the Communist officials here know that it was illegal to send you boys over there?

Mr. SOBEL. I should think that they would know that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the reason there as so much secrecy about your leaving, and the instructions that they gave you not to tell your destination?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes. There as another point there; if we would have told our destination, we would never be allowed passage.

The CHAIRMAN. Surely, that is true. Do you know where they got this money to pay for your transport?

Mr. SOBEL. Well, I personally think that Spain itself gave that money.

The CHAIRMAN. Spain itself?

Mr. SOBEL. That is what I personally think. I have no basis for that.

Mr. THOMAS. Why do you think that?

Mr. SOBEL. As I said before, I have no basis for that thought, because there was so much money that was given; of course, you know that one of these organizations is the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. They talking of their raising money, but they did not raise money enough, money in such large quantities as to send 2,300 men over to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get any of these ambulances and these other things that this anti-Nazi league in Hollywood is sending out there? Were you sent any of that equipment at that time?

Mr. SOBEL. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. They ere sending those things directly over to the Loyalists?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes; certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any portion of the money raised in the United States go to the other side, or was it spent solely for the Loyalist cause?

Mr. SOBEL. I know that there were Americans over on the other side.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about this money raised by the League for Peace and Democracy; did not they raise money to send over there?

Mr. SOBEL. I would not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about that?

Mr. SOBEL. I would not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who arranged for your transportation to the United States?

Mr. SOBEL. I stowed away on the steamship *Washington*.

The CHAIRMAN. You stowed away on the steamship *Washington*?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Communist Party in Le Havre give you any assistance in stowing you away?

Mr. SOBEL. The longshoremen did.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of the assistance that they gave you?

Mr. SOBEL. They led us up on board the ship, past the master of arms. We were dressed as longshoremen. They hid us away in the hold, a hold that they were sure was not going to be searched, and they passed us some champaign and chicken.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were there of you?

Mr. SOBEL. There were three of us down in the hold and there were two stowaways among the passengers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of the crew assist you on the steamship *Washington* when you returned?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there many members of the crew who were Communists?

Mr. SOBEL. Among the deck hands; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You say a large portion of the crew were Communists?

Mr. SOBEL. Of the crew as a whole?

The CHAIRMAN. No; of the deck hands.

Mr. SOBEL. Well, I should say there were about 10 out of 38 that were there.

The CHAIRMAN. Ten out of thirty-eight?

Mr. SOBEL. I should say that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the National Maritime Union?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were members of the National Maritime Union and also Communists?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the deck hands feed you from Le Havre to Cobb Island?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was the Communists who fed you?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us what happened at Cobb Island?

Mr. SOBEL. We gave ourselves up to the ship's captain.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that he give us a detailed and related story. That will probably save some time. I would suggest you let him finish the story of any other events that occurred.

The CHAIRMAN. You just go ahead and relate what happened.

Mr. STARNES. On his return voyage.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOBEL. On our return voyage?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, there was nothing of any importance. I did not fraternize with the first-class passengers, if that is what you mean.

The CHAIRMAN. The *Washington* sailed about May 20 or May 21?

Mr. SOBEL. From Le Havre; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you reported to the captain of the *Washington* after you left Cobb Island, what took place?

Mr. SOBEL. One of the members that was with us told him about our coming from Spain, and so forth, and he put us to work.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ask you how you managed to remain hidden so long?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you told him—or did you tell him?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, no. We told him we had been sleeping all the time, and so forth and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened when you reached the United States?

Mr. SOBEL. The immigration authorities of New York and the immigration authorities of the United States met us on board the ship. We told them we were all American citizens, and I suppose he had proof of it so we were let go in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You were let go in New York?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you reached the United States one of the sailors bought you a haircut and fed you, is that right?

Mr. SOBEL. No; that was while still on board the ship.

The CHAIRMAN. When you landed in New York you went to a relative's house, is that right?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report to any of the recruiting centers?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you report to?

Mr. SOBEL. The Friends of Abraham Lincoln.

The CHAIRMAN. The Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade. That was on May 27?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened there when you reported?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, they wanted me to be examined by a doctor.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, after you got back, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade rendered you certain aid, is that a fact?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For the sake of the record, what is the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. SOBEL. That is an outfit composed of supposedly veterans of the Spanish War who have come back to see that the men that are coming back, the men that are to come back, are well taken care of.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they, as a matter of fact, veterans of the Spanish War?

Mr. SOBEL. Some of them are; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A great many of them never went over there, is that a fact?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you told what would be expected of you by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade officials?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they tell you?

Mr. SOBEL. Oh, they asked me why I deserted, and asked me numerous other questions. They told me that I would be expected to keep my mouth shut.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be expected to keep your mouth shut?

Mr. THOMAS. Is this Abraham Lincoln Brigade—could you give some idea what the proportion of white and colored were?

Mr. SOBEL. I should think 1 in 10 were colored.

Mr. THOMAS. One in ten were colored. Did the League for Peace and Democracy get in touch with you when you came back?

Mr. SOBEL. Pardon me for a moment. You talk about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. That is here in America. The Abraham Lincoln Battalion is over in Spain. Do you mean over here or over in Spain?

Mr. THOMAS. You can answer both.

Mr. SOBEL. You mean both?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. SOBEL. There is no such thing as an Abraham Lincoln Battalion today. It is the Lincoln-Washington Battalion.

Mr. THOMAS. Then over here in America, what is the percentage?

Mr. SOBEL. One in ten.

Mr. MOSIER. You say that the name of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion that is now in Spain has been changed to the—

Mr. SOBEL. Lincoln-Washington Battalion.

Mr. MOSIER. Lincoln-Washington Battalion?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. What is that, if you will describe it?

Mr. SOBEL. The Washington Battalion was a new battalion that was formed just before entering Brunette, approximately July 6, 1937. They were almost obliterated at Brunette. Then they went into the lines again at Belchite, and they took another beating; and they consolidated with the Lincoln Battalion after the Aragon offensive in 1937, and they became one unit.

Mr. MOSIER. Are they fliers, or infantry, or what?

Mr. SOBEL. Infantry.

Mr. THOMAS. After you returned, did the League for Peace and Democracy get in touch with you?

Mr. SOBEL. Nobody got in touch with me.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand there was a parade the other day at which the League for Peace and Democracy had a large number of those who had fought in Spain. But they did not get in touch with you?

Mr. SOBEL. No. I did not participate in the parade.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in Boston. That happened in New York.

Mr. STARNES. The sum and substance of your story is this, that you among other American citizens were recruited for duty in Spain for the Loyalist cause by the Ukrainian Club here?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you stated that the Ukrainian Club is an agent of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOBEL. Their quarters are being used here for that purpose. I do not know whether they knew about it, communistically, or not.

Mr. STARNES. That is all.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask one more question. I suppose you met some of the others who were recruited in New York.

Mr. SOBEL. Who were recruited?

Mr. THOMAS. And who got their passports in New York.

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they tell you where they got their passports in New York?

Mr. SOBEL. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they say anything about getting them at 143 East Twenty-ninth Street?

Mr. SOBEL. No.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know where they did get them in New York?

Mr. SOBEL. All the fellows in our group, they were handled through the World Cruise outfit. Our passports were turned in in New York and they were given to the World Cruise outfit and on the last day before sailing we received them in a hall with our visa entitling us to enter France.

Mr. THOMAS. The point I am trying to make is that you yourself applied for your passport in Boston?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And you gave the address. I was wondering whether you knew the address in New York City where the New York boys applied.

Mr. SOBEL. No; I do not.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know the street?

Mr. SOBEL. No; I do not know the street.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Here are some photographs I would like you to identify. Here is a photograph that shows the Essex Liquor Co. Is that a Communist headquarters [handing photograph to witness]?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. SOBEL. That is at 15 Essex Street.

The CHAIRMAN. In Boston?

Mr. SOBEL. Boston, Mass.

The CHAIRMAN. That is where they met?

Mr. SOBEL. That is the official headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a photograph showing the Werner Building. Is that the headquarters of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that?

Mr. SOBEL. 12 Newberry Street.

The CHAIRMAN. In Boston?

Mr. SOBEL. In Boston; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this photograph [indicating photograph]?

Mr. SOBEL. That is the Reflectory in Franklin Park, Boston.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they recruit for Spain at this place?

Mr. SOBEL. Not today.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they do it?

Mr. SOBEL. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all. We will recess until 1:30 o'clock p. m.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Our next witness is Mr. Halpern.

TESTIMONY OF ALVIN I. HALPERN

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Halpern, have you already been sworn?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. HALPERN. Alvin I. Halpern.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt at this point before this witness proceeds? I would like to make two observations: One is that in New York City we have found that when we go to a governmental agency headquarters to get particular information from certain individuals, a great many of those individuals are on vacation. When our investigator in New York City went to an agency the other day, he found almost everybody in that agency was on vacation.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, everybody he wanted to get information from.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; exactly. Here in Washington we tried to contact two people, but, very strangely, they were on vacation. The two people who were on vacation in Washington were Catherine Kellock, who has been placed in charge of 4,600 workers in the Federal writers project, and she has, I understand, an appropriation of \$1,500,000. We wanted her particularly for various reasons, one of which was that we have been informed that her husband is the publicity man for the Soviet Embassy here in Washington. When we tried to contact them we were told that they were on vacation in Vermont. I think that the committee should keep in mind that when they return from their vacation we should certainly get in touch with Catherine Kellock without delay.

Those are the only observations I have at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else from any member of the committee?

Mr. MOSIER. Is there anyone who, to use the language of the street, is tipping off those people to the fact that this committee would like to have some information from them? We have seen some of the investigators of the La Follette committee around this committee in the last few days. Are they trying to hamstring our committee? It looks rather suspicious to me. Two and two make four where I live.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has no knowledge about that. The Chair does not assume that another committee would have any interest in this investigation other than a cooperative interest.

Mr. Halpern, will you tell your story in your own language, starting at the beginning and following it up as well as you can consecutively?

Mr. HALPERN. Well, going back to June 1937, I worked in Boston for the Cinco Co., an ice-cream company. I had a route that kept me out until 11 o'clock at night. When I would turn in, on my way to the garage, I would like always to stop at one of our company's ice-cream parlors to get a drink and cool off during the summer. This ice-cream parlor was in a building at the corner of Blue Hill Avenue and Columbia Road, in Boston. I used to notice then differ-

ent crowds out in front there who were more or less talking away. However, I never paid much attention to them. I knew some of the boys in the crowd, because I lived close-by to them. After awhile, one of them approached me. He was a party by the name of Sidney Epstein. He approached me and said he would like to talk to me. I said, "All right."

I knew that he was rather a Communist. He said to me, "You have a lot of military training," and I said, "Yes." He said, "What do you think of the situation in Spain?" I said, "I never paid much attention to it." He went on and started to talk about women and children being massacred by the Fascists and Nazis in Spain, and that it was up to every red-blooded American to go over and fight, as they did in this country during the Revolution when foreigners came over to this country. I said, "Well, I suppose it is all right for some people," but I was not interested then and there. This went on for 2 or 3 weeks and they kept talking every evening about it. Finally, because I was working 7 days a week, and I was tired working around—because promises were promises—and it seemed okay, and I said I would go over. After Sidney Epstein I met a boy named Previus. This boy was a plumber and he got to talking to me a little bit.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were those men working?

Mr. HALPERN. They were working for the W. P. A.

The CHAIRMAN. On what project?

Mr. HALPERN. A theater project.

Mr. THOMAS. A Federal theater project?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir. Finally, I consented to go over there. They said they would go with us—all of us going together. I said, "All right, we will go together then." I asked Previus, and he told me that I could go on down there. I asked him where I could go and make my application, and he said to go down to No. 15 Essex Street, which I found was the Communist headquarters. I never knew up to that time where the Communist headquarters in Boston was. This was the front for their Communist headquarters. There I talked to a party by the name of Mannie Blanke. I did not know that he was up there, but a party there introduced himself. I asked for Mannie Blanke. He said, "What do you want with Mannie Blanke?" I said that Previus had sent me up there. He said, "Do not say anything more." He took me to an office, and he said, "Mannie Blanke is not here," but he said, "I will make arrangements." He introduced himself as Dave Grant, and I found that he was the secretary of the Young Communist League in Boston. He called Mannie Blanke at some number—I do not know what the number was—and they made arrangements for a meeting.

I contacted him at 3:30 the following afternoon. What took place then was that Mannie Blanke asked me what I wanted to go to Spain for. I said, "To fight fascism." He looked at me and smiled, and I said, "Is that the reason?" He said, "Yes; that is the reason." He said, "You are Jewish, are you not?" and I said, "Sure." He said, "You would be taking a crack at Hitler, too, when you go over there, and against all the Nazis." Well, he gave me a dollar at that time, or at that particular time, to have my passport picture made. No; I first sent to New York for a birth certificate, which I believe you have to present to the passport agency before

they issue the passport. I did that, and received it a few days later. I came back to Mannie Blanke and he gave me a dollar to have the passport application made. He then sent me to get the application, but not to make it out. I took the application and came back to 36 Causeway Street, and there he helped me to make out the application. I went back the following day and showed the application to the officer at the passport agency. He asked me where I was going to, and I said to the Paris Exposition. He said, "As what?" and I said, "As a tourist." He was dubious about the whole thing. He said to me, "You look like you are going up against a Spanish machine gun over there." I said, "I am not going to Spain, but I am going to Paris." He held me up about 2 weeks on my passport.

Then I went to a few prominent people in Boston. I do not want to disclose their names. I told them I was not going to Spain, and had had difficulty in getting my passport. It was on their word that I was issued a passport. I came back to Mannie Blanke, and he said, "If he asks you to show money, we will give you three or four hundred dollars so you can show that you have enough money to travel." They had told me that if I could not get a passport, there were other ways of getting it. They said that I could go to Worcester under an assumed name and get a passport there. However, I did get a passport on the say-so of some people in Boston. I came back to Mannie Blanke, and at that particular time another chap was going over like myself. He knew nothing about communism—he knew less than I did about it. I noticed that Previnis, Sullivan, and Epstein were not around, and Blanke told me that they were going over.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Sullivan?

Mr. HALPERN. A musician.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was he working?

Mr. HALPERN. He was on the W. P. A. project, too. They were Communists. Sullivan had a small home on Randolph Street, and he had the hammer and sickle flying on a banner in the yard. When I got the passport, Mannie Blanks took one of our pictures for his own personal use. Then, when we got the passport, we walked to No. 12 Newberry Street. That is the Communist headquarters of the Lincoln Brigade. There they gave us \$2 apiece, plus our fare. He gave me two addresses on pieces of paper showing what places to go to when we arrived in New York. When we got to New York we were supposed to take up a boy named Harry, and a young man was there when we arrived. It seemed that there was a strike being brought out, and they were talking about it. There were quite a few young girls and boys, and there were people on platforms making speeches. There was no doubt about its being Socialist or Communist headquarters, because they had pictures of Lenin and Stalin plastered all over the walls, with the hammer and sickle shown there. This man came out of an office and asked what I wanted, and I explained it to him. He asked, "What about your passport," and I showed it. Then he gave another address to go to. We went about 30 steps into a high, first floor from the ground. There were a number of boys around a pool table, and to the right of the pool table there was a lunch counter. It was a dirty, badly kept place.

I later found out that some of the lads could not get passports. They came up there from different States, but some of them could

not get passports. I saw this man Harry there at that particular place. He did not say much. He asked us about our military training, and it seemed that my military training pleased him more than that of anyone else. I immediately became chief of a section in going over. There were 18 of us all together, and we were going in three different groups, two groups on the S. S. *Washington* and one group on the S. S. *Queen Mary*. He gave me three addresses to go to on the following day. He collected the passports, and said that he would get the tickets, the through tickets, and everything else. When we came there, quite a few people spoke to us. I shall not forget one of them who said, "What great leaders of the revolution these fellows will make." I did not know what he meant by revolution. I thought he referred to Spain. I turned around to Henry and said, "What revolution?" He told me to keep quiet, and I did keep quiet. Then all of the boys were taken out of the room except myself and two other lads, as group leaders. There were to be 12 on the S. S. *Washington*.

I was to sail on the S. S. *Washington* with my group of six, and another lad was to be in charge of a group of six. We had money. They gave us \$90, or \$15 per man. That was the minimum amount of money that the French Government allowed one to land in France with. He gave me the \$90. That was for my men, and they gave \$90 for the other group, and \$90 for the group that sailed on the S. S. *Queen Mary*. They had our passports visaed, and tickets, and everything arranged, even the tickets from Le Havre to Paris. We sailed on the 26th of July from New York to France.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you give the names of the other boys in your group?

Mr. HALPERN. I could tell you, but it would be liable to cause damage to some of the boys who are over there yet.

Mr. MOSIER. Then do not do it. I do not want to cause any more damage or trouble to those boys.

Mr. HALPERN. They are going through hell over there, anyway.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you received any threats or intimidations about your appearing before this committee and giving this testimony?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir. I was with Sullivan when they called my home. When they called my home the second time, they said that if I did not get away from Sullivan and stop testifying I would not eat breakfast the following morning.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it a fact that, following that, you had a police guard at your home?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; they came shortly afterward.

Mr. MASON. I would like to ask where this man got his military training.

Mr. HALPERN. At the Hollywood Military Institution, in the Regular Army, and in the National Guard.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead with your testimony.

Mr. HALPERN. None of the men we met in New York came to see us off at all. They gave me an affidavit to sign at the Federal building. I did not sign it at first, and I asked Mannie Blanke what about that paper, and whether we would jeopardize ourselves. He said nothing would happen from it. He said, "Do not talk about anything like that," and that I would be liable to get into trouble. They had to get

rid of one man because certain people knew who the recruiting man was. Back in New York he said he could not take us to the boat because it was too dangerous. They did not go on the boat all at once, in one group, but came on board individually. We boarded the ship, and immediately after we got on board we went to our staterooms. Mine was with four other lads. Four had a stateroom together. The others separated among the different passengers on the boat. We went immediately to our staterooms and remained there until we sailed out of the harbor. Then we came on deck. Our orders when we left New York were not to mingle together on the boat and not talk about the Spanish war or anything of that kind at all, because that would raise the suspicion that we were going to Spain to fight. On the second day out a sailor I met put up his hand, like that, to me.

The CHAIRMAN. He gave you the Communist salute.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; he raised his clenched fist like this [indicating]. I looked at him. There were two young soldiers from the west coast traveling in the other group. I said, "What is the meaning of this?" And he said, "The whole crew knows where you are going, and they are with you 100 percent." There was nothing more said, except one night we wanted something to eat. It was after hours, but everybody would walk down to the dining hall and get any food they wanted. The steward would serve them, but they had to tip them. We did not have much money, and when we came in and wanted sandwiches and some milk they would not serve us, because it was after hours. A seaman from the west coast said to the steward, "I have seen you serve other people, and you can serve these people." He said, "They have very little money." The steward said: "I know you and know where your whole gang is going. You get out of here or I will tell the captain, and he will put you in irons." Nothing happened then until we got to France and came the customs office. I was the first one to enter the customs office. We had American uniforms, boots, helmets, and so forth, that we got in New York; and we had cigars, tobacco, soap, and so forth. They told me to take all of my clothes, because the poor Spaniards had nothing to wear. They said when we returned we need not worry about having jobs, clothes, and everything else. They said that we were only going as volunteers, and that at the end of 6 months we would come back.

Mr. THOMAS. I gather from your statement that you received Spanish uniforms in this country.

Mr. HALPERN. No, sir; we had American uniforms. You can buy them from any Army and Navy store.

Mr. THOMAS. Where did you get your uniform?

Mr. HALPERN. In New York.

Mr. THOMAS. American soldier's uniforms?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; soldier's uniforms and helmets. I was the first one to enter the customs office. I had a little tobacco, some cigarettes, and matches. You are allowed only certain clothing, and he was pulling it out. He was going to charge for it. He started to asking me about clothes, and then when he came to the uniform, he put everything back. He put everything back, and gave me a salute. He asked about the other men. There was another man, who is dead now, who could speak French.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he killed?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; he was killed in action. Apley was his name. The customs officer asked me if all the other lads were with me, all together. Apley turned around and translated it back, and then the customs officer did not check another bag, and everybody went through the customs office.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a customs officer of the French Government.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he gave you the salute of the Communists.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he an immigration officer?

Mr. HALPERN. No, sir; he was a customs officer. When I left New York, I had been given the addresses of certain places to go to. I was not to disclose to anybody in my crew what they were at all. It was not disclosed to any of the men. We checked into the Minerva Hotel in Paris, and then we proceeded to the addresses he gave. Of the \$90 that was given me, I was to give to the men before I landed, or after I landed, \$10 to each person, or \$60 in all. When we got to the Minerva Hotel, they were crowded, and they would not talk to us at all. We then went to the Communist headquarters.

Mr. STARNES. Who gave you the address of the Communist headquarters?

Mr. HALPERN. Harry, in New York. He gave me the address of the Hotel Minerva and of the Communist headquarters in Paris. When I got to Paris, I told them who we were. They did not care about anything. All they wanted to know was—where was the money? The crew on the *Queen Mary* spent all of their money. They went out and had a good time, and we should have done the same thing. They checked us in some kind of rooming house around the corner from the Communist headquarters. There were three gray buildings surrounded by an enormous fence, about 30 feet high. We were around the corner, where they sent us to this boarding house. We were there about a day when one of the lads came in and said he wanted to show us around Paris. We were to go to the exposition, and at the exposition we received an official card from France. It was a governmental card. On this card our names would be written, with a statement by the Government that would clear us from any violation of any neutrality law. I told the passport agency in Boston that I was going to the Paris Exposition, and I did go. We were there 1 day, and then they took us around to see the sights of the Montmartre section, or the Latin Quarter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that where the Communists are located?

Mr. HALPERN. No, sir; that is the night life. We were not in the vicinity of Communists at that particular point.

Mr. THOMAS. You had only \$5 left.

Mr. HALPERN. No, sir; we got 100 francs apiece. If we had \$5, we could get in exchange 36 francs for each American dollar. I will tell you about the different prices later on. We had sufficient money to have a good time in Paris. After we spent that evening in the Montmartre section, we came back the following day to the boarding house. There was a man who notified us to come back to the Communist headquarters around the corner. They ushered us into the

auditorium of the Communist headquarters. We were on one side, and there were Canadians, Czechs, Italians, Germans, and other anti-Fascist groups, or Communists. We were introduced to those men. When the speakers were doing the talking, we had translators to translate the talks. They introduced one man to us who was a dark, Latin type of man. He had dark hair and eyes and was dressed very neatly. We were told to take a good look at him so as to be able to recognize him when we saw him again. Then they told my group that we were to take the train.

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of speeches did they make? Briefly, what did they say?

Mr. HALPERN. They told us that we were going across the border. They did not say anything about communism then, but said we were going across the border. We were provided with railroad tickets, and I was told to buy food for my bunch of boys, or enough for a day and night ride on the train. Our tickets read "From Paris to Bazas," in the southern part of France. We left that night at 5 o'clock. They told us not to mingle with anyone else. The French trains have compartments, and they told us to get into our compartment, close the door, and pull the shades down, which we did. We did not talk to anybody until we got to Bazas. At Bazas I saw the same man I saw in Paris. He was evidently on the same train, because he was standing there with the guard, with a brief case in his hand. He turned around, and we followed him across the city to a building on a hill. We followed him up the grade until we came to the Hotel Moderne. I do not know what happened to the other group until I saw them in the city strolling along. They would not talk to each other. This man said that when another man showed me half of a disk to follow him. He gave me half of a disk, which was to match the other half of the disk. When this man showed me the other half of the disk, we were to follow his instructions. When this man came up, he looked like an ordinary street worker, and he showed me half of a disk. His instructions were for us to be ready at 7 o'clock that evening to follow him. We did follow him in Bazas.

Then the bus proceeded. We drove about 55 kilometers to Perpignan. That is practically at the foot of the Pyrenees. We stopped just at the outskirts of Perpignan and picked up two men, and then we continued about 11 kilometers beyond that, and there these men had big sacks on the bus, with these rope sandals, and they told us to take our shoes off and put these on. We put them on. About 9:30 at night we got under way and headed for the Pyrenees Mountains. We walked about 12 hours, I imagine. It was daybreak when we crossed into Spain. We passed the French patrol once and took cover, but it did not seem that they wanted to see us, because they were about a hundred yards from us; and by daybreak the following day we were in Spain.

We were pretty hungry. We had no food on the way. They only gave us a chance to drink water once. It was a forced hike. We had only one rest of a few minutes to get some water.

On the other side we went to a Spanish outpost and rested by a stream, and this guard had promised us some food when we got to a place that they called Figueras. That is the first city in Catalonia from the Pyrenees, from France in. The trucks came up about an hour

or an hour and a half later, and we boarded the trucks and went on into Figueras, and in Figueras they gave us quarters to sleep in.

We had never been under that hardship before—that forced hike. Our ankles were all swollen up, and we couldn't get our shoes on. They gave us our first Spanish meal there. We all got sick looking at it, and we went to sleep. We were in Figueras about 2 days. I imagine, and from then on we boarded the train and went on into Valencia. We exchanged trains in Valencia and had a few hours lay-over there, and went on to Albacete. That is the International Brigade base. We met a train there. The band of the Guardia Internacional was in the cuartel, and they played the Soviet International, and we formed the sections, and they followed us through the streets into Albacete and on into the Guardia Internacional, where we were all quartered, and we were issued our Spanish uniforms, gas masks, and so forth. We were not issued any guns.

Then we went to another base at Tarazona, and there is where I came into contact with Joe Dalred, from Ohio, who died like a hero. It was a joke when we read all about his death, when we had been 3 months in Spain, because it was the only paper we had over there. We got the Times, but later they said it had Fascist tendencies, so we couldn't get it any longer; nothing but some of these Communist papers.

Mr. MOSIER. You mean the Daily Worker, published in this country?

Mr. HALPERN. Oh, yes; we got it from England and Canada.

Mr. THOMAS. They were the only papers you got after the Times was discontinued?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; except later on when I was stationed as commissar at general headquarters, Major Merriman, or some of these high-ranking officers, could get anything they wanted, and I would grab it quick before they saw me.

We were in Tarazona a few days for military training, and they immediately shipped me to join the Fifteenth Brigade. That was the Anglo-Saxon Brigade. It consisted of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and the George Washington Battalion, and the Twenty-fourth Battalion; that was a Spanish battalion.

We went into action on the Aragon front.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your rank?

Mr. HALPERN. I was still a private at that time.

We went into action on the Aragon front. It seems the Catalonians up north did not care to fight, or something to that effect, because no-man's land was 16 miles wide, and there was a town between the two fronts called Azalea, which was doing a thriving business in wines. They were selling wines to both sides, and the armies would get out and fire a shot once in every 4 or 5 weeks, and that would be all.

So we closed the front line and attacked Quinto. They surrendered Quinto. They had a natural fortification, but evidently they thought there were thousands of men coming against them instead of 1,500. There was only one brigade that made the attack; that was the Fifteenth.

We passed on from Quinto into Cordo. Then we came up against Belchite. That was a natural fortress situated on a mountain, and we had to come up a valley to the side of the mountain to take this

city, if you could call it a city. It seemed that Napoleon tried to take this city at one time on his invasion into Spain and could not take it; it was so difficult. It was more difficult to us, because they had the whole place surrounded with pill boxes—that is, machine guns; and they would catch you coming up at any angle.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me this, Mr. Halpern: How long did you serve in Spain?

Mr. HALPERN. I served seven and a half months in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. You started as a private?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you finally became a commissar?

Mr. HALPERN. I finally became a commissar; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What rank is that?

Mr. HALPERN. The rank of commissar gave me a standing rank above lieutenant. It gave me a captain's rank.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in a number of actions?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a political commissar, is it?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you realize that the whole set-up there was communistic?

Mr. HALPERN. It did not take me long to know that when we got into Albacete, and we saw that everything was Stalin and Lenin. The hammer and sickle was all over Spain. All the hawkers were selling in the street were hammers and sickles and things like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have to take any sort of oath?

Mr. HALPERN. No. They asked us to join the Communist Party in Spain, and I said that before I would join the Communist Party I would rather join the anarchists. The anarchists and the Communists were working together at that particular point, but they were disliked by the parties. They had two different views entirely, but they were working hand in hand fighting Mr. Franco.

Mr. MOSER. Are the anarchists too much for the Communists; are they too extreme?

Mr. HALPERN. Oh, yes. Their ideas are different entirely. I know that much. I don't know what their ideas are exactly, but they are different entirely; because when I said that I would join the anarchist party they almost had a fit.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear them express themselves much about this country?

Mr. HALPERN. Who?

The CHAIRMAN. The Communists—the Loyalist authorities.

Mr. HALPERN. What I used to hear was, they told the Spaniards so much about there was going to be a revolution in the United States shortly, and all the Spaniards were telling me, "You have come over here to help us fight, and we are going to come over and help you in your revolution over there."

The CHAIRMAN. Were they getting much aid at that time from Russia?

Mr. HALPERN. Oh, yes. Most of our butter was coming over from Russia. We got our guns from Russia. We had these American rifles on the other side, but it seems the Czar bought these during his reign, and when the revolution in Russia broke out they got all this ammunition, and the rifles were all right, but the bolts were not any

good, because we would fire five or six shots, and the bolt would expand, and you would have to use a rock to knock the bolt open.

The CHAIRMAN. How many American boys were there over there, approximately?

Mr. HALPERN. When I was there there were about three to four thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they permit them to return, or will they permit them to return?

Mr. HALPERN. I know definitely that those boys want to come back, and if we had thought Mr. Franco would have repatriated us, we would have gone over the line more than once. As a matter of fact, when I came out of Teruel in January, and came to Barcelona, in Barcelona I saw quite a few Danes and Swedes over there, and I asked them, in Spanish, where they were going. I saw they were all in civilian clothes, and I said, "Where are you going?" They said, "We are going out of the country; the King has sent for us." I said, "What do you mean? There is no more repatriation." They just laughed.

We were rushed away from the scene. But they had told us nobody could get out of the country. At the end of 6 months they were supposed to send us home, but whenever anybody got out of line they would send them to Tarazona, and they kept them there 3 or 4 weeks and sent them to the front again.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you try to return?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes; I tried to return. We tried to get back into their good graces. I fought them hand and foot in everything they could do and they could not dispose of me. The only way of disposing of a commissar is by shooting him. But they were eventually going to get me one way or the other; so I finally got out.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you finally get out?

Mr. HALPERN. I was in the hospital for awhile, and then got away in a boat from Sagunto which took me to Africa. In Africa the English consul sent me to America.

The CHAIRMAN. What would happen to the boys if anybody complained?

Mr. HALPERN. If anybody did complain the Communist Party was in charge. It was not so bad when we first got there, but after a while these Communists took over everything, and they were strictly Communists, and if you said anything at all, you were called a Fascist provocateur, and you were sent off to a camp and that would be the last they would hear of you. They would shoot you down. If you were called for a firing squad, and you did not go, they would shoot you. We came from America to fight for an ideal of democracy and after we got there we found that we had to deal with the OGPU.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, that was their idea of democracy?

Mr. HALPERN. That was their idea of democracy; and if the United States Government could get those boys out of the country, they would do more than anything else to fight communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Have not Norway and Sweden and other countries gotten their boys out of Spain?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes; they have gotten their boys out of Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Then our boys are virtually prisoners?

Mr. HALPERN. They are virtually prisoners. They have got the roads covered. After we came out of the Aragon front they promised us a rest and we were supposed to go back to the large cities and remain there a few days to clean up and wash, and so forth. Then when we came out of the Aragon we were in trenches. The boys were in the trenches a hundred-and-some-odd days altogether, and in the trenches you get pretty "crummy," and when they took us out of the Aragon they did not take us to the cities. They took us about a mile back of the line and put us in what we called fox holes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any attempts to rebel?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir. A friend of mine, this Henry, from Boston—he is dead now—he took an ambulance with five friends and made for the French border. They did not know where they were, and they were within half a kilometer from the border when they were apprehended. They thought they were in France and sat down to eat, and along came these Spanish guards and put them under arrest. They were brought back to the brigade. Abe and I were together, and I was down filling up with gasoline, and he was down at the gasoline dump, and this political commissar, Robinson, assistant to Dave Durant—Durant, incidentally was head commissar of the Fifth Brigade—Robinson came and told us that these men did not care whether the Fascists would win the war or not; they didn't give a darn who won; they wanted to get out of the country, and they were against the international brigade. They came down and told us these lies, and I knew they were lies. They called upon us and asked for the death penalty for these men. I said, "No; why should we ask for the death penalty? Henry didn't know what he was coming over for in the first place, and if the man wanted to get out of here, he was a volunteer and had the right to go." They would not listen to anything. They insisted on our making these statements. So we voted no against the death penalty. I saw Henry. They got a statement from him. He denied the whole statement. At that time I did not know who Robinson was, and when I got the statement from Henry I chased him up and grabbed him, and I said, "What do you mean by making these statements? What do you mean by passing the death penalty on them? We would be shooting innocent men." He told me to keep my mouth shut, "or you will get the same thing." Then Major Merriman—we called him "Murderman"—he told me to go back and forget the situation.

We made such a smell out there that we almost took the brigade apart. They served a certain time in prison—and these fellows didn't know anything about first aid, and they knew that if you were a first-aid man you were pretty sure of death, because they didn't have any regard for the Red Cross, hospitals, or anything else. They shot anything that was in front of them.

But this Brown made a statement. He admitted the statement he made and he was let go. He said he did not mind being up in the front trenches, but it was the battle in the rear. These Communist leaders did not know enough to keep our antitank guns from pouring shells on top of us.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any of our Americans over there murdered, to your knowledge?

Mr. HALPERN. I know a lot of them disappeared. They were sent to Albacete and accused of sabotage and put in the front-line trenches.

The CHAIRMAN. What had they done?

Mr. HALPERN. They just spoke their piece; that they did not believe in communism; that they came over to fight for an ideal, and now they wanted to get out of the country; they wanted to know why all this food that was coming from the other side, the officers were getting it, and why they could not get any food.

If they refused to execute a man, they were executed themselves. If they did anything wrong, they called it sabotage. The pet word was "Fascist provocateur."

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain what the disciplinarian squad was?

Mr. HALPERN. The disciplinarian squad was a group of men sent up to the front lines with shovels and picks to dig the trenches, and they were always under fire. The guards were told, if they disobeyed anything at all, to shoot them down, and if the guards did not do it, they would be shot down.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any instructions given to you to shoot any of these men?

Mr. HALPERN. Oh, yes, we had to execute a few, but if we did not execute them, we would be executed ourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. It was either execute them or be executed yourselves?

Mr. HALPERN. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Were they Americans?

Mr. HALPERN. No; Fascists.

The CHAIRMAN. A Fascist is anyone who does not agree with them and do everything they want?

Mr. HALPERN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, here is a photograph. What is that a photograph of?

Mr. HALPERN. That photograph was taken just before we moved up to Teruel. That is me and a Cuban boy.

The CHAIRMAN. What emblem is that?

Mr. HALPERN. That is the Russian Communist emblem.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mind letting us have it for a while? We will not put it in as an exhibit.

Mr. HALPERN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. So you finally managed to get back to the United States?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get back here?

Mr. HALPERN. I was up to Benecason, and from Benecason I found out there was a party with a boat that was leaving at Segunto. We went down there in an ambulance. We were put aboard the ship and were just about ready to take off, when the aviators came over and bombed us. When anything happens, those fellows always run, and whenever their morale breaks, the Americans, English, and Canadians, the Fifteenth Brigade, were sent up there to bolster up their morale. We were the shock troops. I don't think we ever had a rest except one time on that trip. They would bring up the new recruits from Tarazona, and they would be wiped out. It was a slaughter.

The CHAIRMAN. It was just slaughter?

Mr. HALPERN. That was all. It was just a suicide brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. Are most of these American boys from the Young Communist League?

Mr. HALPERN. No; they are not. The Congressman asked the question, "Where they good citizens?" And they were good citizens. They were just as good as any American citizen.

Mr. MASON. My remark about their being good citizens, when they came home, was to the effect that by comparison with what they had experienced in Spain, when they had to go through all these hardships, it would be heaven for them, and they would be darn glad to get back.

Mr. HALPERN. There is no doubt about that. You get those boys back and you will have a group to fight communism with.

We have seen it. They are like mad dogs. We have seen how they acted over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us now about your getting back to the United States.

Mr. HALPERN. We finally got away on this boat from Segunto. Thirty-six hours later we landed in Oran, in French Morocco. It was just my luck that the American consul died 2 weeks before I got there. We went to the English consul there. Immediately he made us wards of England, so we could not be touched by the French authorities, because that is a French possession, and they were in sympathy with the Loyalists, and they were liable to ship us to Spain again, and we would have been shot immediately.

On the boat that finally brought me from Africa to America, they told me that while they were lying up in Valencia they found three American lads on this boat, and the Spanish police came aboard the boat and shot the boys down on deck, and told the captain to dump their bodies out at sea.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they do with the American passports, after the men are killed?

Mr. HALPERN. When we arrived at Albacete they took away our passports immediately. The OGPU in Spain were bragging about how they could change—the United States immigration was so difficult—how they could change an American passport for anybody that wanted to get into the United States. That is why I came here a few weeks ago to get my passport from the Spanish Embassy in Washington, but I could not get it.

Mr. STARNES. Why couldn't you get it?

Mr. HALPERN. He said he couldn't do a thing. I said I didn't want to use another man's passport; but he refused to talk. He refused to understand what I said. He understood it all right before. He said, "Nada, nada"—meaning nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet the American citizens are contributing funds to organizations engaged in raising money for this sort of thing?

Mr. HALPERN. Sure they are.

Mr. MASON. And especially the League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. HALPERN. I know that, because when I landed in Texas the League for Peace and Democracy greeted me there.

Mr. MASON. How did you get to Texas?

Mr. HALPERN. I came from Africa to Texas. The English consul called the American Embassy in Algiers, and he told the American Embassy—he said there was a man here that had just landed from Spain, and what he should do with him—send him on to Algiers or to the Embassy. And it seemed he would not have anything to do with me—the American Embassy. So the English consul said, “If the United States won’t take care of you, England will.” So he paid my board and room there until I got on the steamship *Marion* for the United States.

I came into the United States; we came to the first immigration office at Galveston. The captain of the boat had cabled my mother off of the Rock of Gibraltar to have my papers waiting for me at the immigration office in Texas so there would be no trouble in identifying me as an American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. What consul was it who was dead?

Mr. HALPERN. That was the American consul in Oran.

Mr. STARNES. That was in North Africa?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That was the reason for going to the British consul?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir. The Englishman took me to the British consul. We did not have any money.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you waiting before leaving for home?

Mr. HALPERN. At Galveston. The immigration official came aboard the ship and wanted to know if I wanted any assistance, and I said, “No”; all I wanted was a decent meal under my belt.

Then I went up the San Jacinto River toward Houston, at Alcoa; I was on an oil boat.

I had to go to the immigration office at Houston.

The immigration official evidently had notified the newspapers, because at Houston the men from the different newspapers were there, and representatives of the society were there.

The CHAIRMAN. What society?

Mr. HALPERN. The League for Peace and Democracy, and things like that. There are so many of them. I know they were there.

The CHAIRMAN. You were greeted by that organization?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. At Houston?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Tell us about the greeting by the League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. HALPERN. They thought we were the greatest fellows in the world, we had gone to Spain to fight for something they believed in.

My side was pretty bad. At the customs office I think it was the immigration officer who took me to have my side strapped, where I had been wounded with shrapnel.

Mr. MASON. You had been wounded?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes; four times. He took me to the hotel, I think it was the Rice Hotel, and they treated me pretty good.

The CHAIRMAN. Who treated you pretty good?

Mr. HALPERN. The League for Peace and Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any Communists among them?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes; quite a few.

Mr. MASON. How did they explain the fact that while their name was the League for Peace and Democracy they were so enthusiastic about your going over there to fight for communistic ideas?

Mr. HALPERN. I did not ask them; all I was interested in was a steak dinner.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you came home?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes; it took me about 8 days. They had me talk to one of our friends of Spain; they collected a good deal of money and gave me money to pay my fare back home.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to you when you got to Boston?

Mr. HALPERN. I went to the Communist headquarters at 15 Essex Street. I looked at them and they had these sour looks at me; I was still in a leather uniform. They stuck out their hands. All I said was, "Boys, I am back; all I want is a suit of clothes and to have the wounds in my side taken care of."

They told me to go to the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade at No. 12 Newbury Street.

When I went there they called me a deserter.

I saw Mannie Blanke and I said, "He did not go to Spain." Mannie Blanke told me the reason he did not go was because he had flat feet.

I was in the American service and I knew flat feet exempted a man from military drill. But in Spain I saw men going across mountains, and high mountains, with wooden legs. We had men who could not see over the front sight of a rifle who were fighting over there. But Mannie Blanke could not go over.

Mr. THOMAS. He has a weak heart, has he not?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes. He is out of Boston now, I understand.

I started a big smell there. I went to Blue Hill Avenue and this Sol Gilbert came and slapped my hand.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Sol Gilbert?

Mr. HALPERN. He was formerly with the W. P. A. I do not know what he is doing now.

I said, "What is the matter; why did you not go over?" He said, "I have work to do here." I said, "I am back now, and as one man, I will take your job and you go back overseas." He said, "No; you could not do the work I do."

Then I went back to the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade the next day and they asked me if I had any credit. They said I should go down and get a suit. They sent me to Dr. Jameson. I went there and the doctor was not in. The nurse did not know anything about me.

At the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade they said they had made arrangements for me to be treated.

I got the suit. They told me I would have \$50 for the suit. I came back later but they knew nothing about the \$50. I did not have any money to pay for the suit.

I would not ask my folks for anything. They are 100 percent anti-Communist. They hate them worse than I do.

Finally, when they refused to do anything, I said there is only one way to get them and that is through the Hearst press, and I eventually sold my story to the Hearst press.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you left the United States did you belong to any labor organization?

Mr. HALPERN. I worked as a shoe salesman for a long time. That was my first job, as a shoe salesman.

I started a union called the A. F. of L. union, which was very good, but the boys did not back us up when we went on strike, so the union dissolved.

When I came back a new union had been formed which was called the C. I. O. I joined as a C. I. O. This was before I gave the story to the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this your card? [Indicating.]

Mr. HALPERN. Yes; that is my C. I. O. card.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mind if we put that in the record?

Mr. HALPERN. No.

(The card referred to is as follows:)

MEMBER'S RECEIPT

(Stamp name of union here)

United Retail & Wholesale Employees of America, aff. with C. I. O.

This is to certify that Alvin Halpern has accepted membership in the above-named union and has paid the initiation fee of \$1 and dues of \$----- for month of April.

Date, April 9, 1938.

-----, B. A.,
Financial Secretary or Organizer,
Local 113, U. R. W. E. of A., C. I. O.

Mr. HALPERN. The minute I gave the story to the press after the story broke the boys met me, and I gave my last dollar to get the card, because I wanted to be with my bunch. But my friend met me and said, "It seems like you have done it; the Communists threw you out of the union; you are blackballed; and they threw you out."

Mr. MASON. What has your connection with the C. I. O. got to do with this matter? You say they threw you out after you gave the story to the press.

Mr. HALPERN. It seems like the leaders in the C. I. O. in Boston are Communists, and that was the reason they threw me out. There was no other reason.

Mr. MASON. Oh, I see.

Mr. HALPERN. This one fellow in particular—I am not certain of his name—he gave me my card; he said, "You were in Spain." He said, "I am from New York; I am interested in a group of young party Communists." I said, "You are?" That is all, and I walked away.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not customary to have the stamp of the union on the card?

Mr. HALPERN. No, sir; that is the only thing he gave me. That is his own writing. I think his name is on the bottom of it.

Mr. THOMAS. There is no union stamp on there.

Mr. HALPERN. I will tell you why that was. That was a detachment of a long slip, and on the other slip you had to make certain applications. I think that was before you get a regular union book, but you can work with that card. Before I got my union book I was blackballed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you try to get a job with the W. P. A.?

Mr. HALPERN. I could not get on there, either. As a matter of fact, I had to leave Boston. It seemed like the Communists controlled about everything up there.

The CHAIRMAN. In what sense do you mean that?

Mr. HALPERN. They control the union.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the relief agencies, like the W. P. A.?

Mr. HALPERN. I could not go to the relief agencies because my family have a nice home there.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the W. P. A.?

Mr. HALPERN. I went there, and they said they could not do a thing.

Mr. THOMAS. Why not?

Mr. HALPERN. They said I would have to be on relief. I could not get on relief because I had a nice home.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any Communists in the W. P. A. set-up in Boston?

Mr. HALPERN. I know some working with the W. P. A. I do not believe any of the executives, the higher executives, whom we do not see, to apply for a job, are Communists. I think some people underneath them are.

The CHAIRMAN. Among those recruited for Spain, how many that you know of were working for the W. P. A. at the time they were recruited?

Mr. HALPERN. About four or five of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your experience about the Workers' Alliance, in connection with getting a job with the W. P. A.?

Mr. HALPERN. I do not know; I did not have any.

Mr. STARNES. Was this Manne Blanke an American citizen?

Mr. HALPERN. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. What about this musician you spoke of?

Mr. HALPERN. They are American citizens; Sullivan is an American citizen. I do not know about Epstein.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Manne Blanke his real name?

Mr. HALPERN. I do not think so. I think he has another name.

Mr. MOSIER. You do not know what it is?

Mr. HALPERN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he not under contempt proceedings, for failure to testify before a Massachusetts investigating committee?

Mr. HALPERN. I believe he is.

The CHAIRMAN. He has left Boston?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand, of course, as a witness of this committee, you are under the protection of the Government and you have nothing to fear.

Mr. HALPERN. I am not afraid of them. They do not faze me.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all for the time being.

By action of the committee in executive session, it was agreed to incorporate in the evidence the second affidavit of Irving Norman Markheim, which was sworn to before a notary public on July 28, 1938, properly notarized, and sworn to by the witness, as being one of the original affidavits made, and we will place that in the record. At the suggestion of members of the committee, I will read it, as follows:

AFFIDAVIT OF IRVING NORMAN MARKHEIM

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

County of Los Angeles, ss:

I, Irving Norman Markheim, first being duly sworn, deposes and says that affiant subsequent to the 15th day of February 1938, being the date of his affidavit sworn to before Andrew J. Copp, Jr., notary public in and for the county of Los

Angeles, State of California, and relating to his contacts and experiences with one Harry Bridges, the following events in relation to the same subject matter as set forth in that affidavit have transpired subsequently:

(a) On or about June 13, 1938, an unknown man telephoned me, his voice having a decidedly heavy Jewish accent, and demanded that I tell him if I signed some affidavits relative to the *Harry Bridges' case*. I did not admit such knowledge—declined knowledge, in fact—and asked who was calling. The party hung up, and that concluded the conversation.

(b) About 2 days later, over the same telephone line, another call came, and the same voice inquired: "Is this Markheim?" I replied in the affirmative. He then asked: "Have you heard from the newspaper, and when are you going to give the story?" In response, I again asked who was calling. The party again hung up, and the conversation ended.

(c) On or about June 16 or 17, 1938, I was approached by a strange man who introduced himself as representing the Los Angeles Times, who stated he had received two telephone calls, on the previous week and one that morning, and that the voice on the phone had informed him that I had a story on the *Harry Bridges' case*. I declined to respond and declined knowledge of the matter.

(d) On Saturday, June 25, I was again called on the telephone and a voice—in fact, the same heavy Jewish voice which had called me on the two previous occasions hereinbefore mentioned—said: "You are going to be sorry you signed those papers" and hung up, not waiting for a reply.

(e) On or about Monday, June 27, 1938, I was driving my Willys sedan automobile, 1937 model, in a westerly direction on Brooklyn Avenue, Los Angeles, between 8 and 9 a. m. I had crossed State Street and had reached approximately the middle of the block when a Chevrolet sedan without license plates in the rear, driven by a strange man, overtook me, traveling westerly also, drove alongside, and immediately on clearing my car, cut in directly to the front of me and brought to a quick stop, and immediately reversed so as to back into my oncoming car. A collision then occurred, brought about by that manner and those means, about in the middle of the aforementioned block on Brooklyn Avenue. My car was damaged in the following respects: Two fog lamps were broken, also the license-plate bracket was broken off, and the fenders were bent. The Chevrolet had two heavy bumpers and was not damaged in any respect. Instantly after the collision, the Chevrolet was driven off, and no opportunity was afforded me to converse with or even get a good view of the driver of the Chevrolet automobile.

I reported this collision on the same day to the traffic bureau of the Los Angeles police department on First Street, between Broadway and Hill Streets, Los Angeles, but they have been unable to locate the driver of or the Chevrolet sedan. Immediately preceding the accident, I had been traveling about 30 miles an hour, and at the time of the impact I had slowed down to about 2 miles an hour; otherwise the collision might have resulted in serious personal injury to myself.

(f) On Monday, July 18, 1938, approximately 6 o'clock in the evening, I received a telephone call which I answered, and the voice on the other end of the line identified himself as Mr. Wirin, whom I have since identified as Mr. A. L. Wirin, attorney at law, officed on the fifth floor of the Douglas Building, 257 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, which I also identified as the offices of the American Civil Liberties Union, and of Mr. Grover Johnson, attorney, and Mr. Leo Gallagher, attorney. Mr. Wirin said that he wished to see me, and if I could possibly come down to his office to do so then at that time. I then asked him what it was about, and he said he wished I would come down at once. I asked him where he was located, and he told me at the Douglas Building, on the corner of Third and Spring Streets, and that he was in the office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

I then got Mr. Honorio Guzman, of Los Angeles, a friend of long acquaintance, and we two went to the offices of the American Civil Liberties Union, located on the fifth floor of the Douglas Building, and on our arrival found the following names: Grover Johnson, Leo Gallagher, A. L. Wirin, and the American Civil Liberties Union. We arrived there shortly after 7 o'clock p. m., on Monday night, July 18, 1938. Upon entering the reception room, we found a woman clerk at a desk, to whom I gave my name and stated that Mr. Wirin had asked me to come up. She told me to wait a few minutes, as Mr. Wirin was out "fixing some court papers." She was a real heavy-set woman, probably 40 years of age, round faced, dark hair which was bobbed, and sat smoking as we waited. About 10 minutes later a gentleman entered the reception room

from the hall, and he went into a private office to the right as you enter the waiting room, to his office. This woman clerk followed him into the office and came out and told me that he would see me then. Mr. Guzman and I then went into this office. The only persons present in the private office were the aforementioned gentleman, Mr. Guzman, and myself. The following conversation then ensued: The gentleman hereinbefore referred to introduced himself by stating, "I am Mr. Wirin, and you are Mr. Markheim?" I said, "Yes;" and he then told me to be seated. He then sat down at his desk and asked me if I knew anything of the *Bridges case* and whether I had signed any affidavits relative to that case. I told him I did not know anything about it. He said, "We know you do know something about it, and we would like to work with you." I still insisted that I knew nothing of this case. He then said, "All right; that will be all." Mr. Guzman and I then left his office.

Before leaving the office of the American Civil Liberties Union, I overheard a conversation between a strange man, apparently of Russian-Jewish extraction, with the woman clerk hereinabove described. He inquired regarding the coming maritime strike, and she stated she thought it was set for around September 1 (1938), but was not sure.

The *People's World* and other Communist literature was also on display on the reception-room table of the American Civil Liberties Union, and, marked "Sample" copies, were available for free distribution.

(g) The following day, Tuesday, July 19, 1938, at 5:30 p. m., or thereabouts, I received another telephone message from Mr. Wirin asking me if I would please come to his office again. I said, "All right, I will be up there." He told me if possible to come up within a half an hour. I then called Mr. Guzman by telephone and told him to meet me at the entrance to the Douglas Building within half an hour. He agreed to do so, and I then went downtown. He was there when I arrived, and we both went together to the fifth floor and to the office of the American Civil Liberties Union. When we entered the reception room we found the same lady clerk and another woman sitting beside her. The latter wore a dark skirt and a white blouse; her hair was also black and bobbed; she was slender and had a very thin mouth; she might be 28 or 30 years of age.

As soon as we came in, Mr. Wirin appeared at the door of his private office, which was open, and he was sitting at his desk, where he had a view of the entrance door. He immediately called me to come in. I went in, followed by Mr. Guzman. He then closed the door to his office and told me to be seated and wait a minute. He went to another office beyond in the opposite direction from the reception room and returned in a couple of minutes, accompanied by Harry Bridges. Harry Bridges spoke first and gave me his hand, saying, "Hello, Markheim." I said, "Hello," and took his hand. He then said he had to leave, and he left. This seemed strange, as he had only known me by my Communist Party name, John Burton.

Mr. Wirin sat down at his desk, Mr. Guzman and myself being the only persons then in the room with him. Mr. Wirin said that "we have knowledge of the affidavits you have signed, and I am empowered to offer you \$500 and also expenses to Ensenada, Mexico, where we want you to stay until I notify you to come back." I said I did not understand it and that I could not do anything about it. He said, "You can get me any day after 5 o'clock in the afternoon." I then left the office with Mr. Guzman. Mr. Guzman was sitting beside me during the time of this conversation with Mr. Wirin.

IRVING N. MARKHEIM.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of July 1938.

ANDREW J. COPP, Jr.,

Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California.

My commission expires October 23, 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no other matter the committee wishes to consider this afternoon, we will meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to take up some phases of another matter, not the Spanish question.

It has been suggested that as a precaution for the committee we should announce who is connected with this committee. It is already known anyway, and we know the channels of information through which this information has come, but there have been some people

who have sought to create the impression that they have some connection with the committee.

Our investigators are four in number—Mr. Edward F. Sullivan, Mr. Stephen Birmingham, Mr. Chester Howe, and Mr. John B. Metcalfe. Mr. R. E. Stripling is the clerk of the committee. We have no attorney and no other clerks except two stenographers, one man and one woman, neither of them here. No one else is connected with the committee and no one else has a right to say they are connected with the committee, because the committee has to act on each of these things before it can be effective.

I think we have made it clear time and time again that every individual who says that the testimony of witnesses who appear before this committee is false will be accorded an opportunity, under oath, to deny those charges. We are determined to give all sides full opportunity at this hearing. I repeat that statement so that those who wire in or are protesting against some of the testimony will again know, through the press, that we are according them full opportunity to be heard, under oath, and to submit their evidence in connection with the testimony that has been given.

We will meet again tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned to meet tomorrow, Friday, August 19, 1938, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, AUGUST 19, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Miss Kerr, will you resume the stand for a few minutes? Will you be here for some time, or are you in a hurry to leave?

Miss KERR. No, sir; I can await your pleasure.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF MISS MARGARET A. KERR

The CHAIRMAN. We want to follow up briefly your testimony of yesterday. You have some papers from the west coast?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We want them for the record, and will ask you a few questions.

Here is a telegram which you hand me, dated February 21, 1937, to Col. Andrew J. Copp, Jr., Better American Federation, 356 South Broadway, Los Angeles, from Senator Royal S. Copeland, reading as follows:

Have turned over to the Labor Department all material you sent me.

That was the material you testified about yesterday.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The telegram continues:

Of course, I shall be glad for you to send me a set for my files.

Miss KERR. Is the date 1938?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it is 1938. I will read it again:

Have turned over to the Labor Department all material you sent me. Of course, I shall be glad to have you send me a set for my files. I find his affidavit declares he is willing to testify before any competent officer of the Government. It is probable the Labor Department will wish to take his deposition and ascertain from him all facts at his disposal. Without disclosing the nature of the material, I shall notify the press I have turned over to the Labor Department all important material from your office.

That is signed "Royal S. Copeland." That is the telegram?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We offer to place this telegram in evidence. I have before me an affidavit of Irving N. Markheim. This is one of the three original affidavits, a photostatic copy of which you testified about yesterday.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Incidentally, did someone say that the file of the Labor Department contained five affidavits? Three were submitted.

Mr. MASON. No, sir; the thing that was puzzling to some of us yesterday was the fact that the file contained a photostat copy, but not the original affidavit which we wanted.

Mr. STARNES. There is a number of affidavits in the Department of Labor files by parties who claimed that they sat in Communist meetings with Harry Bridges, and that he admitted he was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the affidavit you testified about yesterday?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; and the exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. Attached to this affidavit are the various exhibits you testified about yesterday?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit A is the membership card or book of John Burton?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That being the party name of Markheim?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit B is the program of the Communist International?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit C is the Fight Imperial War, which was the pamphlet distributed by Markheim?

Miss KERR. That is a photostat of the circular which he was designated to distribute. Under that is the photograph missing from the other files.

The CHAIRMAN. Under exhibit C there is a photograph of Harry Bridges taken by the International News Photograph Service, and another photograph of Harry Bridges taken by the Acme Photo Co. Now, you sent copies of this to the Labor Department, which matter is now in these files.

Miss KERR. We sent them to Senator Copeland, and he turned them over.

The CHAIRMAN. The next is exhibit D, which is the membership card of John Burton in the International Labor Defense.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next consists of newspaper clippings, one being entitled "Stalin Thrums War Drum," and the other is entitled "Stalin Seeks Defense Aid Sent to Moscow." That you sent in also?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you a few questions. You say that you made an investigation on the west coast for many years into un-American activities?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the Anti-Nazi League out there?

Miss KERR. They are quite active in Hollywood. Our principal difference of opinion with them is that they do not include opposition

to communism. I have some of their publications with me, if you care to see them.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at a meeting of the Communist Party in Los Angeles?

Miss KERR. I attended the twentieth anniversary of the Bolshvik Revolution, which was held in the Olympic Auditorium, November 7, 1937, or last November. Mr. Clarence Hathaway, the editor of the Daily Worker, of New York, was the principal speaker. I have here with me circulars which were distributed in advance and at the time of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. What was said or done at that meeting with reference to the Anti-Nazi League?

Miss KERR. I do not recall anything in relation to the Anti-Nazi League. They were collecting funds for the establishment of the Peoples World, or the Communist Peoples World, on the Pacific coast, on a daily basis at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was collecting them?

Miss KERR. The chairman of this Communist meeting.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Hathaway was a speaker at that meeting?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. The publisher of the Daily Worker?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether any mention was made at the time about funds for the Daily Worker?

Miss KERR. Funds were solicited for the establishment of the People's World, the Communist organ on the Pacific coast at that time. I have a photostat copy of a clipping which was released on November 29, which corroborates some information which I can also attest to.

Mr. THOMAS. What I am trying to find out is whether there is any connection between the People's World and the Daily Worker.

Miss KERR. The People's World is the west coast's representative of the Communist press. It is the successor of the Western Worker, which still carries the hammer and sickle on top of it. The Daily Worker is recognized as the east coast Communist organ.

Mr. THOMAS. What I am trying to find out is whether the people who own the Daily Worker also own the People's World, or is there any interlocking arrangement between them?

Miss KERR. The People's World is financed by the Communist movement.

Mr. THOMAS. That does not quite answer the question.

Miss KERR. I do not know offhand what it is, or in whom the legal ownership reposes as to the People's World.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether anything was said in that meeting about the Daily Worker in New York or that they also needed funds?

Miss KERR. The Daily Worker was sold at the meeting and advertised generally. I would have to consult my notes, which, I am sorry, I do not have with me.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether Hathaway made an appeal for the Daily Worker?

Miss KERR. That I do not recall, because they were concentrating on the People's World drive.

Mr. THOMAS. I think it would be very interesting to find out what is the connection between the People's World and the Daily Worker from the standpoint of knowing whether Mr. Hathaway went out there himself and solicited funds for his own newspaper, from which he derives considerable benefit.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any funds solicited for the Anti-Nazi League at that meeting?

Miss KERR. Not for the Anti-Nazi League.

The CHAIRMAN. For what else did they solicit funds?

Miss KERR. Stress at that time was put on the People's World, to place it on a daily basis. Contributions were received from industrial sections of Los Angeles, or the Communist Party industrial sections. The figures given were \$1,531. I have since learned that the harbor section; the Belvedere section; the section where professors of colleges, who did not wish their names to be known, contributed; the Orange County section, the North Hollywood section, and the professional section, which I understand is the teachers' group, all contributed, and the movie section gave \$1,000, as it was announced. It was stated that they had quite a connection with the studios, but handled it with great secrecy.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that the movie people gave them \$1,000.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; and at that meeting an acknowledgment of it was made publicly. The Negro section and down-town section also contributed. There were others that contributed, and this increased the total to \$6,685. As I recall it, the total pledges and money they received enabled them to practically reach their quota of \$12,000. That evening there were about 9,000 people present. The International was sung. The Young Communist League had held its convention for 3 days immediately preceding the meeting, and they marched in with red flags flying. Mr. Hathaway stressed a comparison of the Soviet constitution with the Constitution of the United States, to the disadvantage, of course, of the Constitution of the United States. He also said, or, rather, boasted, that in the Soviet constitution they not only guaranteed religious freedom but antireligious freedom, which drew the applause of the evening.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kerr has a vast amount of material here. Do you care to go further into it?

Do you have any information with regard to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir; they have held many meetings out on the Pacific coast as well as elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they identified with the Communist movement on the west coast?

Miss KERR. When you attend a Communist meeting and attend a meeting of the American League for Peace and Democracy you see that they are also the same crowd at both places.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice that a great deal of the Communist literature and publications include the American League for Peace and Democracy on their front.

Miss KERR. Yes, sir. I can bring you recommendations and Communist support for the American League for Peace and Democracy, if you are interested in it.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

MISS KERR. I can bring you public recommendations of Communist spokesmen, Browder and others, urging support for the American League for Peace and Democracy. The World Congress Against War and Fascism was the original body, which was called to meet in Europe. They were barred from Paris, London, Berlin, and Geneva, and they convened in Amsterdam, Holland. The Internationale was sung and it was a Soviet type of affair. Upton Sinclair was an international committeeman from America. Leo Gallagher was also an international committeeman. It held its first meeting in America at the University of Chicago. Their first meeting in Los Angeles was held at Walker Auditorium, where the Communists hold their public meetings and met at the University of California in the evening. Mr. Leo Gallagher and Mr. Upton Sinclair were present, and at that time Mr. Sinclair stated that there could be no peace as long as the capitalist system existed. They held other meetings and at those meetings some of the young church group who had been invited to attend offered a resolution against all war, believing the organization to be sincere in its opposition to war.

THE CHAIRMAN. Some of the directors and officers of the League for Peace and Democracy are known and admitted Communists; is that true?

MISS KERR. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. In addition to that, in their conventions they have expressed a preference for communism, have they not?

MISS KERR. Very Leftist ideas have prevailed. While they have tried to keep in the background, their ideas have been promoted. I would like to finish that statement: The resolution that was offered was absolutely blocked. They went on record as being opposed to all wars except one—that is, they were for the Communist World Revolution. I was there when that happened.

THE CHAIRMAN. The point I wanted to bring out was that there has been some dispute about it. There was some published statement by Government officials. It was stated that there were some 400 Government employees in Washington who belonged to it. They denied that it is a front for the Communist Party, and I wondered why such a denial could be made when the record is so clear as to Communist influence on that organization.

MR. MASON. If I may interrupt at this point, the evidence produced here before this committee and the proof that is on file shows conclusively, it seems to me—and it is proof that would be accepted in any court in America—that the American League for Peace and Democracy was organized by leading Communists, in the first place, and it is directed and controlled by known leading Communists today. It is shown that the membership of the League for Peace and Democracy—and if they do not know these facts, it is time that they were brought to their attention—is made up largely of Communists. The denials that it is a front for the Communist movement cannot do away with the testimony that has been produced before this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. Will you stand aside for a moment, Miss Kerr? Mr. Starnes wishes to examine two witnesses who testified yesterday.

MR. STARNES. I want to recall Mr. Sobel and Mr. Halpern for further examination.

THE CHAIRMAN. We will call Mr. Sobel.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM SOBEL

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Sobel, were you a member of the American League Against War and Fascism, or any other club in your home city at the time you enlisted to serve in Spain?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What was the organization?

Mr. SOBEL. The Roxbury Workers' Club, and American Group Against War and Fascism.

Mr. STARNES. Tell the committee the purposes of the Group Against War and Fascism. Tell the committee the purposes of those two clubs.

Mr. SOBEL. Those clubs were formed as social clubs, more or less for having a good time. That was at the beginning, but gradually they worked into a discussion of current events. As those current events became international, there were speeches in admiration of Moscow, Russia, and so forth. Then they gradually brought in an influx of Communist ideas.

Mr. STARNES. Did they have Communist speakers to address the clubs?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name some of them?

Mr. SOBEL. One of the speakers was Otis Hood, and another was Ford, the Negro. There were many others. There was Dave Grant, of the I. C. L.

Mr. STARNES. They started ostensibly as social clubs?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And they gradually developed into Communist organizations?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you solicited to join the volunteers in Spain, or in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade or International Brigade, or whatever the name is, by members of this Roxbury Club, or the League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. SOBEL. No, sir. Mannie Blanke was an active member of the Roxbury Workers Club, and he was a member of the League Against War and Fascism. At the time they solicited me the League Against War and Fascism was on its last legs.

Mr. STARNES. Did any member of the organization ever solicit or encourage you to join the club?

Mr. SOBEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did any member of the club ever encourage you to join the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. SOBEL. Outside of Mannie Blanke and Jacobs, no, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You made the statement yesterday that the American Communists in Spain, or the American boys in Spain, were virtually prisoners there.

Mr. SOBEL. That is true.

Mr. STARNES. Are they held there by American Communists in Spain or by Spanish Communists on the ground?

Mr. SOBEL. They are held by American Communists that are in Spain. The American Communists here in America do not know what is going on in Spain. I have spoken to many of them; and

when telling them the truth of what is going on over there, they would not believe me.

Mr. STARNES. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF ALVIN I. HALPERIN

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Halperin, did you ever attend any meetings of the League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. HALPERIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member of that organization?

Mr. HALPERIN. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever encouraged to enlist in behalf of the Spanish Loyalist cause as a member of the American League Against War and Fascism or the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. HALPERIN. Nat Previus, Epstein, Sullivan, and the other boys that were in it were formerly in this League Against War and Fascism, which later became the League for Peace and Democracy, I believe. They were the ones who recruited me into the Spanish Loyalist movement.

Mr. STARNES. Did they assist you in getting in touch with Mannie Blanke?

Mr. HALPERIN. Yes, sir; they were in direct contact, and told me to go to Mannie Blanke. They told me where to get in touch with him at the Communist headquarters. I knew they were members of the Communist Party there. There I contacted Dave Grant, and he contacted Mannie Blanke and the other people.

Mr. STARNES. In attending meetings of this league, did you ever hear Communist speakers address the group?

Mr. HALPERIN. Yes, sir; I heard Otis Hood, an active Communist, at Boston.

Mr. STARNES. Did you hear any others?

Mr. HALPERIN. Yes, sir. Just before I left for Spain I was with Mannie Blanke and the father of the Flaherty boys, and they took me to a meeting at Worcester, Mass. I heard a speaker up there addressing the League for Peace and Democracy about Spain, and he was taking up a collection of money.

Mr. STARNES. For the support of the Spanish Loyalists?

Mr. HALPERIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That was a part of the movement of the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. HALPERIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And the speech made there was to encourage the youth of America to go to Spain and fight for the Loyalist cause?

Mr. HALPERIN. They told us how sweet everything was over there, and they sang the International. They said they would fight for the greatest thing in the world—democracy.

Mr. STARNES. Then it is a fact, from your personal knowledge, that members of the Communist Party were controlling factors and members of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and in its predecessor, the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. HALPERIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. They took up a collection of money, or solicited funds, for the Spanish Loyalist cause as members of the league, and they put

you in touch with the recruiting officer in America for service in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. I believe you stated yesterday in your testimony that there were two Congressmen that you saw in Spain.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that true?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you have any conversation yourself with those Congressmen?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; with both of them.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they make any speeches on Spain?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; they made one speech. I was at a hospital, and they made a speech in the auditorium of one of the villas. The hospital consisted of about 25 or 30 villas. Before the war they were homes of Spanish royalty, and when the revolution broke out they took them over for hospitals for members of the International Brigade on the Mediterranean Sea.

Mr. MOSIER. How many people did they address on that occasion?

Mr. HALPERN. I think there were about two or three hundred of us over there at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you recall anything they said in their speeches?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; they said we were fighting for a great cause; that we were fighting for democracy and to wipe out fascism.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they give any salute to you?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; they gave the regulation Spanish salute. After we left, they told us that if we wanted anything when we got back to America, they would get it for us.

Mr. MOSIER. What was that salute?

Mr. HALPERN. The clenched fist.

Mr. MOSIER. They said that if you wanted anything when you got back to America, they would help you.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you asked for anything since you got back?

Mr. HALPERN. We asked for 5,000 marines to go over there.

Mr. MOSIER. What Congressmen were these?

Mr. HALPERN. Congressman O'Connell and Congressman Bernard.

Mr. MOSIER. O'Connell of Montana?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And Bernard, of Minnesota.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet Robert Minor?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The American Communist?

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir; later leader in the Communist Party, or leader of the Communist in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in control of the situation there.

Mr. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, at this time I would like to make a motion that the stenographer of this committee prepare a copy of the testimony of Mr. Sobel and Mr. Halpern; that copy to be handed to the clerk of the committee, and that the clerk of the committee be authorized and directed to forward copies of that testimony to the Attorney General of the United States for his attention under title

18. section 22, of the United States Code, or any other section of the Federal laws that may apply to the soliciting of enlistments of Americans to fight on foreign soil, and that the Attorney General be called upon to make an immediate investigation.

Mr. MASON. I will be glad to second that motion.

(The question was put by the chairman, and the motion was carried.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be called, and Mr. Thomas will interrogate that witness.

TESTIMONY OF HAZEL HUFFMAN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, will you give your full name?

Miss HUFFMAN. I am Hazel Huffman.

Mr. THOMAS. And your address?

Miss HUFFMAN. 224 Sullivan Street, New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you also tell the committee what organization you represent?

Miss HUFFMAN. The Committee of Relief Status Professional Theatrical Employees of the Federal Theater Project in New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, will you, in your own way, tell us about what you know of the Federal Theater Project in New York City; but at the same time the committee would appreciate it if you would confine your remarks to facts, and wherever possible submit whatever documentary evidence you may have.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, before proceeding, what is the purpose of this testimony?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to answer that, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. The purpose of this testimony is to show the communistic activities in the Federal Theater Project in New York City.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest, then, if it is an attempt to show that there is any communism in that project that is in question, that her testimony be confined to that phase alone. The question that has been asked, as to what she knows about the Federal Theater Project up there is entirely too broad. I think it should be confined solely to anything that would be un-American or subversive.

Mr. THOMAS. I agree with that; but at the same time she will have to bring in certain angles of the Federal Theater Project. I think you will find as she goes along that she will develop the points right along the lines that the committee would desire.

Mr. STARNES. I would like very much to have the testimony restricted to that, because I am not interested in anything except what is un-American or subversive in its character.

Anything beyond that—for instance, an expose of any witness' political background or anything of that sort—I think should be excluded.

Mr. THOMAS. I agree with that. Go ahead, Miss Huffman.

Miss HUFFMAN. To prove that communism exists and dominates the Federal Theater Project, it might be well to tell when it started and how it obtained its foothold. To correct a disease we must first know what is causing it. Is that satisfactory?

Mr. THOMAS. Very well.

Miss HUFFMAN. The Workers' Alliance, an organization closely allied with the Communist Party, which now dominates the Federal Theater Project, has from the beginning had the cooperation and support of two of the national heads of the project.

Mr. Aubrey Williams, Deputy Administrator and Assistant to Mr. Harry Hopkins, promised consideration of a proposal to permit organizations of professional workers to control projects, saying that some means might be worked out giving them a larger voice in project operation.

The organizations represented at the meeting were mainly Workers' Alliance or C. I. O. affiliates, and are as follows:

Shall I read the list of organizations that were present at this meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. How many are there?

Miss HUFFMAN. Thirteen.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; go ahead and read them.

Miss HUFFMAN. Artists Union, eastern district; Artists Union of New York; New York Writers Union; Newspaper Guild of New York; Cartoonists Guild of America; Federal Theater Project Supervisors Council; City Projects Council; Association of Music Project Employees; Dancers Association; Federal Arts Project, Local 1700; Federal Theater Projects locals; Philadelphia Writers Union; Stage Hands Union.

This was as early as 1936.

In April 1938, Mr. Williams endorsed the Workers Alliance in a speech before the National Conference on Work and Security, which appears in the newspaper *Work* of April 9, page 2.

The newspaper *Work*, which is given as the official organ of the Workers Alliance of New York State, carried the headline, "Aubrey Williams Endorses the Workers Alliance (using the abbreviation) In a Speech at the Relief Dinner," and the article is given as "By Mr. Aubrey Williams."

(The paper referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 1.")

Miss HUFFMAN. On June 27, 1938, before the National White Collar Conference, Mr. Williams expressed his hope for the growth of the Alliance. This is given on page 8 of this paper, *Work*, under the heading "Aubrey Williams Hopes for Alliance Growth." This article is also by Mr. Aubrey Williams, Deputy Administrator of the Works Progress Administration.

(The paper referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 2.")

Miss HUFFMAN. This is the article which advised that their friends be kept in power.

That such sympathy is being used by the Workers Alliance in its membership and meetings is evidenced by this circular [indicating]. This circular was distributed wholesale on the project.

(The paper referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 3.")

Mr. THOMAS. How do you mean, distributed on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Employees on the project would bring these in, stand on the steps of the project, and pass them out to the workers. In this particular instance this notice was also posted on the bulletin board, which I will refer to later. This throw-away was entitled

"Aubrey Williams, National Assistant Administrator of W. P. A., Lauds Workers Alliance."

I hope the Workers Alliance will grow and become stronger and stronger, because I think they fulfill a very real need in the whole solution of the unemployment problem.

March 15, 1938, Washington, D. C.

Read the entire speech on page 2 of Work.

That is the article I have just presented.

Then it calls attention to the junior clerks who had just received a cut in pay and had been placed in the census projects, asking them to attend the meeting, and conceding them to be underpaid.

Mr. THOMAS. And that is signed by whom?

Miss HUFFMAN. This is signed by the Workers Alliance, 781 Broadway, New York City, Research Department.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you mean to say that was distributed right on the project itself; right in the buildings on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; on Government property.

Then we have Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, the national director of the Federal Theater Project. Mrs. Flanagan was known as far back as 1927 for her communistic sympathy, if not membership. Mrs. Flanagan's book, *Shifting Scenes*—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Who is Mrs. Hallie Flanagan?

Miss HUFFMAN. Mrs. Hallie Flanagan is national director of the Federal Theater Project. The arts projects are divided into five sections, Mr. Sokolov being head of the music, Mrs. Flanagan head of the theater, and so forth.

In this book Mrs. Flanagan devotes 147 pages of a total of 280 to eulogizing Soviet Russia and the Russian theater. This book was written following a trip to the theaters of all Europe.

Mr. THOMAS. And that book was written when?

Miss HUFFMAN. This book was written in 1928. Mrs. Flanagan made her tour in 1926-27.

(The book referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit 4.")

Miss HUFFMAN. 1931 was a very active year in communistic activities for Mrs. Flanagan.

We present an article by Mrs. Flanagan from the *Theatre Arts Monthly* of November 1931, page 908. In this article Mrs. Flanagan acknowledges her presence and participation in the meeting at which predominated the "red" banner—"Workers of the World, Unite"—across the wall back of the platform, and many messages from theaters in the U. S. S. R.

(The article referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 5.")

Miss HUFFMAN. This meeting was a meeting to set up workers' theaters throughout the United States and had been called by the John Reed Club, which, together with the New Masses, sponsored this initial meeting.

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, you submit that as evidence?

Miss HUFFMAN. I will submit that as evidence.

Mr. THOMAS. And you will also submit those other books, and so forth, as evidence?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

At this meeting, if it is of interest, Mrs. Flanagan had also asked the organized groups, unions, fraternal organizations, social clubs, company unions, and Y. M. C. A.'s.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Mrs. Flanagan, may I ask? What is her official position?

Miss HUFFMAN. She is national director of the Federal Theater Project. I may explain it in this way: Under Mr. Harry Hopkins, as the W. P. A. Administrator, there is a project known as Federal project No. 1. Federal project No. 1 is made up of five arts divisions—theater, art, historical survey, writers, and music. Mr. Sokolov in that instance is national director of the music division and Mrs. Flanagan of the theater division. There is a head for each one of those divisions.

If there is any doubt left as to Mrs. Flanagan's active participation and interest in things communistic, let me try to remove that doubt.

In April 1931 Mrs. Flanagan, in cooperation with a student of hers, Margaret Allen Clifford, wrote a play called *Can You Hear Their Voices*. This play was adapted by Mrs. Flanagan from a story entitled "Would You Know Their Voices?" which appeared in the March 1931 issue of the *New Masses*.

I am submitting both of these as evidence.

(The documents referred to were marked, respectively, "Huffman Exhibit 6" and "Huffman Exhibit 7.")

Miss HUFFMAN. Please note the two-page drawing of the world which accompanies that article. This drawing is in the middle of the story, and after reading the story by Mr. Whitaker Chambers you will find it is used to illustrate the story, *The Making of a New World and the Decay of the Old*.

This picture brings out that there is unemployment and unrest throughout all of the countries of the world except Russia. In Russia: "Here Are No Unemployed"—"Everything Is Ours" are written in on the picture.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the exhibits you are showing us are communistic publications?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; the *New Masses*.

I am also submitting as an exhibit the synopsis of the play as it appeared in the *New Masses*.

(The article referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit 8.")

Miss HUFFMAN. May I read some of this?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Miss HUFFMAN (reading):

After Whittaker Chambers' story, *Can You Hear Their Voices*, appeared in the March issue, *New Masses* readers from all over the country heaped enthusiastic praise on it. With the deluge of congratulations came a letter from Hallie Flanagan, director of the experimental theater at Vassar College, asking for permission to dramatize the story.

The play, *Can You Hear Their Voices*, is a story about the drought. People were without food; babies were without milk. One baby in the story dies for want of milk. Purcell, who is the local capitalist, and who has the only cows that are left, refuses to give the milk, even though he knows the baby is dying. His daughter interferes when the Red Cross sets up the relief station, and prevents them from receiving assistance from the relief station. They storm the relief station to take the food away, to take the flour out of the station. They do this with guns; and at the end of the book the man who is the leading Communist of the community, and who has organized them, sends his two sons to the city to go to the Communist Party.

Shall I read some of the extracts from the book?

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, is that a copy of the play that you have there?

Miss HUFFMAN. This is a copy of the play.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you turn to page 34?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do the following sentences appear there—or “lines,” as you term them in your business:

Don't you think the time is comin', Frank, when poor farmers—people like you and me, and the Martins and Doscher and Drdla—will have to go and take the food and milk out of the store windows?

Miss HUFFMAN. It does.

Mr. THOMAS (reading):

There is plenty of it there.

Does that appear there?

Miss HUFFMAN. It does.

Mr. THOMAS. Now will you turn to page 35? Do these lines appear:

Right now communism means free groceries to all poor farmers. No rent for 2 years, free seed, free milk for babies.

Does that appear there?

Miss HUFFMAN. It does.

Mr. THOMAS. Now will you turn to page 36. Do these lines appear:

Some people come into communism through their minds and others through their bellies, but I guess most of 'em come in because they can't stand to see the folks they care about go hungry.

Miss HUFFMAN. It does.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, will you turn to page 58? Do these lines appear:

You're right, Ann, it ain't the fault of the Red Cross; they got to take orders from higher up. But no matter whose fault it is, we've stopped askin'. From now on, we're takin'.

Miss HUFFMAN. It does.

Mr. THOMAS. Please turn to page 61. Do these lines appear:

Don't you see, Rose, it ain't Purcell that's wrong. It's the plan we live under, it's the whole system. Some of us believe in a time comin' when everybody will have to work, and there'll be enough work for everybody. Some of us believe that the land and the crops and the cattle and the factories belong to the men that work 'em.

Do those lines appear?

Miss HUFFMAN. Not in that exact order, Congressman Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you tell us the order, then?

Miss HUFFMAN (reading):

Don't you see, Rose, it ain't Purcell that's wrong. It's the plan we live under, it's the whole system. Listen! Maybe I think, like you, that there'll come a time when there'll be shootin'. But today ain't the time. Maybe there'll come a time when we can stand on our feet like free men instead of crawlin' on our bellies askin' for help, but that time ain't come yet. Some of us believe in a time comin' when everybody will have to work—

And from then on it is as you quote it.

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, you have read the play. Does not the whole tone of the play imply contempt for the Government, as represented by this Congressman Bageheot?

MISS HUFFMAN. If I may be permitted, Mr. Congressman, I would like to give expert testimony on that fact. The New Masses magazine has this to say of it:

It is stronger and clearer in its social viewpoint than any radical play yet presented in America.

And the article ends:

We urge every workers' theater group to take advantage of the best revolutionary play that has yet been produced in America.

MR. STARNES. Who published that play?

MISS HUFFMAN. The play was published by the Vassar Experimental Theater.

MR. STARNES. Who was the author of the play?

MISS HUFFMAN. Mrs. Hallie Flanagan and a student of her's at Vassar.

MR. STARNES. And who financed the publication and production of that play?

MISS HUFFMAN. I would not know who financed the publication.

MR. STARNES. Who financed the production, then?

MISS HUFFMAN. The Vassar College, as I understand it, operates an experimental theater in which they put on plays. The people appearing in them are students in the school, and in this instance some of the people in the community.

MR. STARNES. Was this play produced by the Federal Theaters Project? I mean, was it put on by the Federal Theaters Project?

MISS HUFFMAN. No.

MR. STARNES. Is there any financial connection between that play and the Federal Theaters Project or the Works Progress Administration?

MISS HUFFMAN. No, sir; but there is a very definite administrative connection.

MR. THOMAS. Is not the connection that one of the coauthors of the play is the national director of the Federal Theaters Project?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes; Mrs. Hallie Flanagan has the full charge of the selection of the plays, and the administration.

MR. STARNES. That is what I am trying to determine. What connection is there between communistic influence and this play? It is your contention, then, that the lady who wrote it is a Communist?

MISS HUFFMAN. My contention is—I cannot prove that Mrs. Flanagan has Communist membership, as I have never seen a card bearing her name; but I can prove Mrs. Flanagan was an active participant in Communistic activity, and that her Communistic sympathies, tendencies, and methods of organization are being used in the Federal Theater Project at the present time, to the detriment of the workers and in violation of the act of Congress.

MR. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, is this the play that was produced in Soviet Russia?

MISS HUFFMAN. I am not sure. On one occasion when I was talking to Mrs. Flanagan, the subject came up of her being in Soviet Russia. Mrs. Flanagan was incensed over an article which had appeared against her in one of the magazines, and Mrs. Flanagan said that after they had treated her so royally and been so lovely to her, and produced a play which she had written for them, there was certainly no reason why she should not be sympathetic toward them. It

could hardly have been this play, inasmuch as the trip at that time was in 1926-27, and this book was not written until 1931. Whether she made another trip, I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Do I understand you to testify that active Communists are operating the W. P. A. theater project in New York?

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, won't you get to that a little later on?

Miss HUFFMAN. I will get to that a little later on; but I can answer it with a yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I wanted to get at—something to back it up. Have these theater projects been used to spread communistic propaganda in New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is what I intend to prove conclusively.

Mr. STARNES. Those are the two things that I am going to be interested in as a member of this committee, if you can do that.

Miss HUFFMAN. I also call your attention, incidentally, to the back cover of this *New Masses*, and the things that accompany the advertisement of Mrs. Flanagan's book?

New Russia's Primer—Red Cartoons; Poetry; Unrest; and the Marcus Graham Anthology of revolutionary poetry.

The book, *Can You Hear Their Voices*, can be obtained through the *New Masses* Book Service, but, under the copyright, workers' theaters should send for special information.

This, of course, was all previous to Mrs. Flanagan's appointment in October 1935 to her position as national director of the Federal Theater Project. But one of Mrs. Flanagan's first acts was to appoint Mr. Elmer Rice, a well-known leftist, to the city regional directorship; that is, regional director for New York City of the Federal Theater Project. Mr. Rice was an author; had written and produced the plays, *We, The People*, and *Between Two Worlds*; and in the *New York Times*, July 1933—that was 2 years before his appointment—had written a lengthy article on a workers' theater in which the workers were to be able to express their woes, and so forth. We had hoped to have it here this morning.

Mr. STARNES. And when it does come, you will submit it as an exhibit?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

According to the act of Congress, the arts project was set up and an appropriation to finance the same made "to provide relief and work relief to those in actual need, a portion of which is to be used for professional projects."

Mr. THOMAS. You are quoting from what?

Miss HUFFMAN. From an act of Congress of 1935, although the same line is carried in the appropriation acts, "a portion of which is to be used for professional projects."

However, Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, our national director, stated in 1936 that though the project is set up for relief, our foremost consideration must be the Federal Theater Projects.

Mr. THOMAS. What did she mean by that?

Miss HUFFMAN. The matter of its being for relief, or to provide work for relief, was to be placed in secondary consideration. Let me put it this way:

If a play has been selected—and plays have never been selected from the point of considering how many of the people on the project

could be occupied—a play is selected to find out whether or not it will bring glory, so to speak, to the Federal Theater Project.

If it is going to be to the advantage of the Federal Theater Project and employ, say, Stephen Crawford, who has been in one of our plays, or Margaret Wicherley, who is not on relief and who does not need the money, or the job—if it is possible to increase the importance of the Federal Theater Project by having these people, that is what the money will be used for. The foremost consideration is for the Federal Theater Project.

To continue on that, in July and August of 1937 these letters were sent from Mrs. Hallie Flanagan to Mr. Charles B. Ryan, the employment officer, in reference to the dismissals that took place at that time.

In these, it clearly states—and I am submitting this as evidence; this letter was sent to the assistant district attorney in Manhattan, a gentleman who asked that his name be deleted; it was sent in reply to a letter of Mrs. Flanagan regarding one of the actresses who was dismissed.

In this letter Mrs. Flanagan states:

In making these necessary separations from the pay roll, supervisors were directed to give primary consideration to the needs of the Federal Theater Project rather than to the relief status or personal situation of individuals.

The original letter I am submitting in evidence and also some photolitho copies which we have had prepared. The same sentence is used in a letter from Mr. Charles B. Ryan, Jr., and it is also made mention of in Director's letter No. 2, which had been sent out to all the workers on the Federal Theater Project. It says:

Coming to a consideration of acting, directing, and other theatrical personnel, we should be guided by (1) actual value to the Federal Theater Project; (2) professional training, achievement, and aptitude.

MR. STARNES. In other words, relief for human beings in want was to be secondary.

MISS HUFFMAN. Definitely.

This is also evidenced in Director's letter No. 2, which I have just submitted, and a letter which Mrs. Flanagan had sent to 13 theatrical unions. I say 13 theatrical unions, because 13 of them were bona fide unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L. The C. I. O., so far as I know, has no theatrical unit, or at least it has none recognized by the Managers' League.

Three organizations that this letter was sent to, as being recognized theatrical unions, include the City Projects Council, of which Mr. Willis Morgan is chairman; the Supervisors' Council, of which Mr. Edward Goodman is chairman; and Mr. John Rimassa, of the Play Bureau of the Federal Theater Project. That was one of the divisions, so Mr. John Rimassa becomes a theatrical union.

MR. JOHN RIMASSA, incidentally, to the best of my own knowledge and belief, and I followed him around for 3 or 4 days, never did any work on the project, except as organizer for the Workers' Alliance.

MR. THOMAS. What is the City Projects Council?

MISS HUFFMAN. The City Projects Council is the white-collar division of the Workers' Alliance.

MR. THOMAS. Why do you say it is a division of the Workers' Alliance?

MISS HUFFMAN. I beg your pardon, I do not say that; they do.

Mr. THOMAS. They say that?

Miss HUFFMAN. They classify themselves in that manner in their publications.

Therefore, from the outset, the moneys have been used with this "first consideration for the Federal Theater Project rather than for relief or work relief."

The purpose for which Mrs. Flanagan wishes the Federal Theater to be used is perhaps best given in the bulletin sent out by Mrs. Flanagan on November 25, 1935.

The project was set up, or the first appointment was made, in October 1935.

I will read from paragraph 2 of this bulletin:

Didn't Nietzsche observe that death was sometimes a peaceful process but that birth always involved chaos?

From page 2, paragraph 4, I read this:

Neither did I think it a disadvantage that many economic, social, and political factors of our contemporary life are bound up with the Federal Theater.

Also, quoting from this bulletin, she says:

I think it is a rather good thing for us as playwrights, actors, directors, producers, to leave for the time being the problem of triangular relationships in rectangular settings, to leave temporarily discussions as to whether art should or should not be propagandistic, and to find out something about Government; to consider such problems as taxation and how to spend taxpayers' money—our money, so that taxpayers—ourselves—will get the best possible return on it.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to go back for a moment to those 13 organizations which received the letter from Mrs. Flanagan.

You mentioned the fact that John Rimassa received one of those letters.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did I understand you to say that he is on the Federal Theater Project? What was his connection with the Federal Theater Project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Purely pay roll, so far as I know.

Mr. THOMAS. He was on the pay roll of the Federal Theater Project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know whether Rimassa is a member of the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not know that he has a membership card. I had several conversations with him myself in which he very strongly advocated or applauded the Communist Party and invited several of the people on the project to attend Communist meetings with him. There never seemed to be any question about it as far as he, himself, was concerned.

Mr. THOMAS. You also mentioned the Supervisors' Council. Who received that letter?

Miss HUFFMAN. Mr. Edward Goodman.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know whether he is a member of the Communist Party or not?

Miss HUFFMAN. That I would not know.

Mr. THOMAS. What does he do outside of this? Is he on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; he is still chairman of the Supervisors' Council, but is no longer employed. After Mr. Edwards came, Mr. Goodman resigned.

Mr. THOMAS. You have not got anything you want to add about Mr. Goodman?

Miss HUFFMAN. I am taking up the Supervisors' Council later.

As to the purposes for which Mrs. Flanagan intended to use the project—this is her farewell address to members of the summer theater on July 31, 1937.

I will explain the summer theater in this way: Mrs. Flanagan selected a group of people working on the project—authors, directors, and so forth; a certain amount of money was provided by the Rockefeller Foundation, and they were taken up to Vassar College at Poughkeepsie to do a series of experimental plays, working toward the future of the Federal Theater Project.

This is her farewell address, after she and the workers had tried to do several plays. I read from page 4 of this address, as follows:

Our Federal Theater, born of an economic need, built by and for people who have faced terrific privation, cannot content itself with easy, pretty, or insignificant plays. We are not being given millions of dollars to repeat, no matter however expertly, the type of play which landed 10,000 theater people on relief rolls. By a stroke of fortune unprecedented in dramatic history, we have been given a chance to help change America at a time when 20,000,000 unemployed Americans proved it needed changing. And the theater, when it is any good, can change things.

The theater can quicken, start things, make things happen. Don't be afraid when people tell you that this is a play of protest. Of course it's a protest—protest against dirt, disease, human misery. If in giving great plays of the past as greatly as we can give them, and if in making people laugh, which we certainly want to do, we can't also protest—as Harry Hopkins is protesting and as President Roosevelt is protesting—against some of the evil of this country of ours, then we do not deserve the chance put into our hands.

Mrs. Flanagan concludes with this statement, on page 5:

From it we shall learn. Through it we shall mutually create a theater which need not be just the frosting on the cake. It may be the yeast which makes the bread rise.

Let me introduce the type of play which has been produced. We admit that they have not all been of the "bread-rising" variety, but propaganda plays have been the rule.

Mr. STARNES. She was taking Government money to make a little yeast with; that was the idea?

Miss HUFFMAN. I would say so. We have only submitted here a small list of the plays. There was Professor Hamlock, which opened at Daly's Theater, which was a high-caliber hit, unmasking ugly fascism.

Then there was Power, "showing a dramatic lesson in utility, use, abuse, and control, is causing the Power Trust headaches and the rest of us to use our heads." That description of it is a quote as given in the Project Councillor, which is a Workers' Alliance magazine.

The Sun and I was a story of the struggle of Joseph and his brethren against the capitalist system. Candide and How Long, Brethren? are dance projects with several Negro songs of protest.

Incidentally, I discovered that these Negro songs used in How Long, Brethren? were also written in one of the 1931 editions of New Masses.

Machine Age is a satire on mass production, in which the Communist organizer wins in the fight with the worker. That was a physical battle with the worker.

Mr. THOMAS. These are all plays produced by the Federal Theater Project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; these are all plays produced by the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. STARNES. And all propaganda?

Miss HUFFMAN. May I use Mrs. Flanagan's definition concerning these plays? "Social significance" is the term that Mrs. Flanagan uses, but the plays were communistic propaganda.

Mr. STARNES. Many of them had been produced as far back as 1931 and published in the New Masses.

Miss HUFFMAN. No; I make the statement that in the one project play, How Long, Brethren? the Negro songs of protest, which were then in vogue, that the verses that were used in its production also appeared in one of the 1931 editions of New Masses.

Then there was one with the title Triple A Plowed Under. That was one play which on the opening night required 30 New York policemen to guard the play and prevent a riot.

It contained a scene in which the secretary of the Communist Party condemns the judiciary of the United States Government. Such characters as George Washington and Andrew Jackson were removed from the play in order to give a prominent part to the secretary of the Communist Party, Earl Browder. The conclusion of the play is the establishment of a political party in accordance with the wish expressed by the secretary of the Communist Party, expressed by Mr. Earl Browder himself in a radio broadcast a short time previous to the production. This play was put on by the living newspaper which can change its script at the last minute, so his wish as outlined on the radio was incorporated in the production.

Mr. THOMAS. For the benefit of the committee, I believe the man who played the character of Earl Browder will also be asked to testify here some time today.

Miss HUFFMAN. Then there was the Class of '29. In the Class of '29 the script called for the cast to carry the Red Soviet banner. While they start in the beginning of a show, they do not really carry the props used for the production. So they carried something which was to take the place of the soviet banner.

The Veterans' League heard about it, and in order to prevent a riot the soviet banner was not included in the play, but they did march around the stage singing the "red" marching song.

Then there was another play called Case of Philip Lawrence. This was a play in reference to Negro discrimination. The production of One-third of a Nation deals with social housing, based on President Roosevelt's reference to a third of the Nation ill-fed, and so forth, and is in opposition to the Episcopal Church.

Tailor Becomes a Shopkeeper is pro-union propaganda. It is the story of a tailor who refuses to join the tailors' union and becomes a shopkeeper. He and his family and relatives had been thrown out on the streets, are reduced to dire poverty, and could get no assistance. Finally he joins the union and he sings happily at the end of the production.

I believe I left out Hymn to the Rising Sun, which deals with so-called legalized torture of the chain gang. The closing part of the play is where the people sing America in sarcasm, and being so completely deprived of their liberty, the words "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty," were particularly effective.

Then we have *It Can't Happen Here*, which is anti-Fascist in the extreme. That play opened simultaneously in 26 cities throughout the country, and there were 3 productions in New York City—1 main production and 2 others.

Then there was a play called *Cradle Will Rock*. That was not produced, and we will come to that in a second.

On the Rocks deals with politics in England, both fascism and communism, and is one of George Bernard Shaw's plays, designed to set up some new political system. Then there was *Haiti*, which is being presented now, which is a story of a Negro dictator, and another play called "Ethiopia." That play was closed because of the resignation of Mr. Elmer Rice, because of the international complications.

Then there is the play called *Milk*, which has been in rehearsal for several weeks and is not being produced. *Milk* criticizes the health department, the method of grading milk, the fact that it is nothing but a graft.

MR. THOMAS. How long has that play been in rehearsal?

MISS HUFFMAN. I think they first started discarding the cast—they go through a process of discarding the cast—they choose people and then reject them; that is about 5 weeks ago and about 3 weeks ago they started looking around and listening to the director, and about 2 weeks ago they started on the script.

It Cannot Happen Here was not written until 3 weeks after it opened.

Milk has been rewritten three times. That does happen with commercial plays, but in this one, whole scenes were rewritten. First it is rewritten with the original cast thrown out, and a new cast is put on the play. All that has happened in the case of *Milk* is that the actual rehearsal has only been in progress 1 week.

MR. THOMAS. Is there a play called "Medicine"?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes; but that has never been cast. They have been writing that play ever since the project opened.

MR. STARNES. Who is "they"?

MISS HUFFMAN. There is a play-writing department, and by "they" I mean the play-writing department. In November or December 1935 the young man who had been doing the writing was assigned to the project and he had been given the assignment to write *Medicine* and he had asked me about some medical terms.

MR. THOMAS. In other words, they select the title first and the play is written around the title.

MISS HUFFMAN. I would like to testify to that; I think sometimes the idea is picked before the title is picked.

Then there was *Sing for Your Supper*. That is another that has been in process of rewriting, and it is in the eleventh month of rehearsal.

MR. STARNES. It has never been put on; it has simply been rehearsed?

MISS HUFFMAN. It is scheduled for opening in October.

MR. THOMAS. That is a musical play?

MISS HUFFMAN. That is a musical play.

MR. THOMAS. About how long does it take to rehearse a musical play put on by a commercial house?

MISS HUFFMAN. I believe the union ruling is 5 weeks for a legitimate play and that the ruling is 4 weeks for a spectacle or musical show. I believe it is extended to five 40-hour weeks.

Let us understand this. The Federal Theater Project at the present time employ actors working 24 hours a week, but with a 40-hour week it would require 5 weeks.

MR. THOMAS. And this play has been in rehearsal for 11 months?

MISS HUFFMAN. The play has been in rehearsal for 11 months. They just recast it the other day; they just put in the cast on Monday.

MR. STARNES. Who is writing those plays—relief workers or people on the project?

MISS HUFFMAN. A living newspaper production, such as *One-third of a Nation* and *Medicine* are written by Federal Theater Project employees. Plays such as *Sing for Your Supper* receive scripts from outside authors. If anybody on the project can write a play it would be put in, but it does not come under the play-writing division.

MR. MOSIER. In reference to this play you testified as having been in rehearsal for 11 months, let me ask you this question: You are familiar with the cost of production of the Federal Project, are you?

MISS HUFFMAN. I would not be considered an expert on costs.

MR. MOSIER. You have had some experience?

MISS HUFFMAN. I have had, but not as far as cost of production would be concerned. I think some of the later witnesses would be better qualified to answer that question.

MR. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, do you know of any agreement that has been entered into by Mr. Paul Edwards, Administrator of the Federal Theater Project in New York, or rather the Federal Arts Project in New York, and Equity relative to the number of months that will be required hereafter in which to put on a Federal Theater play?

MISS HUFFMAN. No; I do not. But in the article by Mrs. Flanagan she states that plays will be put on in 4 weeks—in 1935—and only play 3 weeks. That has not been the practice, and I know of no agreement with Mr. Edwards.

MR. THOMAS. I would like to read a sentence from a statement made by Mr. Paul Edwards on August 9, 1938, to our investigator, at which I was present.

Mr. Edwards says:

For your information, I would like to say that we have an agreement now with Equity to produce all these shows in a 3-months' period.

MISS HUFFMAN. I shall certainly hope that the professional people who belong to Actors Equity would hear about any such arrangement. I know of no such agreement, because that is a violation of the ruling set up by Equity, and the law does say that actors are to be paid the prevailing wage; if they are going to work an 8-hour day they are going to receive the minimum for a 40-hour week, and the production has to go on for 5 weeks. That will all be covered very nicely in our

later testimony as to the means they use for keeping personnel in the project all upset.

Then we have the play, *Up She Goes*, which ridicules the American banking system.

Then there is also a play called *Emperor's New Clothes*, which you may recall as being a fairy tale by Hans Christian Andersen concerning an emperor who was so conceited about his clothes. His clothes were woven and they were so thin that when he appeared in the streets wearing those clothes a child called attention to his nakedness. It was not produced by the Federal Theater Project.

The weavers were driven from their homes and the man who had charge of the treasury was taking all of their stocks and keeping them for himself. He was cheating them and making them live in poor quarters. Then, finally, with the assistance of two fools the entire thing is exposed to the emperor and the emperor turns over the city to the workers.

Then there was the play called *Revolt of Beavers*. That was a play relating to the opposition and revolt of workers against the capitalistic system. That caused a great deal of agitation. The New York City police department refused to permit the P. A. L. organization, the Police Athletic League, to attend the performance. Commissioner Fowler was highly incensed over that production which did nothing but teach children Stalinism.

Mr. THOMAS. For the record I would like to introduce a copy of a letter written by Byrnes MacDonald, sixth deputy police commissioner of New York City, dated May 26, 1937, addressed to Mrs. Hallie Flanagan. He was then police commissioner and he was then in charge of the youth movement organized in New York City.

This letter was written to Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, Director, Federal Theater Project for New York, 122 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

At this time, if it meets with the committee's favor, I would like to read the conclusion of this letter from Commissioner MacDonald to Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, because it refers to this play, *Revolt of Beavers*.

Mr. MacDonald says:

I know of no better way to conclude than to quote Mr. Atkinson's criticism of the play—"The style is playful; the mood is gravely gay and simple-minded. Many children now unschooled in the technique of revolution now have an opportunity, at Government expense, to improve their tender minds. Mother Goose is no longer a rhymed escapist. She has been studying Marx; Jack and Jill lead the class revolution."

I feel so strongly that this type of play should not be presented that I am enclosing the clipping I refer to for your information.

He refers to a clipping taken from the *New York Times*, giving a full description of the play. He says:

I am also forwarding a copy of this letter as well as this clipping to His Honor, Mayor LaGuardia, Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine, and Col. Brehon B. Somervell, Works Progress Administrator. It is my hope that some action will be instigated by them to suppress, or at least censor, this production.

Very sincerely yours,

BYRNES MACDONALD,
Sixth Deputy Police Commissioner.

I submit this whole letter, Mr. Chairman, as additional evidence.
(The letter referred to is as follows:)

MAY 26, 1937.

Mrs. HALLIE FLANAGAN,

Director, Federal Theater Project for New York.

122 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. FLANAGAN: I am in receipt of a letter dated May 25, signed by Miss Esther Rosenberg, Department of Information, in which she states that she can make available to the Juvenile Aid Bureau, for distribution to children known to us, 1,400 free tickets, to the play the Revolt of the Beavers on either June 9, 10, or 11, being presented by the Federal Theater Project at the Adelphi Theater.

I should like to advise that after having read the criticism of the play by Brooks Atkinson, published in the May 21 edition of the New York Times, that it is my opinion that this play would only inculcate into the young minds of the youth who see it the idea that their social status in life is an exceptionally unhappy one and that anyone with financial means cannot be considered as their friend. If the Children's Theater Unit of the Federal Theater Project is going to employ these tactics in an attempt to instill doctrines directly opposed to the democratic principles upon which this country is founded, on children of tender years, I not only would not accept such ticket for members of the Police Athletic League of the Juvenile Aid Bureau, but will, to the best of my ability, oppose the presentation of this play, at any time, and on all occasions to children.

There is time enough, when they are 17, 18, and 19, for a subversive organization, like the American Youth Congress, to enter the field and attempt, by virtue of presenting a modified Townsend plan to the Congress of the United States under the guise of the American Youth Act, to distort their minds along the lines of class hatred and prejudice. Sowing this type of propaganda in the plastic minds of young children, as this play certainly would tend to do, is not only reprehensible but would be resented by the people of all classes in this country.

I know of no better way to conclude than to quote Mr. Atkinson's criticism of the play: "The style is playful; the mood is gravely gay and simple-minded. Many children now unschooled in the technique of revolution now have an opportunity, at Government expense, to improve their tender minds. Mother Goose is no longer a rhymed escapist. She has been studying Marx; Jack and Jill lead the class revolution."

I feel so strongly that this type of play should not be presented that I am enclosing the clipping I refer to for your information. I am also forwarding a copy of this letter as well as this clipping to His Honor, Mayor LaGuardia, Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine, and Col. Brehon B. Somervell, Works Progress Administrator. It is my hope that some action will be instigated by them to suppress, or at least censor, this production.

Very sincerely yours,

BYRNES MACDONALD,

Sixth Deputy Police Commissioner.

Miss HUFFMAN. Then there is the play called American Holiday, which ridicules the American method of court trials. There is also the play entitled, "Woman of Destiny," in which is pictured a woman President who was very ardent for peace but who threw the country into a war.

Mr. STARNES. That is the idealistic communistic method of peace anyway, is it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I like the term used by one of the people in the Federal Theater Project in which he said that they are going to have peace even though they have to fight for it.

Then there was also a play entitled, "Injunction Granted," which advocates rioting and bloodshed and attacks the judiciary systems.

Then there is also the play entitled, "Chalk Dust." Chalk Dust took place in a schoolhouse. A scandal started quite innocently and everybody became the most vile, underhanded scandalmongers in the whole place, the children, the principals of the schools, and the teachers, all except the communistic teachers became involved, and the communistic teachers were the ones who did not engage in anything like that at all.

The play was perfectly filthy so far as the social angle was concerned, as far as scandalmongers were concerned. If it was a little over the heads of children, it might not be so bad to put it on.

Mr. MASON. Because it was over their heads?

Miss HUFFMAN. Considering the unusual amount of knowledge of children today, perhaps I should not have made that statement.

Now, I want to introduce something else. At the time that the scripts which we have here to submit in evidence of these plays, and a number of other plays were subpoenaed by this committee, this report which I am also putting in evidence, was given, and two plays, Cradle Will Rock and Ethiopia, were marked "Not produced in Federal Theater, no script." "Ethiopia not produced by Federal Theater, no script."

And there is an ink notation here "Never W. P. A."

Both of these plays were so definitely propaganda that they were not permitted to go on. The plays had both reached the production stage.

In the case of Cradle Will Rock the audience had arrived on the opening night for the play and Orson Welles, the director, and John Houssman, who was the producer of the play for the Federal Theater, addressed the audience in front of the Maxine Elliott Theater and tried to obtain permission to take the costumes and scenery and props up to another theater.

They went to the Venice Theater and put on the play without the scenery and the costumes and things.

Now, both of these plays had been through weeks and weeks—I was unable to obtain the exact number of rehearsals at terrific expense to the Government in the designing of costumes and the building of sets and rehearsal salaries, and even the publicity department had worked on that for some time. And so that was the report sent back. And they certainly did it with a script.

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, all the plays you have mentioned, or a large majority of the plays you have mentioned, you have those scripts right there with you, do you not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and several others.

Mr. THOMAS. And you will introduce those as exhibits. And those are the scripts that were subpoenaed by this committee in New York City?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. And to show how little they want an investigation of the Federal Theater Project, they have Up She Goes marked as a vaudeville show. That was the original name of the script. That was later called—well, I have forgotten the name that was used on the project; "Help Yourself" was the name used on the project. But this play was produced in Germany under the title "Up She Goes," and he has it marked "Vaudeville show, only a title, an idea, at present no script."

Mrs. Flanagan herself gave personal, enthusiastic approval to many of these plays at run-throughs and previews.

Let me explain the run-through system. Various people—Mrs. Flanagan and various other people of the project would come in and the rehearsals would stop and a run-through would be given for them.

At these run-throughs and invitation previews, Mrs. Flanagan has been known—and I think some of the later witnesses can testify to having been right there and heard her—has been known to give her enthusiastic approval to plays; and she was—well, particularly enthusiastic about that Revolt of the Beavers about which you read in that letter.

So that this has not been done without the knowledge of the national director, because Mrs. Flanagan at one time was the New York City director as well as the national director and saw every one of these plays in rehearsal, as well as on the opening nights, and during production time; and expressed herself as being heartily enthusiastic about them.

In the September issue of the Federal Theater Project magazine, Mrs. Flanagan depløres the lack of plays written by people on the project. But keep in mind *The Age of Social Consciousness*. We had hoped to be able to submit that today, but it will be here later.

These plays, being propaganda, are only one of the disturbing things about the Federal Theater Project; and certainly one of the minor forms of communistic activity in the Federal Theater Project.

The fact that the Communists rehearsed plays of much more communistic content than was actually put on for the public was due, as we feel, with the purpose of acquainting them, making them familiar with that content, but it is really one of the minor forms of communistic activity as far as the project is concerned.

They used the system, as near as I could learn, of going back over the means by which the Communists set up their organizations. They used all those means of setting up an organization within the Federal Theater Project. So we consider these plays—as actors and actresses and theatrical workers—we consider these plays as part of their communistic activity.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see how they could be any more so.

Miss HUFFMAN. Any more so as a Communist activity; yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Are you through with the plays now, Miss Huffman?

Miss HUFFMAN. With the plays?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. May I ask a question referring back to this *Can You Hear Their Voices?*

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Written by Mrs. Flanagan. Scene 4 of that play is a ballroom of the Arden Park Hotel in Washington. It purports to be a ball given by a Congressman for his daughter. The Congressman's name is spelled B-a-g-e-h-e-o-t. I do not know how to pronounce it. There appears in the play a Senator, a Congressman, a Governor.

As you understand the play, it was no specific Senator, no specific Senator or Governor that was referred to?

Miss HUFFMAN. No. I think they are described as a whole, because that whole thing was a drunken brawl.

Mr. MOSIER. This scene 4 is a drunken brawl, is it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. I will ask you if this line appears on page 41. The character Harriet says, "Every Bageheot Congressman is either a gourmand or a drunkard."

That appears, does it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. That does.

Mr. MOSIER. And later, on page 48, the Congressman's daughter says:

Come, father, when did you ever take a quiet, ladylike cocktail? The only reason you never drink champagne in pitchers is because you never thought of it.

Miss HUFFMAN. It does.

Mr. STARNES. Mrs. Flanagan wrote this in 1931?

Miss HUFFMAN. She did.

Mr. STARNES. And then she became the director of the Federal Theater arts project, is that it?

Miss HUFFMAN. In 1935.

Mr. STARNES. In 1935?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if that had anything to do with her promotion?

Miss HUFFMAN. Might I mention the radio station that is used in that play? The name of the radio station was WGPU.

Mr. STARNES. Tell the committee the significance of those letters.

Miss HUFFMAN. What is the name of that Soviet Russia organization—the OGPU? And this is WGPU.

Perhaps at this point, since we are trying to show that this is of minor importance, I had better clear up for you the beginning of the project.

They did not wait long to start doing things in what we considered communistic order.

The first person appointed in New York City, in charge of New York City, was Mr. John Askling, who was put in charge of 79 Madison Ave.

At that time the professional theatrical workers from relief were on the project of the State and city; if you remember, the C. W. A., which was the State and city and was just before the First Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, when the Federal Government took over these works projects. These people were left on the C. W. A.; that is, the city and State, until 2 months later. There was a notice that they were going to be merged, that they were going to be taken over into the Federal plan. Now, these were the trained, experienced, professional people from relief, who were working on a works program.

At 79 Madison Avenue they started taking applications for employment on the project.

The newspapers, in talking about it, in talking about the new appropriation, cited the pay rate for the arts project as being higher than for other things, such as sweeping leaves in the park, ditch digging, and engineering, and educational projects. And those being organized workers, the pay rate was higher, as announced in the press. Consequently, thousands of people flocked up to that office to make their applications; people who had never seen the front of a

theater, much less the back; cooks—well, just everybody, professional and nonprofessional, skilled and nonskilled, relief and nonrelief, employed and unemployed.

They were not all put on the project. Let me tell you about the making out of these applications on this Federal Theater Project. The personnel department of that has no equivalent in private industry. The personnel office in the Federal Theater operation is entirely different. No person is assigned a position from their application. It is necessary to find a supervisor who can be induced or cajoled into putting you on the project.

So, in order to find employment, after making out your application, you have first got to find a friend of a friend of a friend, who can find a supervisor that will requisition you.

Mr. STARNES. May I ask you a question at this point? Were these supervisors members of the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. I will deal with that a little later.

Mr. STARNES. You will deal with that later?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, please. So, even with supervisors, they were not assigned to their positions. Their applications were made out and they were permitted to do volunteer work pending their assignment.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean by that—volunteer work?

Miss HUFFMAN. Let me cite an incident. I was sent over to that project at that time by General Johnson.

Mr. MASON. Do you mean Gen. Hugh Johnson?

Miss HUFFMAN. Gen. Hugh Johnson. I was sent over there to find out whether or not they were getting the mail that belonged down at 111, or whether the mail was going up to—well, anyhow, something about the mail.

I knew some of the people on the project. They were having a terrible day. I was active, working as an investigator for General Johnson at the time. When I saw the mobs there, and saw the people there who had never been in theater, I suggested to the woman who was designated as personnel officer that I help take some of these applications.

I proceeded to take applications. I did this up against a big column that was in the building. Finally, someone came over and said, "Why don't you take that desk over there? The fellow who was at it is not here, and you can put up a sign, 'Applications taken here'? Would not that make things easier?"

Well, I took over a hundred applications that day. I just forget the number. But the woman in charge of personnel began directing people over to me, directing that I take the applications.

In one case, Elmer Rice came out of his office with a man and said, "You go right over there to the personnel department and have her make out the application."

Now, if I had so wanted, I could have continued working pending an assignment, which is what they did. But later the supervisor's council, which I am going to describe later on, and the C. P. C.—that is the white-collar division of the Workers' Alliance—made a trip to Washington and issued bulletins and threatened a strike if they did not get their back pay—I believe as much as a year and a half of back pay—in order to pay them for volunteer work done

prior to an assignment when they had not been designated as an employee.

Mr. THOMAS. That is not quite clear to me. You mean that a person who volunteered at a later date sat in at this meeting at which it was decided to claim back pay, a year and a half back pay?

Miss HUFFMAN. May I give it in my own words, Congressman?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Miss HUFFMAN. Let us say, for instance, that I walk into your office. You are having a lot of people coming in to see you, and I begin to take the complaints of some of your constituents. I continue taking those complaints, and you become so used to having me there you just go ahead and send them over to me and have me write out the complaints. I am hoping that you are going to give me a job, but I have created it for myself, you see.

Now, I try to get on the pay roll, and it is being delayed and delayed and delayed, and then I join an organization, or form one, or become a member of one.

Mr. THOMAS. We will say the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; say the Workers' Alliance; then we proceed and go to you, and if that does not work we go over your head and we demand back pay. We say that we did this work and we want to be paid for it. We say that we want our back pay; that we did this work. And the result is, if it works out, as it did in this particular instance where I am donating my services for a year and a half, that I try to force you to pay me a salary when I had not been assigned.

Now, the supervisory positions were rapidly filled; that is, the ones to set up the units. There were units set up at that time with sponsors. For instance, there was the Living Newspaper. The sponsor was the New York Chapter of the Newspaper Guild.

The Negro Theater—the sponsor was the New York Urban League.

The New School for Social Research and United Neighborhood Houses were sponsors for some of these projects.

I have not any information on the sponsors, except that Mr. Rice had said that all of the productions are available to any organization wishing to sponsor them, if they have an auditorium in which the plays can be performed. A modest admission fee is the rule in most cases, with the sponsoring group receiving a share of the proceeds.

At any rate, the unit managers, so-called, were selected and various other supervisory positions. Now, some of them were not on the pay roll yet, because they had been unit managers for some time before their assignment came through and they received their back pay. These supervisors were certainly not chosen for their ability.

We have, for instance, Irving Mendell. He is considered by project workers as a key Communist. He is the key Communist on the project.

Mr. THOMAS. What did Irving Mendell do before he came on the Federal project?

Miss HUFFMAN. He was a candy maker by trade.

Mr. MOSIER. And now he is supervisor of a Federal theater project?

Miss HUFFMAN. His exact title or designation I have forgotten, except that he has one of the high positions now as far as production is concerned. He is on the production board of the Federal theater project. He is one of the heads of the unit that produces the play. He would be the head of that department.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether he is a member of the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not know.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know what he is paid?

Miss HUFFMAN. I could look up his salary rate. I have a salary schedule with me. His salary, I believe, is \$200 a month or \$250 a month. I would not be sure of that. I know it is over \$145.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, it is 12 o'clock and we will recess until 1 o'clock p. m.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until 1 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened at 1 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman wishes to make a brief statement. Some of these witnesses, or most of them, are now employed. I do not anticipate that anything will result from their testimony, but I want to say to the witnesses that they are subpoenaed here by this committee, and if there are any reprisals of any nature, I want the witnesses to communicate with this committee immediately, and this committee will make the facts public.

I will repeat again that it is the policy of this committee to give every individual or organization who has been attacked or charged with communism a full opportunity to be heard. This committee invited Mr. John L. Lewis, of the C. I. O., or, rather, gave him an opportunity to appear.

There is one other thing I want to say, and that is we are going to devote equal attention to nazi-ism and fascism as we are giving to communism. We have an investigator working solely on that angle.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, will you make your statement broad enough, for the benefit of the committee and the public, to say that any person or organization named here or that has been mentioned here in connection with any un-American or subversive activity will have that opportunity?

The CHAIRMAN. I accept that amendment.

Mr. STARNES. All of that is within the scope of our work.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. In other words, the committee wants to be absolutely fair, but we are determined that the facts shall go to the American people.

Mr. MASON. Regardless of where those facts are developed.

The CHAIRMAN. We feel it our duty to the country that all the facts be made available to the people.

TESTIMONY OF MISS HAZEL HUFFMAN—Resumed

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, in resuming your testimony, you had gotten to the point where you were beginning to name the original supervisors of the Federal Theater Project. You have named Irving Mendell.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; he was an original supervisor.

Mr. THOMAS. Had you finished with Irving Mendell?

Miss HUFFMAN. I believe so.

Mr. THOMAS. Then, please proceed.

Miss HUFFMAN. If I may be permitted, the press has asked me regarding my being investigator for General Johnson in 1935, and I would like to clarify that. General Johnson was not with the Federal Theater Project under the W. P. A., as Administrator, in 1935, but during the time General Johnson was at 116 Eighth Avenue as Administrator of the W. P. A., the Drama Division, at that time, came under him. I was under him, but not as an investigator for General Johnson's office. However, there had been some activities on a dance project over near my home, and I had taken the matter to General Johnson in behalf of some young girls, 12 or 14 years of age, who were involved. I did work through General Johnson as an investigator, helping with that investigation. So, very briefly, General Johnson asked me to see about something, but while I was not an investigator for him on that work. Later on, when Mr. Ritter came into the office, I was on the pay roll of the New District Theater Project, and did investigational work. I remained there until Mr. William Nunn, who is listed as an active Communist, I believe, came in charge, and then I was no longer on the pay roll.

I wondered if I could not bring that statement in to clarify that angle.

Mr. THOMAS. All right; go ahead.

Miss HUFFMAN. Stephan Karnot, an active Communist, and his wife were also on the project at the time. He was employed as secretary to Rose Fisher, and they held Communist meetings in their home. I was invited to attend Communist meetings in their home.

Morris Watson was a newspaper editor, who was dismissed by the Associated Press for union activities. This was the Morris Watson who was in the test case in the Supreme Court decision of the Wagner Act. Incidentally, he received from the Supreme Court 2 years of back pay. Two years later he came back to the project with an increase of salary.

Bernard Freund was an insurance salesman.

Mr. THOMAS. He is one of the supervisors of the Theater Project.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. Edward Goodman was an amateur theater director, whose chief claim to fame was as the founder of the Washington Square Players Guild.

Jack Rennick was a clerk in his uncle's delicatessen store, and Joseph Brogan was a rug salesman at Bloomingdale's. Frances Smith is a colored girl, and is a blues singer. Madelyn O'Shea was trained in the Workers Laboratory Theater, later known as the American Laboratory Theater. The only thing I know about the Workers Laboratory Theater is the mention that was made of it in the New Masses.

Halstead Wells was employed as instructor at Yale University. He directed plays for the project. He was an instructor at Yale—would direct plays for the project, and would go back.

Phillip Barber, who at one time was a director on the project, was a graduate of the Baker Forty-Seven Workshop. He was well known to theater workers, but he had had no professional experience, so far as I know.

Those were among the original men, and then recently we have James Ullman, who had been a theatrical producer and experienced with theaters. He was appointed on the Federal Theater Project.

Now, what I am talking about is the inefficiency of the supervisors, and in this connection I will read you a comment from the New York Post. It is an article written by Leonard Lyons, under the head of Lyon's Den. It is as follows:

ENTERPRISE

A few Sundays ago James Ullman told the public, via a signed story in the drama section of the New York Times, that he was all washed up with the American Theater. Mr. Ullman, who had four flops last season, stated that perhaps it was all the fault of the critics, that for him the theater was a hopeless venture, and that it was impossible to make a living at it.

He was very frank in writing his theatrical obituary. He was through, definitely through. Within the next 10 days, however, the Works Progress Administration will announce that James Ullman has accepted one of the most important administrative positions in the Federal Theater.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date of that?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not have the date of that, but Mr. Ullman was appointed in 1937. I should say that it was around October or November.

Now, since experience was not required as a qualification, let us look at their activities. Early in the history of the project the supervisors formed the group known as the Supervisors' Council. This Supervisors' Council from the beginning worked hand in glove with the C. P. C. and the Workers Alliance, but denied membership or connection with them. The C. P. C. has always announced that no person with ability or authority to hire or fire can be a member of the C. P. C., that organization being used exclusively for the worker. No boss can belong to it. Consequently, the supervisors, who have authority to hire and fire, were not supposed to be members, but they worked with them. The first contact with them was on back pay, and then a mail control was set up. Mr. Barber explained that a man named Beck had been using the stationery of the Works Progress Administration. I do not know just exactly what the facts were, but various things were being done, and letters were being written that were not befitting the dignity of the Works Progress Administration. They wanted the mail opened, assorted, and sent to the proper departments, or to the people working in the Federal Theater Project.

This was the first talk in Mr. Ritter's office, and I was to conduct that survey. I was at it for 2 days. Outside of the mail matter, I found many things that should not have been approved by the district supervisors. Mr. Barber called me the next day and told me that, with the exception of John Houseman, the people should get any mail directed to them if they belonged to the project, and that it should be sent to their homes. They were using Government money as though it was their own personal property. I mention that to show the condition right in the Supervisors' Council. Supervisor Ullman in the beginning outlined a policy for the project in process of being set up. It was not an outline or plan-out of Washington. It was through Mrs. Flanagan and the other supervisors on the project. I have that outline for the theaters and for the Jewish theater unit, outlining the way to handle the work and giving the general procedure. It gives an outline of the duties. That is among the exhibits. Bernard Freund, as I have said, was an insurance salesman, and I will say, incidentally, that the Supervisors' Council has

become within the last year and a half or 2 years an affiliate local of the C. I. O.

Mr. THOMAS. The Supervisors' Council is a local, you say, of the C. I. O.?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. While the supervisors, from the beginning, held this power, and while they did not know the work, they held complete power over the actual assignments on the project. They may be incompetent people, but the supervisor is the man who can put them on or off. After an application has been made by a man, although he is a professional and a relief case, instead of the thing following out in an orderly fashion, they would be notified that it was held pending a report, but that was not the case. It was necessary for people on relief, who were getting a pitiful \$6.90 per week relief money, to go from project to project, or from unit to unit, to find something, or for someone to make a request for them. That holds true today. The only way an assignment is made, if you get access to the supervisor, is to find someone who can use enough influence on the supervisor.

Mr. THOMAS. Do I understand you to mean that if I was unemployed and wanted a job on the Federal Theater Project in New York as, say, a comedian, I would probably have to see Bernard Freund, who was an insurance salesman, or Irving Mendell, who was a candy maker by trade, in order to get work on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; that is true. You would have to be requisitioned. As a matter of fact, that is brought out in the outline here with reference to the Children's Theater. For instance, one of the orders of J. K. Williams, the assistant managing producer, is that he is to see people who are too dull for Mr. Rennick to see. Then, Mr. Clark is to interview and approve actors for the project. Mr. Joseph Brogan has charge of matters pertaining to personnel, and is in charge of casting new personnel for productions.

Mr. THOMAS. You referred to the fact that many of the supervisors have not had experience in theatrical work.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Does the same thing hold true of certain other personnel, or people who have parts such as the actors and actresses? Have many of those people had any experience along theatrical lines?

Miss HUFFMAN. A good percentage of them have not had any whatsoever. The applications made to the office originally were for people who were unemployed, skilled or nonskilled. There has never been any verification of educational qualifications or experience records. I have application and experience records here which I will submit to the committee as an exhibit. There has never been any verification of that. Any man can walk in and make one out.

The CHAIRMAN. How does that tie in with these communistic influences? We do not want to go too far afield here. It is not our function to investigate mismanagement, inefficiency, or alleged mismanagement on the part of the W. P. A. Do you want to tie that up definitely with communistic activities?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; definitely. As an example, I will use a man who was an anti-Communist, Frank Merlin, who would not issue a requisition for an employee who was not a member of the C. P. C., and he would not put on Workers Alliance members. He was never for them, and showed no sympathy toward the Workers Alliance.

I would say he avoided taking on anyone in sympathy with the Workers Alliance. Occasionally they did put people in.

Mr. THOMAS. Is this man Frank Merlin still there?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir; he is off the project.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what became of him?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not know what he is doing now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that they were using public funds in that way? It is almost unbelievable to me that they would use public funds of the taxpayers intended for relief, for the purpose of spreading communism in the United States, or for the purpose of building up the Workers Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You may continue.

Miss HUFFMAN. In the same manner, in the use of the requisitions which I have mentioned, the future of a person depends on finding a supervisor who is sympathetic toward him. That is the way it is in the matter of the requisition. Now, a requisition covers employees who are assigned to a project but who are unassigned so far as any work assignment is concerned. They have to send people to see certain supervisors. They do not have to take you, so that the matter of putting a man on work, instead of leaving him as he is, rests in the hands of the supervisor. The supervisors have complete control of the project personnel through the method by which requisitions, requests, demotions, promotions, and transfers are handled. In the matter of promotions, demotions, dismissals, they must have the signature of the supervisor. Those things can only be accomplished through the signature of the supervisor. A charge by a supervisor that an employee is incompetent, not the type, attitude, and so forth, may result in demotion, transfer, or dismissal. In fact, I have in this folder over a hundred letters, as well as affidavits, to prove that, and the only reason I do not have more than that coming from people dismissed from the projects is that they do not have the money to pay the 25 cents for the notary's fee.

The CHAIRMAN. What do those affidavits state?

Miss HUFFMAN. They say, "I was fired because I would not join the C. P. C." They say, "My supervisor said I joined the C. P. C."

The CHAIRMAN. That is affiliated with the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; that is the white-collar division. That was the employee's attitude. The employee's attitude might have been that he would not join the supervisor council and would not buy magazines, or the magazines I will mention later. It would be that he would not participate, or that he would make an argument. His supervisor does not say that, but they say that they have the wrong attitude, that the directors cannot get along with them, or that a man is not of the type, using a theatrical expression. Then they recast it and bring in some of their friends. They are much too subtle and clever to give the real reason. It is all done with such subtleness as to make it impossible to go to the appeals board and prove discrimination. Consequently, their friends are the people in the project who are being given production after production. The nice feature parts and other desirable parts are given to people who are in sympathy with them, or who are either members of the C. P. C. or the Workers' Alliance. They are being shown a definite preference by those in charge of the project.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you give a concrete example of such partiality?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; we can give many examples of it. For instance, we have Leonard Benedict, who has never worked in a theatrical production, and has been given part in shows that some professional actors have not been able to get. There is another case, but it is hardly fair to mention the girl's name. There are many cases where an investigation of their background would show that they have no business being given parts that are being given them.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have some letters substantiating this statement of yours? You mention the fact that you had some letters. If you do not want to mention the names of the writers, you may submit the letters to the committee as exhibits, or file them just for our information. I would like to have them.

Miss HUFFMAN. Letters about other people having been put in their positions?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; backing up the statement you made a few minutes ago.

Miss HUFFMAN. I can give you a number of letters from people who have been dismissed for no other reason than what I have mentioned. I believe that a witness here is himself an example of being dismissed because he objected to communistic activities on that project. Another reason for it was that the board of appeals did not work out on the project, because they expressed complete confidence in the supervisors, and do not question the reasons given for demotions, dismissals, or whatever it is. They do not question the supervisor's classification at all. It is difficult to substantiate an opinion as to attitude or type, and the employee really has no redress. Actors are constantly being demoted, or put from one project on to another project. As soon as he is on a project and becomes comfortable in his job, feeling that he has something to do, he finds he is to go somewhere else, where he must travel miles to get to work. He may go an hour and 20 minutes each way to his job on location, while people near there are traveling in the opposite direction to another location. That does not make for efficiency on the project but for turmoil. It is done to keep the people in a constant state of turmoil.

Key positions for the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party and Workers' Alliance were not sufficient for the success of their aims and endeavors. It was necessary for them to see that amateur and unskilled people were on the project, because otherwise there could be no strikes, picket lines, or other agitations and demonstrations. As far as we have been able to ascertain, with one exception, no bona fide professional has ever participated in picketing or strikes.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, the people who have been doing the picketing are amateurs or people without professional theatrical experience.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; that is right. Do you want some of these names?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Miss HUFFMAN. I will bring out a few.

I have a letter from Miss Murtagh, congressional secretary in New York to Congressman Peyser. Miss Murtagh at one time was trying to have a man reinstated on a project from which he had been dismissed. This man was not sympathetic toward the Communist group. He was working under a supervisor who was very sympa-

thetic with the Workers Alliance, and this man was dismissed. The third paragraph of the letter reads as follows:

Although I have made every endeavor to find someone authorized to direct me with regard to these dismissals, I am still in the dark, nor have I found anyone at the various offices who seems able to untangle the situation.

Please know it would, indeed, be a real pleasure to be of assistance, but until someone is put in authority I know not how to help those who have been laid off.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date of that letter?

Miss HUFFMAN. July 16, 1937.

Mr. THOMAS. To whom was it sent?

Miss HUFFMAN. To Mr. Jack Lewis, who had been dismissed.

Miss HUFFMAN. Charles Rose was a peddler of razor blades on the Bowery, who had been put on the project.

Mr. THOMAS. As an actor?

Miss HUFFMAN. As an actor. One man was put on the project as an actor who had never been in a theater in his life, because he grew a very luxuriant beard, and he has been kept on despite several dismissal points, because he has these sideburns. He has grand sideburn, and they use him for atmosphere, and he is still retained on the project for his—

Mr. STARNES. Atmosphere?

The CHAIRMAN. I know that will be a consolation to the taxpayers to know that their money is going for sideburns.

Mr. MASON. It is for the support of growing sideburns.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Elizabeth Villancova?

Miss HUFFMAN. Elizabeth Villancova had worked in a box factory. A girl came into the office thinking we were putting people on the project, and when we told her that she was not a professional and could not get on, she was very incensed, because she had worked in the same box factory with Elizabeth Villancova.

There was one instance related to me by Allan Wallace, an actor. He came to work one day, and there was a girl there who had been a chambermaid at the hotel, and had talked communism to him on many occasion. He said, "What on earth are you doing here?" She said, "I am an actress." He said, "An actress? Why, I know you; you are a chambermaid in such and such a hotel."

She tossed her head, and said, "Well, it was a theatrical hotel."

And that was the point.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you this question: Under the communistic scheme of things, is it not a fact that they consider music, art, and acting as the types of intellectualism, and that if there is any revolution those classes will remain the intelligentsia of the new crowd?

Miss HUFFMAN. I believe, from what I have read, that I would take that interpretation from it.

Mr. MOSIER. So that a chambermaid, if she can become an actress, has immediately risen from one of the lowest to one of the highest planes under the communistic scheme of things?

Miss HUFFMAN. I am sorry, Congressman, but would not that be making class distinctions in the Communist Party, the thing the Communist Party is most opposed to?

Mr. MOSIER. But they are a paradox all the way through. They are against class distinctions if they are not for their benefit, and they are for class distinctions if they are for their benefit. They are

for war and against war. They are for and against most everything. They are on both sides of almost everything, as far as I can see.

Miss HUFFMAN. I think the point of these people going into this, according to Mrs. Flanagan's articles, and various articles on the Communist theater, is that it is giving the workers an outlet to express themselves, and is used for educational and propaganda purposes for the furtherance of the Communist scheme of things.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you get back to your main thought, what was the name of this man that had the sideburns? Do you remember his name?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have the name here. Solomon Goldstein. He was kept on project 891 for his sideburns.

Mr. MOSIER. May I ask you another question: You were speaking about the theatrical projects in New York. How many people are involved now in that class?

Miss HUFFMAN. In the acting class?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; how many people are on these W. P. A. projects, the theatrical projects? How many people are we talking about? Are we talking about a hundred or 10,000, or what?

Miss HUFFMAN. We are talking about, so far as New York City is concerned, 4,016 people. You see, the actor is only one part, and in the Federal Theater in New York, a small part of the Federal Theater Project. I have a salary schedule here which gives all the other classifications. There are stage managers, assistant stage managers, scenic designers, costume people, stage hands, box-office treasurers, ushers, and company managers. There are 4,016, I believe, at the present time employed on the Federal Theater Project. That is their quota.

Mr. MOSIER. Answer this question if you can: Do you know how many people are on W. P. A. in New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. There is a distinction between W. P. A. and Federal Theater Projects, and I would not know what number of people are on W. P. A.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, Miss Huffman, to get back to your statement in regard to this Elizabeth Villancova, didn't she play in a show called *A Hero Was Born*?

Miss HUFFMAN. She did.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you tell us a little bit about that show? It might interest the committee—just in a few words.

Miss HUFFMAN. The show, *A Hero Is Born*, is not communistic propaganda other than the fact that it ridiculed the two rulers of this fantastic country. It was an extravaganza, I presume you would call it—highly costumed, with transparent velvet costumes. In fact, the stage manager who was with that show can give you a much better description of it than I can.

Mr. THOMAS. It will come up later?

Miss HUFFMAN. It will come up later about the *Hero Was Born* company.

Incidentally, Mrs. Flanagan made the remark to one of the supervisors, who repeated it to me, that since they were agitating that Communist plays should not be used by the Federal Theater Project, they would soon find out how much of an audience they would have; and, as a matter of fact, one night I was the only audience. I was the only person in the audience.

Mr. THOMAS. They were having a public performance?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And you were the only one in the audience?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. How many did they have in the cast?

Miss HUFFMAN. Eighty-six, I believe.

Mr. THOMAS. Eighty-six in the cast and one in the audience?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and on another night there were seven. They played to no audiences.

This was our opinion: We felt that that play was put on because they could not get any audience for anything except communistic plays. They sell block tickets to organizations, and the majority of these organizations, which buy these block tickets, are the Workers' Alliance, and what we call the "Below Fourteenth Street" group—the Communist Party, various little locals, and that sort of thing, are perhaps the biggest purchasers of those block seats.

Mr. THOMAS. I think you have brought up an interesting point there as to how the Federal Theaters get their audiences.

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, the Federal Theater Project gets its audience by advertising in the press. They have advertised recently, I think, in the New Yorker, one of the monthly publications. They have a speaker's bureau that goes out and speaks at schools and organizations to induce people to come in. Then they also have a special concession for groups and blocks of seats, or for selling out the entire house. In some instances its price is as low as ten cents.

Mr. THOMAS. And generally these blocks are sold to whom; what sort of groups?

Miss HUFFMAN. May I use the word "radical" groups?

Mr. THOMAS. Like the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. Well, I don't know about the Workers' Alliance. That is why I am hesitating. I don't know that the Workers' Alliance has ever bought them as an organization. But there are various locals of the Communist Party and the educational groups and the groups that are in schools. You see, the Workers' Alliance being unemployed people, there are not as many tickets sold to them as there would be to various other organizations. I do not know that these people ever did, but I am using this only as an example. Well, the League for Peace and Democracy, the League Against War, and that type of organization. You see what I mean.

Mr. THOMAS. But a public school could get this concession also, could it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. So the children of the public school could go there and see the plays that you have given a synopsis of here today?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that these plays were shown in public schools?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; that they could buy cheap blocks of tickets.

Mr. MOSIER. You say speakers are allowed to go to public schools and solicit children to come to see these plays?

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, yes; the speakers go out through the schools, wherever they have permission to address a group, telling them about the theater, and to sell seats to them and to organizations. That will be brought up later, too, by another witness.

Shall I give the statistics and the reason I am so hesitant about naming amateurs?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Miss HUFFMAN. In April 1936 the statistics that were given out showed 1,322 out of the 5,500 in the Federal Theater having insufficient experience. In September 1936 Col. Somervell sent Mr. Edmund Levy to investigate; and in December 1936, 2,000 were ordered to prove their experience before a review board.

At that time the workers on the project were told to bring their credentials. That is, the credentials for an actor, for instance, or a stage manager, would be his press clippings, his programs, his contracts, his Equity contracts, and so forth, to prove that he had a professional background.

At the time the committee were interviewing the people on the project, a colored boy came in with a big scrapbook, very professional in appearance, full of clippings and programs, and showed it to me. I looked at every page of it and questioned him. I found that he had been a bus boy in Harlem, and his first experience in the theater was in the play of Macbeth. He had been in a series of Federal Theater Project plays. So I told him he was not a professional and we could not include him with our group, as well of our group were proven professionals. He immediately became highly incensed, and told me that Mrs. Helen Pierce had marked him down as a professional, and that was good enough for him.

Then in January 1937 the official estimate was 27 percent amateurs in the acting classification. A qualifications board had been set up at that time, of which I believe Mrs. Harris was chairman, and that report stated that 894 of the actors on the project were unprofessional. One of the members of the qualifications board, when I made inquiry as to why nothing was done, stated that Mrs. Flanagan had said that the thing was to be shelved; she did not think it was accurate, anyway; and that had been very carefully done, and there were 894 amateurs on the Federal Theater Project.

In May of this year the estimate as given out by the press was that 502 of 1,310 were amateurs on the project. A later witness has conducted a survey on the liaison between the amateurs and the Federal Theater, so I will leave those figures to him.

Mr. THOMAS. How does that 1,310 jibe with your 4,016 on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. The 4,016 would be supervisory, stage hands, scenic artists, and all that.

Mr. THOMAS. I see. So out of 4,016 employed on the Federal Theater Project in New York, only 1,310 were actors and actresses?

Miss HUFFMAN. May I clarify, just for the benefit of the people who are not of the theatrical profession, the distinction between actors and actresses? It is important because of the way it is handled on the project, which keeps them agitated and keeps them in a receptive mood for joining the Workers Alliance. There are actors who are legitimate actors, who have played in legitimate plays; then there are the vaudeville actors, and those whose experience has been in the burlesque field. Then there are those who have played in stock. That comes under the legitimate phase. Then there are the people in the musical field, who are definitely singers. They are not

dramatic actors. We have vaudevillians who are termed "hoofers" or dancers; they are not actors.

In the Federal Theater Project there is no such class distinction. A singer is frequently sent out, classed as a dramatic actress; a dramatic actress is sent out as a dancer, and vice versa. And five rejections entitle you to dismissal. That will be taken up later, I think, by another witness.

And when you say "actor" and "actress," the first impression is that all the actors and actresses are the professionals of the project; that they are all members of the union. The union has several classifications. Under the union classification is the paid-up member, the person with lapsed dues, the person with an excuse card, and the person with an honorary withdrawal card who has withdrawn from his union. Then, we have the professional who does not belong to the union because he has had his experience in stock companies or throughout the country when the union had not been organized at the time he received his experience. He is still a professional actor. And where we mention amateurs, there are two classifications of amateurs. We have the amateur who is a dilettante in the theater, who has had dramatic-school experience, who has had college dramatics, who has played in productions for which there was no compensation, and, to be very generous, the person with actual talent—the amateur who has talent.

Then we come to the other class of amateur, who is the razor-blade peddler and the girl from the box factory; people who have never done anything.

Incidentally—and I think it is important here—we have several examples of amateurs who were put on the project whose definite occupation, so far as work is concerned, we are not familiar with, and who were organizers and had been organizers for the Workers Alliance. Tanya Talansky had been an organizer for the Workers Alliance, and was put on the theater project as an actress, and it was impossible to use her as an actress, although she continued to sign the pay roll and draw her salary.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you want to get now to the meetings that were held by the C. P. C., and something of the origin of the C. P. C.?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and I have Mrs. Flanagan's opinion about having amateurs on the project, and two exhibits that we want to enter on the amateurs on the project.

(The papers referred to were marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 25.")

Mr. THOMAS. Who is that pretty girl right there?

Miss HUFFMAN. Gloria Dickson, who, it states, found her route to fame through the Federal theater project.

A banker's daughter from Pocatello, Idaho, she joined the Federal theater in Los Angeles to get experience.

Then we have Ann Rutledge, who was put on in Chicago. Her first assignment in the Federal Theater was in Chicago, because she is the grandniece, I believe, of the original Ann Rutledge who was President Lincoln's sweetheart; and she is at present playing in *The Prologue to Glory* for the Federal Theater.

Then there is the point of the nonrelief person being on the project, which tends to agitation, although we have no way of knowing that the nonworkers on the project have any communistic leanings. I

rather think I covered that in the purpose for which this project was set up. But I will submit as an exhibit an instance where Rex Ingram had been taken from employment in private industry and brought in to appear as the lead in one of the productions here.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Rex Ingram?

Miss HUFFMAN. Rex Ingram is perhaps the best known and most capable of colored actors, and he was brought from a private industry theater. He was doing medical research.

And Helene Fortescue Reynolds, who is rather well known, at least to the press, was put on the Federal Theater Project——

Mr. THOMAS. Who is she? She may be known to the press, but I do not think she is known to the committee.

Miss HUFFMAN. Helen Fortescue Reynolds is the wife of J. Louis Reynolds, or was at the time. Recently, I think, he divorced her, and Reynolds also told the court that his wife had appeared in the part of a prostitute in the W. P. A. play *Pygmalion* only 2 weeks after the birth of her son. J. Louis Reynolds is credited with being the tobacco millionaire, and she was employed on the Federal Theater Project.

And Drue Leyton was brought from the coast. She was a moving-picture actress. She appeared in Charlie Chan pictures and, as I understand it, the start of preparing one Charlie Chan picture was delayed pending Miss Leyton's return to the coast while she came to New York to appear in a W. P. A. play.

Mr. THOMAS. Does a person like that get a salary from the W. P. A.?

Miss HUFFMAN. I understand—no; you see, there are so many things of which we cannot present factual proof, because the records are in the hands of the Federal Theater Project.

The CHAIRMAN. On that point, I am sure we can get the entire records of the theater project.

(The papers referred to were marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 27.")

Miss HUFFMAN. These people, you see, through this salary-classification method—you see, if there is no classification with enough salary to encourage a person to come into the project, the Supervisors' Council gets together and thinks up a new title. I say that with impunity, because at the beginning of the project I listened in at one of the meetings, and because there was not a salary attractive enough for Miss Rosamond Gilder, who was to be head of the play bureau, the Supervisors' Council thought up a new title, sent it to Washington for O. K., and had it included in the salary schedule, and thereafter she received a salary commensurate with her ability.

The same holds true with actresses and nonrelief people brought into the project. They may be designated as senior project supervisors, senior managing clerk, or any one of various titles which would pay them more than the actors' salary, which had been \$2,386 and is now \$2,277; and it is our belief, and there is also an article in the magazine *Pic*, written by Heywood Broun, which carried a picture of one of the actresses on the project and mentioned that these people who are brought here——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Is he one of the officials of the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly Heywood Broun did not criticize this Federal project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, no. He just mentioned that these people were paid more because of their particular high ability; they received more than the relief salary, which would take even any stigma of relief from them.

We know of one instance where a girl on the project was carrying around five project checks, and she did not have to cash them.

Then, of course, we have the question of aliens on the project, which tends to make for agitation. The act of Congress said that there shall be no aliens; that the project is for the Americans and naturalized Americans, or Americans with their first papers.

Miss HUFFMAN. But there are still aliens on the projects.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you positive of that statement?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. If we asked you for names, could you give them?

Miss HUFFMAN. There is Mabel Woodward, who said she would not take out citizenship in the United States; and Bob Ross, son-in-law of Frank Gilmore, president of the Actors' Equity.

Mr. THOMAS. If you have any more names, will you submit them to us?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. But, Mr. Thomas, in order to be sure what I did, I had an interview with Miss Ann Cronin, assistant to Mrs. Woodward, of the W. P. A., and I mentioned to her about aliens being kept on the project. Miss Cronin told me that that only applied to security workers, not to administrative workers.

On the point of nonrelievers I want to bring out that Mrs. Flanagan is, perhaps, not altogether to blame.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you have cleared up one point that is confusing. You were once employed by the Federal Theater Project?

Miss HUFFMAN. I was never on the Federal Theater Project pay roll. I was employed by the W. P. A.

Originally the Federal Theater Project came under W. P. A., and then it was removed from the supervision of the local administrator of W. P. A. and operates directly out of Washington, so the line of succession is Harry Hopkins, Ellen Woodward, and Hallie Flanagan.

The CHAIRMAN. While working for the W. P. A., you were engaged in the Federal Theater work?

Miss HUFFMAN. While working for the W. P. A. I was put on the Mail Division at W. P. A. to do analyzing, to analyze the mail, and to send an analysis of it to Mr. Ridder's office, because certain things were going on on account of which investigations were later held.

In fact, I worked as investigator, although I was classified as receptionist, so that people having access to the rolls would not know that I was doing investigation work.

I helped set up the first mail control.

Let me give you an example: The records of W. P. A. will verify this:

Application blanks would come in, to be sent to various people, with a \$10 bill with an application blank. If the mail went to a certain man, he would get the \$10 bill, so we opened the mail before that happened, and sent the \$10 bill back to the man who sent it.

The CHAIRMAN. While in that capacity, you became thoroughly familiar with the various things to which you have testified.

Miss HUFFMAN. After we had straightened out the mail control at W. P. A., Mr. Ridder's office sent me to the Federal Theater because of the manner in which the mail was being handled there. I set up a method of reading the mail until it was stopped by the supervisory council.

Mr. MOSIER. The Federal Theater Project is a separate project, is it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. At the present time it is part of the W. P. A.

Mr. MOSIER. Are the workers all paid by check?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Whose check do they get?

Miss HUFFMAN. It is a Treasury Department check.

Mr. MOSIER. They are paid by check drawn on the Treasury of the United States Government?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; signed by Mr. Gallagher.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not as much a part of the Works Progress Administration as any Works Progress project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; Mrs. Ellen Woodward has the women's division and the educational and professional projects.

Mr. MOSIER. They are all paid by check drawn on the United States Treasury?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Out of the work-relief funds?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; it is a part of the Works Progress appropriation.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not designated as investigator, but, in fact, that is what you were?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Undercover?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. As I said, Mrs. Flanagan is not altogether to blame for the nonrelief people coming into the project. The Actors' Equity was the recognized union for the legitimate actors, the musical division and the chorus division from the beginning, and Actors' Equity always had a standing of dignity and prestige and had more prestige than an average labor union; it was very conservative and often was termed a reactionary union.

Mr. Frank Gilmore, who was president in the first months of the project, objected to the use of relief actors because in his statement he said relief actors had not been employed as actors for something over 12 years. That is not true, because I have interviewed 400 actors and actresses who had worked in the profession less than a year before.

Mr. Gilmore tried to say that the percentage of nonrelief was increased. The percentage of nonrelief that is permitted in the project, through an order from Mr. Hopkins, is 5 percent; 5 percent of the project can be nonrelief. It was increased at one time to 10 percent. The Actors' Equity tried to have it increased to 25 percent.

Mr. Bruce told me at the time he appeared on the project with Mr. Edwards in August last year that the official percentage of nonrelief was 37 percent; and Mr. Edwards, in a recent statement, states that the percentage of nonrelief is 16 percent.

I mentioned the fact that the Actors' Equity had always been a conservative organization and opposed to the amateur. I wish I could continue that designation of the Actors' Equity now, but we find now from the Red Spotlight, which is a Communist paper—

Mr. MOSIER. What is the name of that paper?

Miss HUFFMAN. The Red Spotlight; that is the W. P. A. Federal Theater Union Communist Party paper.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is that published?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not know.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it distributed from the theatrical project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on Government property?

Miss HUFFMAN. Like various papers sold on the project. I am coming to that. It has designated that more recently there is a unity between the Equity and the C. P. C.

Mr. STARNES. What is the C. P. C.?

Miss HUFFMAN. The City Projects Council, the white-collar division of the Workers' Alliance.

Equity had never permitted the members to strike, and I am bringing that in because of the Communist angle, because of the communistic control which is creeping into that organization through the Federal Theater. It cuts directly through the Federal Theater into the actors' association.

The Actors' Equity people were not permitted to go out on strikes in connection with a cut in pay, and did not enter into picket lines, but Actors' Equity appointed a president, Burgess Meredith, and the head of the organization, one of the later witnesses, will take that up more in detail. From the time—

Mr. STARNES. Do you mean they were going on strike on the relief projects?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; they locked Harold Stein up in his office and kept him there overnight, not the professionals, but the amateurs; they locked him in his office and kept him overnight until they got what they wanted.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Harold Stein?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is Harold Stein of the Art Writers' Historical Survey, at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Has a great deal of this been going on with the knowledge of Hallie Flanagan?

Miss HUFFMAN. Hallie Flanagan addressed meetings of the American Theater Council and said, "What else could they do to correct these things except to have a strike?"

The CHAIRMAN. She is in charge of the whole Federal Theater Project in New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, in the picket lines she has to see them when they come in and out of the buildings.

Mr. MOSIER. Are these actors compelled to belong to the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. If I can use the expression, sweet coercion, they compel them.

Mr. MOSIER. Are they coerced into belonging to any communistic organization, or are they persuaded to join?

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Are they not encouraged to join?

Miss HUFFMAN. We feel that they are penalized if they do not join.

Mr. THOMAS. They get a red slip if they do not join?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. What do they join?

Miss HUFFMAN. The Workers' Alliance.

Mr. MOSIER. Do they pay dues to them?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How much are the dues?

Miss HUFFMAN. I cannot answer that. I believe it is 25 cents for people on the relief rolls and 50 cents for people employed on the project. I may be wrong about that.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that an admission fee, or an initiation fee, or the dues per month?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have not that exact figure right off. I find these charts show as to what the initiation fee is, but do not show the amount of dues.

Mr. MOSIER. I want to establish whether or not there are dues.

Miss HUFFMAN. There are dues.

Mr. MOSIER. And if so, how much?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have an affidavit which I will submit about a girl who did not pay her dues and they were going to have her reinstated on the project.

Mr. STARNES. Was she reinstated?

Miss HUFFMAN. Let me read you from the Prompter, which had been issued by the Federal Theater Locals, City Projects Council, 139 West Twenty-second Street, and at the bottom of page 3, it says:

C. P. C. members who did not walk out on stoppage are to contribute a day's pay as a fine. Local treasurers must get busy and collect dues, contributions for the Workers Alliance delegates to Milwaukee and for the fighting fund.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you want to say something about the cablegram sent to President Roosevelt in South America now or later?

Miss HUFFMAN. I would like to bring that in later.

Mr. THOMAS. You say Mrs. Flanagan had been advised of this unrest which has existed. Do you know whether Mr. Harry Hopkins has ever been advised of this unrest?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; I personally sent correspondence to Mr. Hopkins' office and made a trip to Washington and saw his secretary. Do you mean strikes and picket lines?

Mr. THOMAS. The unrest that existed on the Federal Theater project.

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you pass up the point about which Mr. Mosier asked you, I want to clarify this in my own mind. You say these workers, the people employed by the Federal Theater project, are coerced by fear of punishment into joining the Workers' Alliance, is that right?

Miss HUFFMAN. If I may, I will read you a few of the things that have been said by the employees, exact excerpts of testimony I have.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be fine. Are there any other communistic organizations that they are compelled to join?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the communistic organizations they are coerced into joining.

When you say the C. P. C. you mean the Workers' Alliance, that that is affiliated with the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is a branch of the Workers' Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. And when you use the plural, you mean the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. I mean the Workers' Alliance; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You can put that data in the record.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; I can give you numerous instances where they were called into meetings and told by their supervisors if they did not join the C. P. C. what would happen.

Mr. THOMAS. You say you, yourself, advised Mr. Hopkins of the unrest which existed in this Federal Theater Project, and of the conditions which existed in the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; I have a letter here that I sent to Mr. Harry Hopkins in June 1937, in which we asked that at least one small section be set up so that the relief professionals could prove that the project could be conducted without this unrest and this coercion.

In this letter, which I can submit as an exhibit, we listed the grounds of the unrest, the strikes and the picketing and the coercion, and the things that were going on in the project.

Mr. THOMAS. What response did you get to that letter?

Miss HUFFMAN. I received a letter from Mrs. Ellen Woodward, from the Assistant Administrator.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is she Assistant Administrator?

Miss HUFFMAN. In Washington, D. C. She was Assistant Administrator under Mr. Hopkins. This letter is dated July 20, 1937, so my letter was sent out before the 20th. This letter says:

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., July 20, 1937.

Mr. H. HUFFMAN,

10 West Forty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HUFFMAN: The White House has referred your letter of June 23 concerning the Federal Theater Project in New York City to this Administration for reply. May I also at this time acknowledge your letter to Mr. Hopkins.

Since the administration of the Federal Theater Project in New York City is the responsibility of the local project officials, I can only suggest that you discuss your plan with the proper officials in New York City.

Sincerely yours,

ELLEN S. WOODWARD,
Assistant Administrator.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you then discuss it?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir; we tried to make an appointment, but no appointment was ever given me.

We had worked out also an entire plan for reorganization, whereby all these things would be eliminated and efficiency would be installed. I have that here, to submit, with the list of the professional people who had drawn up this plan as a suggestion. When we submitted it to Mr. Edwards, nothing was done about it, nor were we consulted.

Mr. THOMAS. That was submitted to Mr. Paul Edwards about when?

Miss HUFFMAN. That was submitted to Mr. Paul Edwards on the first day he came on the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. THOMAS. You never heard anything from it?

Miss HUFFMAN. I asked him at one time, when two other people accompanied me, as to whether the reorganization plan was going to be used. I felt from Mrs. Woodward's letter that it was going to be given some definite consideration. The project was in a bad state, as

it is today, and we asked Mr. Edwards if the reorganization plan was going to be used, and he said "yes."

Mr. THOMAS. That was how long ago?

Miss HUFFMAN. That was in August 1937. The thing that happened was, if we want to flatter ourselves we can be certain that parts of the plan were used, setting up these project boards, and so forth, but they were set up in such a way that you would not recognize them as being in the plan, because instead of eliminating the supervisors they put the supervisors in the positions, and we wanted the inefficient supervisors out of it.

Mr. MOSIER. I would like to clear up one point with reference to this publication you referred to, called the Red Spotlight. Who publishes that? Who is the sponsor for that? Is that the W. P. A.?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; it has a union printer's label in the corner of it.

Mr. MOSIER. Does it indicate who is behind it?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; the W. P. A., Federal Theater Unit, Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. You say "Federal Theater Unit, Communist Party?"

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Mr. MOSIER. You say the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; I am interested in that because I have some letters on that stationery.

Miss HUFFMAN. It also carries application blanks for joining the Communist Party. The application was to be sent to the Red Spotlight, in care of the Thomas Pinkerton Club, 410 West Forty-eighth Street, New York City, who will supply information about the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. You say that copies of that publication have been distributed on the projects?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on Government property?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. Might I mention there, on the point of applications and assignments, that there is no connection between the relief bureau and the W. P. A. for putting people to work.

Let me put it in this way. I talked to Miss Potter. I heard that they needed ingenues and juveniles. I called Miss Potter to ask whether they had any such people on the relief, but she had no means of ascertaining whether they were of the type they wanted. She had to depend on the case workers, on the rare occasions whenever they wanted persons for the theater. They had no means of telling what type of juveniles they might want. They might want somebody, for instance, to play a type of Congressman, but they might not have anybody to play the type of Congressman they wanted to present.

Mr. MASON. Apparently, from your statement, they wanted a type of gourmets or drunkards.

Miss HUFFMAN. I know of one instance in the commercial theater where there was a little French girl who could not speak English who applied for a position, and she happened to be sent to a producer who had never heard her speak. He told her to speak some French which, of course, she did. Then he said the girl did not speak the kind of French he wanted. So he sent down and got a Jewish girl

who had black hair. This French girl was a blonde, and he had never heard of a blonde French girl, and he got a dark-haired Jewish girl.

Then there was a young man on the project who was on a relief status, and he had been certified by the relief bureau. That is, the only connection between the W. P. A. and the relief bureau, is the certification of relief applicants. For some reason this young man received a dismissal slip; they said he was not on relief.

On the Federal theater project at one time the thing that meant relief or nonrelief was the fact as to whether you had a pink or a white card. If you had somebody who had access to the cards who did not like you, they could change the card and make you non-relief, make you the nonrelief type and put in a new card, if you were on relief.

Now, there must be five or six hundred from the relief bureau in that file. We wanted the relief bureau to see if they could send a letter so that this boy could be helped. He was very definitely anti-communistic. The relief bureau informed me that they were not permitted, being a city organization, to send any advice or instructions or comments to the Federal theater project, since that was a Federal project.

With other classifications of workers, they have a United States Employment Service that classifies people. A man, for instance, if he is a mechanic, is classified as the type of mechanic he is. There is no such classification in force for the theater.

So I wanted to bring that out, because one of the things that would nullify the Communist end of it, we feel, is that if the relief bureau, or applicants from there, were sent directly to the project, it would do away with a great deal of favoritism in picking people because they belong to the organization. At the present time you have to recognize the union.

Since Mrs. Flangan recognizes the City Projects people and the supervisors' council and Mr. Rimassa, as a recognized union, it means they are aiding placements. I am going to give you an example of placements that were done by the Workers' Alliance through an agreement with the Federal theater.

MR. THOMAS. Do you want to come to the meetings that you know about of the C. P. C., that took place while the project was going on?

MISS HUFFMAN. The meetings of the C. P. C. were held on project time under the supervision of, and frequently with assistance by, the supervisors.

These meetings at the present time, more than previously, are called "rehearsals" instead of meetings. I might cite the instance of one very recently. It was held on Monday morning. It was a staff meeting. At the end of the meeting a petition was read, asking the people to sign the petition so that the junior supervisors would not receive a reduction in pay. That was a meeting held a few weeks ago and the supervisor who knew that this was going on put her head out of the door and very coyly said, "You know, the meeting is dismissed." which would mean that it was not on Government time, but it was on Government property. It would not be on Government time.

Now, let me start with the beginning of the C. P. C. meetings, when Edward Goodman was there. I was frequently on the project when

these happened during rehearsal or he would call special meetings and go into tirades, to use his expression, on the "goddamned red tape of government."

Mr. THOMAS. He was one of the supervisors?

Miss HUFFMAN. He was the head of the popular price Federal unit, and he was connected with the Federal Bureau, and I made it my business to see that the Federal bureau was properly informed of his constant berating of the Government and carrying on about inefficiency, and at the opening of a show at which an audience was present there, Goodman stated before the curtain went up that he might tell them that because they were not ready to apologize for the performance they were going to see it would be because of the "goddamned red tape of the Government." If he had just put the profanity in another spot, something could have been done about it.

Mr. MOSIER. Who was Mr. Goodman?

Miss HUFFMAN. He was from the beginning chairman of the Supervisors' Council unit and manager of the popular-price Federal theaters.

Mr. MOSIER. What was his history?

Miss HUFFMAN. An amateur director; he was the founder of the Washington Square Players, an amateur group, and he also directed amateur theatricals. I think it was in Detroit that he had an amateur local unit company.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he a member of the Communist Party or a member of the Workers' Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. Mr. Goodman would be much too clever to disclose that. He is a very clever, persuasive speaker. He is very sympathetic to the C. P. C., and as chairman of the Supervisors' Council they collected money for strike funds in which the C. P. C. and his Supervisors' Council were engaged. I think a later witness will explain why Mr. Goodman never had as large an organization on his project as existed on other projects.

These meetings protested administration orders, they planned marches on Washington, they protested against impending bills in Congress, they intimidated employes by telling them point-blank that "if you do not join the C. P. C. you will get a pink slip." I have statements of employees who were told this by Mr. Smith, the unit manager of the Negro Federal unit, and the personnel supervisor of the Negro Federal unit, that if they did not join the organizations they would be dismissed.

Mr. THOMAS. You will present those letters as exhibits?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. As a matter of fact, these meetings are both called by supervisors or somebody with other connections coming through cliques of the workers.

Mr. MASON. You talked about them being interested in certain bills in Congress. Do you know anything about any interest that was shown in a certain bill in Congress that was sponsored by Congressman Sirovich to make permanent this whole unsavory mess you have been discussing, of the Federal Theater Project?

Miss HUFFMAN. I heard little else for months.

Mr. MASON. Than about that bill?

Miss HUFFMAN. Circulars were distributed, meetings were held, and supervisors have been on the job, and petitions were sent out and signed on the project, and on some of the projects they have been

told. "If you are not on rehearsal, you have the number of hours added, so stay around and talk communism."

They made up postcards and wrote postcards to you on the project, sending them to the Congressmen as expressing the sentiment of their constituents on the Federal arts bill.

Mr. THOMAS. Coming back to your statement: was a meeting held in Charles Ryan's office, which I believe was behind closed doors, that might interest the committee? Is that the meeting at which a cablegram was sent to Mr. Roosevelt?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; that is entirely different.

Mr. THOMAS. You have not said anything about any meeting in Charles B. Ryan's office?

Miss HUFFMAN. Mr. Charles B. Ryan was the employment officer on the project and later the labor-relations officer.

The first I knew of a meeting being held in Mr. Ryan's office was when people came to me who were nonradical and opposed to the C. P. C.

They brought a lot of these letters over there, and out of the stack I kept some that had been sent out by the Central Dismissals Committee of the Federal Theater Project, the local C. P. C., and we have a letter of the same sort sent out by the acting chairman.

People opposed to the C. P. C. did not like to receive mail in their mail boxes at home with the Workers' Alliance name on the envelope. This letter would read like this:

MY DEAR ———: Please come to the office of Mr. Ryan, personnel administrator of the Federal Theater, seventh floor of the Chanin Building, 122 East Forty-second Street, at 11 a. m. Thursday, August 19. Your case will come up for hearing at this time.

It is necessary that these hearings be conducted in a disciplined and orderly manner. Please cooperate with below committee in this respect.

CENTRAL DISMISSALS COMMITTEE,
FEDERAL THEATER LOCALS, C. P. C.

Mr. THOMAS. With reference to that letter, on what kind of stationery was it written?

Miss HUFFMAN. I think this is termed newsprint.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not mean that. Was it on the letterhead of the Workers Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. There is no heading, Congressman Thomas. It is just a blank. I think it is newsprint.

Mr. THOMAS. You said something about the envelope.

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, it was mailed to their homes in an envelope and was marked C. P. C., Central Dismissals Committee. These were mailed out to their homes, and these people were highly indignant to think that the personnel administrator, or anybody else, had sent a list to the C. P. C. of the people who were dismissed, because every dismissed person received one of these. I believe Mr. Kerr received his at that time.

We had also learned, when these so-called hearings were held, that an organizer for the Workers Alliance attended these hearings.

These people felt that they were entitled, if a hearing were going to be had on a case for dismissal—they felt that they should be accorded the same rights, but they did not feel that it should be under the C. P. C. or the Workers Alliance supervision.

So I wrote a letter to Mr. Ryan, which I am submitting in evidence, in which I said that—

Many of the committee have asked that they be represented by their own committee rather than by an outside group to which they do not belong.

I thought that was being tactful. I did not mention which organization.

So Mr. Ryan sent me back a letter in which he says:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 13 in which you suggest group interviews by scheduled appointment—

Why, these meetings had been held for weeks before we had ever gotten them.

I took 13 people over to the hearing with Mr. Ryan. His stenographer was there taking down the names. The hearing consisted of asking them what they had done to find jobs in private industry; what they would do if the show business never came back.

That was taken up with each one, each giving his individual testimony. In the course of the meeting, Mr. Ryan started to talk about the impending march to Washington. As he started to talk—I had asked Mr. Ryan in his office not to bring up anything that was C. P. C.—marches, strikes, picket lines, petitions, or anything of that kind—because our group did not want it. Our group were professionals, and we wanted none of it. And we particularly objected to it in an office of a Government official, as we considered him, on Government property.

So as he started, I shook my head, and Mr. Ryan stopped. But, just as the meeting had started—in fact, the meeting was delayed in the beginning, because he received a phone call—but as the meeting started, a Miss Fania Malkin, who is the official Workers Alliance—they designate her as the official Workers Alliance organizer for the Federal Theater Project—well, at that time there was someone who was the head and she was the assistant official organizer for the Federal Theater Project. She sat beside me through all of this testimony and as Mr. Ryan finished the meeting that I referred to before and stopped, Miss Malkin got up and started to say, “Now, we must all get together on the march—”and I pulled her dress and Miss Malkin sat down.

The meeting over, we walked out into the corridor, with the exception of Miss Malkin. I stood outside for just a moment and walked back. Miss Malkin was sitting in Mr. Ryan’s office, with the typewritten list that the stenographer had just prepared of the names and addresses of the 13 people that I had gone over there with. To the best of my knowledge and belief—in fact, I have just recently checked it, so I can say without fear of contradiction—not one person who attended that meeting was ever reinstated on the project. And Mr. Garland Kerr was one of them.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, everybody got the pink slip as the result of attending the meeting?

Miss HUFFMAN. They had the pink slips.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, they had them?

Miss HUFFMAN. The meetings were for dismissed people. I did receive information from people who had received these notices and had gone over previous to my taking this group over, to which I have alluded, and time was spent in talking about the necessity of peti-

tioning Congress and writing the Congressmen and the march that was coming, and that was the only way the appropriation could be made large enough to take care of all these people who needed jobs; that they were dismissed because of the shortage of the appropriation.

Mr. MASON. Right in that connection, if I may, I have here a picture of Congressman Sirovich and Mrs. Hallie Flanagan and Mrs. Ellen Woodward in conference with him at the time they tried to get the bill passed to make permanent this unsavory mess. It seems to me that this picture, taken at that time, should be a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no evidence that that picture was taken at that time.

Mr. STARNES. Or that it was taken in connection with that campaign.

Mr. THOMAS. I agree that there is no evidence to show that.

Mr. MASON. Well, it is evidence enough for me.

Mr. MOSIER. It is evidence that their pictures were taken together.

Miss HUFFMAN. Now, to show that other than supervisors—Mr. Ryan, you see, would not be classified as a supervisor. To show that other than supervisors were working very close to the Workers Alliance, I am going to mention one other thing about Mr. Ryan. Mr. Ryan is not on the project at the present time but was up to and including about 3 months after Mr. Edwards arrived.

The CHAIRMAN. About how much longer will you need to complete your testimony? We have some other witnesses to hear.

Miss HUFFMAN. I think I can complete in about 30 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess for a few minutes.

(Thereupon a short recess was had.)

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman, will you proceed? Now, among the things I want you to bring out, will you be sure to mention the distribution of Workers Alliance and other communistic literature on the projects?

The CHAIRMAN. All of these things that you are testifying about, you know yourself; you have seen them?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are testifying to facts that you yourself know?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Statements that you yourself have heard?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were on the project and you have heard these statements at various meetings? This is not hearsay, what you are testifying to; you actually know these things?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is correct. Anything that I am bringing up, that has been told me by employees, has been checked by me and as secretary for the committee whose name I gave you—that is, for the group—you see, the function of that committee was merely to have a spokesman who was both relief and professional to speak for them, the union heads being nonrelief and the Workers Alliance being non-professional.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Miss HUFFMAN. So anything they have told me, I have not brought to you unless I have it in writing from them.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to submit all of these exhibits and the proof to back up your statement?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. One other point and then I will have you resume. When did you first become connected with the W. P. A., with this Federal Theater Project when it was under the W. P. A.?

Miss HUFFMAN. Do you mean connected as far as being on the pay roll is concerned?

The CHAIRMAN. In any capacity.

Miss HUFFMAN. You mean my interest in this matter; when did that first arise?

The CHAIRMAN. No. When did you begin to have first-hand information?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, I first had information on it when the dance unit was operating so that its window was at right angles with my window at my home.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what year was that?

Miss HUFFMAN. Back in 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you go on the pay roll?

Miss HUFFMAN. As I said, I had done investigating work without being on the pay roll. It was when Mr. Ritter came in, the very first week Mr. Ritter came in—at the beginning of Mr. Ritter's term as Administrator of the W. P. A.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did it last? When did you sever connections with this W. P. A. project?

Miss HUFFMAN. At the time Mr. William Nunn—this was just a few months—well, it was several months later, after Mr. William Nunn had been here for about a month.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Miss HUFFMAN. That would still be in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, since that time, what work did you do in connection with this?

Miss HUFFMAN. As I said, this group—there are about 900 people. I have statements and affidavits from about 900 people who constituted the membership of the committee for which I am the spokesman. The purpose of the committee is merely to acquaint authorities, whether it be Mrs. Flanagan, Mrs. Woodward, or a Congressman, or the President, of the conditions that exist.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are the spokesman of a group of about 900?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are professional actors?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they in the Equity?

Miss HUFFMAN. Some of them are Equity.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is an official organization; or, rather, it is an organization of professional actors?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are their spokesman?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And what you are giving here is not only of your own personal knowledge but from your investigation backed up by documentary proof; is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. In terming this an organization, may I make this clear? The organization is just for the accumulation of documentary proof and presenting it. We never charge any dues or had any signed membership list. We did hold meetings. But as to

any moneys that were necessary for sending mail to Washington or anything of that sort, that was done by contribution from these people and no distinction was made as to who—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). So that from 1934 to the present time you have been in close contact with this whole situation?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your knowledge is first-hand information, and information based upon statements and writings given to you by other members of the group?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those who want to acquaint the public and the officials with the true situation; that is true, is it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I must ask to qualify that. It is one of the distinct points of our committee to try to avoid having the public know about anything that is so destructive until after it has been cleaned up. We have done everything we could to avoid publicity and to avoid having the public become acquainted with it.

The CHAIRMAN. But you failed in that, and now you are making it public?

Miss HUFFMAN. No. We have always tried to avoid going in for publicity on the conditions as being destructive while taking it to the proper authorities would tend to be constructive.

The CHAIRMAN. I see; go ahead.

Miss HUFFMAN. Now, on the fact that there was an agreement between the Workers Alliance and the Federal Theater Project for the placement of employees. A girl, a Miss Tanya Talansky, a Workers Alliance organizer, was placed on the project and dismissed and then was placed back on the project to fill a vacation vacancy.

Mr. THOMAS. How do you spell Tanya's name?

Miss HUFFMAN. T-a-n-y-a T-a-l-a-n-s-k-y. She was a nonprofessional.

Then on September 13, she was returned to project 807, and upon her coming back, too, another girl, a Miss Leona Diesel, who had been dismissed, down to the Workers Alliance, and the Workers Alliance had Miss Diesel placed back on the project through an agreement made with Mr. Charles B. Ryan.

Now, it sounds rather farfetched that there should be an actual agreement between Mr. Ryan and the Workers Alliance for the placement of personnel, that there would be, let us say, a patronage list. I went over to see Mr. Ryan, having heard that not only Miss Diesel but two other people had been so placed on the rolls, to fill vacation vacancies, because people placed to fill vacation vacancies would be continued in employment. In fact, Miss Diesel is still on the project. So I went over to see Mr. Ryan about it. I like to go to first-hand places to get information. I brought up the matter of Miss Talansky being a Workers Alliance organizer being put on the project; no one could use her as an actress, because she was not one, and the agreement whereby the Workers Alliance was filling summer vacation vacancies.

Mr. Ryan told me that he and Mr. Farnsworth regretted more than anything they had ever done, this agreement. Mr. Ryan also used the word "contract"—that they had with the Workers Alliance.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Ryan definitely told you an agreement existed between—

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. The project, the Federal Theater Project and the Workers Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. And a list of the vacancies, as they occurred, were being sent to the Workers Alliance, and the Workers Alliance was sending up people to fill these vacancies. And this was continued and several other people were so placed.

I took the matter up with Mrs. Ellen Woodward and when Mrs. Ellen Woodward was told that if it continued for one more day and there was one more placement, I was going to the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee to see that if patronage was being passed out, with the rest of the political organizations—if it was going to be political patronage, everybody was going to get a chance. And Mrs. Woodward ordered it stopped and, as far as I know, no placement was made under that agreement.

But now, under the quota agreement, the Workers Alliance receives its quota and we have statements in some of their magazines here where they have made placements. They have placed people on the project. So that they are recognized along with the Actors Equity, the American Federation of Labor, and the Musicians' Union, and when there is a blanket order for replacements, such as 500 new people to be put on, a certain quota is given to the Workers Alliance to put on the project.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, you are offering those papers as exhibits?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. Now we have the collection of moneys on the projects. They collect money for a wide assortment of causes.

Mr. STARNES. When you say they collect money, who do you mean by "they"?

Miss HUFFMAN. Project employees, active workers for the Workers Alliance. I cannot say Workers Alliance members, because I have not seen their membership cards.

The CHAIRMAN. Instead of using the word "they" or "he", try to give names, specifically.

Miss HUFFMAN. I will. I am sorry. Moneys have been collected to bring Spanish veterans back to America. The term "Spanish veterans" is their term.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose term?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, you want specific names? You mean who does the collecting? The organizers for the Workers' Alliance collect this money to bring Spanish veterans back; to cover expenses of marchers to Washington.

Mr. STARNES. There were some marchers to Washington. Special chartered trains came down here with people demanding more appropriations for relief.

Miss HUFFMAN. And they are coming next week. I think they leave today to come down here. I have a circular that was mailed to me yesterday that they were on their way.

Mr. STARNES. I am talking about the time chartered trains came down here while Congress was in session.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; they are scheduled to come down here next week. They received a cut of \$1.09 in pay.

Mr. MOSIER. You say they collected money to bring Spanish War veterans back.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know whether any of them have been brought back?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir; I do not know any that they have brought back. That is not the only thing they have collected money for. That is one of the purposes for which they collected money. They collected money to send men to the Milwaukee convention and for other party purposes.

Mr. THOMAS. What convention is that?

Miss HUFFMAN. The national convention of the Workers' Alliance. This says, "We need our \$91.75." This is for the fighting fund.

Mr. STARNES. What is the fighting fund?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is the fighting fund of the party.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that collected for the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir; this is their fighting fund. This fighting fund is circularizing them to come to Washington, and to wire complaints to Congress.

Mr. THOMAS. What are some of the other purposes? You have a list of the purposes there.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What connection does this have with un-American activities?

Miss HUFFMAN. It is because people on the project are being coerced into making contributions to these funds, or to the fighting funds, and into buying these bulletins and papers that are being sold on the project. If you do not contribute to those things, you soon find yourself miles away from your home project, and being demoted. That applies from director all the way down to actor.

Mr. THOMAS. Most of the solicitors of those contributions are active members of the Workers' Alliance, are they not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. They collect money to pay for the time that delegates lose in coming to Washington with these protests. The delegates who come to Washington lose a day's pay, and that money is to be used to reimburse him.

Mr. STARNES. Why is coming to Washington to present a protest of any sort an un-American thing? That is quite proper. The point I am driving at is where does this link up with communism or un-American activities.

Mr. THOMAS. She has been giving a statement of the purposes for which it is used. She did not say it was just for one purpose. One of the purposes was bringing people back from Spain.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I do not see anything un-American about that. If it was for sending them to Spain, it would be a different idea.

Mr. MASON. Some of your illustrations of the use of the money collected are not pertinent to the investigation, but the fact that they were collected under a sweet form of coercion from people on a Federal project is another thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we can clear this up: Briefly, you have charged in your testimony that the Workers Alliance is a communistic organization: Is that true?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Leading Communists are in control of it, you say?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They use the same tactics that they use in other communistic organizations?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They have the same tactics, and use the same slogans.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they display portraits of Stalin, Lenin, and various other Communist leaders.

Miss HUFFMAN. I have not seen any on these posters, except at the opening of the project, on the fourth floor of the building, at the Federal Project. The walls there were covered with the pictures of the people you have named.

The CHAIRMAN. You saw them yourself?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and I asked them to have them removed.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement is that in order to retain your employment on a Federal Theater Project you must belong to the Workers Alliance. When I say "must," I mean that through fear of punishment, you are persuaded to belong to it.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; from fear of dismissal or demotion. But for this fear of dismissal or demotion, on the part of the people on the Federal Theater Project, there would be no collections made from them. They would not contribute to it, nor tolerate the attempt to collect those funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you tie up these coerced contributions with the Communist Party.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say in that connection that evidence which has preceded this shows that some of the officials of the Workers Alliance are well-known Communists.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; that is the point. They are receiving orders from the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. We have abundant documentary proof that where Communists have been brought here since the Third International, they accept the dictates of Moscow. We have there a direct tie-up with Moscow. Moscow dictates to the Communist Party, and if the Workers Alliance is a part of this Communist organization, there you have a direct tie-up with Moscow.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have any information relative to the distribution of pamphlets and newspapers on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; for instance, the Daily Worker here says, according to the circular attached:

With the compliments of the Communist Party units of Federal Theater projects.

The CHAIRMAN. That was distributed on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know it?

Miss HUFFMAN. Mr. Kerr handed this to me.

The CHAIRMAN. He was employed on the Federal Theater Project at that time?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other Communist literature there?

Miss HUFFMAN. Here is the Red Spot Light, which is distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. That is distributed to workers on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. It contains an application blank to join the Communist Party, or the Young Communist League.

Mr. THOMAS. You have there a lot of other literature of the same nature that is exhibited on the theater project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; I will turn these over to you.

The CHAIRMAN. You say all of that literature is being distributed on the project of the character you have described?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those who work on the projects and who have received those pamphlets, have brought them to you and you have obtained written statements from most of them. Is that true?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You secured the pamphlets from them, and you got written statements from the people who received them?

Miss HUFFMAN. These written statements are in the form of complaints that the people are making about the project so that we can compile a booklet that we can present to Members of Congress, Mr. Hopkins, or to the President, showing what the conditions are. In those complaints mention is made of the fact of their being coerced to buy literature that is being distributed and that they are coerced into making contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. As you finish up your statement confine your testimony to the direct link between these activities and the Communist Party, or one of its affiliates.

Miss HUFFMAN. What I refer to next is a clipping from the New York Times, of February 3, 1937, I read:

Charges that supervisors in the W. P. A. Federal Theater projects had discharged relief workers for failure to join a union, usually the Workers' Alliance, were found warranted by the joint appeals board of the five Federal arts project in 36 cases, according to the board's annual report, made public last night. The board directed that the workers involved, who numbered as high as 10 to 15 in some cases, be reinstated.

That refers to dismissals made in July 1937.

Mr. THOMAS. Do they have bulletin boards on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; they have an unofficial bulletin board. The project officials permit the distribution of them before 9 o'clock in the morning, since that is not Government time. They permit the distribution of this matter to desks on the project.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen that?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. At the Twenty-third Street Building, the other morning, I saw a man come in with a bundle of this matter and distribute it at the various desks. They said that it was done before 9 o'clock. So far as the bulletin board is concerned, in some instances, I have obtained these circulars I have here from the bulletin board.

The CHAIRMAN. Right on the project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. The unofficial bulletin boards were established for the display of notices, membership drives, notices of various meetings to be held, and so forth. I have one from the bulletin board about a meeting held by David Lasser.

Mr. THOMAS. David Lasser is head of the Workers Alliance?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. The reason the unofficial board was set up was because meeting notices and all of this agitation material were being posted on the official board. For that reason they issued an executive order. That was because you could not find the official notices because the board was cluttered up with this other matter. The Workers Alliance made a trip to Washington in order to have that unofficial bulletin board established on which these things could be posted. There was one official order after another in the attempt to control these boards. At the present time they require a signature before anything can be posted on the board; but with the sympathetic attitude of the supervisors for the Communists there is very little difficulty in having anything posted on the bulletin boards that they desire.

Mr. STARNES. What are you leading up to by that testimony?

Miss HUFFMAN. Showing the type of literature that is displayed on the bulletin boards. For instance, there is a letter from the president posted on the bulletin board with the statement "A letter from your president. Now will you believe it? Join your union in every action to save the Federal Theater." That is on the bulletin board in connection with the letter from the president.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, you would not cite that as an un-American proposition, would you? You say that is a letter from the president?

Miss HUFFMAN. It says, "A letter from your president. Now will you believe it? Join your union in every action to save the Federal Theater." That is signed "Local 100, U. F. W. A." and "C. I. O."

Mr. STARNES. I cannot see the relevancy of that exhibit.

Miss HUFFMAN. It is the fact that it was done on Government property where they were issuing notices of meetings, and asking them to attend meetings that were un-American. That is the reason I have introduced it as being un-American.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, you claim that the Workers Alliance is a front organization for the Communist Party in this country?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And any bulletin put out by that organization would be a bulletin of an un-American character?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. So that a bulletin put out by the Workers Alliance, and placed on this bulletin board which is on Government property, is not proper. That is what you claim?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. The Red Spot Light, on May Day, 1937, carries with it an appeal to join the C. P. C. for reinstatement. Therefore, many people on the project are asked to join the Communist Party. I am sorry I did not bring that notice with me about the meeting of Earl Browder, which was posted on the Government bulletin board there on Government property.

Mr. STARNES. What is the "U. F. W. A."?

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the United Federal Workers of America?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. I do not see the relevancy of this.

Mr. THOMAS. I must disagree with that. It has been brought out here that the Workers Alliance is a front organization of the Communist Party, and this is their work.

Mr. STARNES. There is no testimony here that something was put up by the Workers Alliance, or that they did this.

Mr. THOMAS. Miss Huffman has stated a number of times that Workers Alliance literature, and even Communist Party literature, has been distributed on the project, and put up on the bulletin board. Now, this particular one here is just one of many. Of course, if the committee feels that it is irrelevant, let us discard it.

Mr. STARNES. I do not understand that this was placed on the bulletin board. I do not think we have had any testimony about that, and I do not see any thing about a letter from the President of the United States that would be un-American.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not think that is claimed.

Miss HUFFMAN. I am not connecting the President with it, but I am referring to the fact that the bulletin board contained this letter from the President, with this other matter about joining their local. The point I make is that the President's letter is being used for such a purpose. I think it is deplorable that a letter from the President should be used for the purposes of a membership drive for a local organization apparently based on communistic principles.

Mr. STARNES. That is a different proposition all together. You are getting on better ground there.

Miss HUFFMAN. Here is another theater publication, of the Theater Arts Committee, which has a connection with Communist activities. This is a drive for membership in the Theater Arts Committee, which is a new organization that is being formed. This is pertinent for two reasons which are listed on the inside cover of the pamphlet. One of the statements read:

Urge our Congress to pass the O'Connell Peace Act and to amend our neutrality act to provide for naming of aggressor nations and placement of economic embargo against them by concerted action of democratic powers.

Another one reads:

Act for the passage of the antilynch bill.

Another reads:

"Act against vigilante activities" and "I am the law politics in our city, State, and country."

Membership fees are solicited on the project by this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they still distribute those pamphlets on the project after 9 o'clock?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did they make a regulation that they should be distributed before 9 o'clock?

Miss HUFFMAN. They distribute them before 9 o'clock. I do not know that any regulation was made, but that was the practice. I know from personal observation that the only time there has been no distribution of that literature on the project was for the period up to the past 2 days. Since the opening of the sessions of this committee, when this committee opened its hearings, the literature that had been distributed on the project previously, has not been distributed. The Daily Worker has been sold on the curb in front of the project, and not on the project. That happened but in the last 2 days, again I have received word from people connected with

the committee and from some connected with our group that literature is again being distributed on the project.

Mr. THOMAS. Literature of the particular character that you have shown here?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You are offering these as exhibits, or leaving them with the committee?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. That includes the letter from the President?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; pertaining to the improper use of the letter from the President.

Mr. STARNES. Miss Huffman, did you see that on the bulletin board?

Miss HUFFMAN. I did not see that particular one on the bulletin board, but I saw one exactly like it.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing in this record to show that this was on the bulletin board.

Miss HUFFMAN. If I knew exactly which bulletin board—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). You say you saw one like this?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; on Twenty-third Street. I saw one at the Delphi Theater. I saw this same thing at many places, and so did some other witnesses.

Mr. THOMAS. There will be some other witnesses.

Mr. STARNES. What is the U. F. W. A.?

Miss HUFFMAN. The United Federal Workers of America. This matter was shown in connection with the letter from the President. The exact connection with the Workers Alliance would be through the people who collected dues for the Workers Alliance. They are the same people who distributed this U. F. W. A. material, and so we have always considered them a part of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. STARNES. Can you show that the U. F. W. A. is a communistic organization, or that it is controlled by Communists?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not know what the United Federal Workers of America is, except that these things were posted by the Workers Alliance members. They were posted by workers for the Workers Alliance.

Mr. MOSIER. You have testified about these notices, pamphlets, etc., that you have seen on the bulletin boards, against fascism, nazi-ism, and so forth.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you ever see any circulars laid on the people's desks warning Americans against communism?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir; because if they went on the bulletin boards, they would come down very rapidly.

Mr. MOSIER. You never saw one warning against communism?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one pertinent thing about it. In all of this literature that is posted there is not anything against communism.

Miss HUFFMAN. In fact, some bulletins obnoxious to them, simply saying that the law should be obeyed in connection with the theater project—simply say that the law should be obeyed in employing people to work on the project—those bulletins were torn down. In fact, I had to thumb-tack one a fourth time. It was taken down. No one can put anything up except the Workers Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen any pamphlets against communism?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all against nazi-ism and fascism, but there is nothing against communism.

Miss HUFFMAN. That is true. This booklet of the theater arts committee contains a list of its activities, and on the back of it you will find the names of the members of the executive board. There are numerous names in connection with the division and the advisory council. They are all included in this list on the back of the pamphlet. Some members of the advisory council are supervisors. You will find them included in this list on the back of the pamphlet.

Mr. STARNES. You never saw anything on the board in praise of our Constitution, or in praise of democratic government?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, if it were not for our Government, they would be without any jobs at all.

Miss HUFFMAN. In finishing, there is one thing I would like to bring up, which I will offer in toto as an exhibit. I will offer this correspondence just as it is. This is a complaint which covers organizational activities and various disturbances on the project, which was presented to Mr. Hopkins, Mrs. Woodward, and a good many Congressmen. With that I would like to include a letter from Congressman O'Connor, of New York, dated July 22, 1937. That is a letter from Congressman John O'Connor, of New York, to Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, in which he states that if the complaints given here are true, then, of course, the spirit of the act providing for relief is violated. He says that the spirit of the act is violated, if any of the charges presented are true. Shortly after this, Mrs. Flanagan replied that she had been done a great wrong by the charges in this case, and that she would report on them. She stated that she would prepare for Mr. O'Connor complete data on the situation.

Under date of August 3, 1937, Mrs. Flanagan sent Mr. O'Connor a four-page letter, but that letter does not supply complete data at all. It definitely shows the evasive manner in which the answer is made. There was no attempt at any investigation or ascertainment of the truth on the Federal project. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Flanagan carefully ignored such major violations as the falsification of education and experience records, items under project mismanagement, inexperienced supervisors, refused referrals, protracted rehearsals, employment without proper classification, and organizational activity on Government property, and answered with generalizations only three points of the grievances as representative of the entire content. She also deemed it advisable to disregard the mention made in Congressman O'Connell's letter of July 22, 1937, of the favoritism and paying of unproportionate salaries, employment of persons not on relief, in place of those relief cases which were dismissed. In regard to organizational activities, it is significant that Mrs. Flanagan included the City Projects Council, Supervisor's Council, and Play Bureau in her list of theatrical unions. Mrs. Flanagan further stated—I quote: "Finally, the Relief Act of 1937 provided that each project should be limited to 5 percent nonrelief," which statement is not contained in any of the emergency relief appropriations acts.

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot see the pertinency of that testimony at all.

Mr. THOMAS. I think one point mentioned is that this complaint has to do with organizational activities on Government property, referring to Workers' Alliance activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that has been gone into.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you not think that she should present those letters to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. If you will leave that with the committee——

Miss HUFFMAN. This affidavit about the collection of dues, where the girl received the dismissal slip and then paid dues of \$4.55 in order to get back on the project; shall I submit that as an exhibit?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I think you might present that as an exhibit.

Miss HUFFMAN. I think there was mention made of that before.

I have these three posters. This is the only one that has been on the bulletin board. The bulletin board has been practically bare since this investigation started. For the first time in the history of the project, the official boards have nothing on them except the notice of the National Youth Congress.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the Congress that is being held at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the one that was so widely advertised in the Daily Worker?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You say these bulletin boards have been practically bare since this investigation started?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Miss HUFFMAN. Because I went around and looked at them and saw that they were.

(The papers referred to were marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 30.")

Miss HUFFMAN. I can conclude by saying that I thank you for your patience and your kindness to me. I was very nervous about coming before you, of course, knowing what must point to the Communist angle, and being very desirous of also acquainting you with the fact that it was their method of operation that is the communistic danger so far as the employees are concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with any of the activities of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir. Unfortunately I carefully avoided those things. And we certainly hope that the results of this committee will be to clear out the communism on the Federal project, and the procommunism, and place the project in the hands of efficient professional people, so that the project can take care of the professional relief actor.

The CHAIRMAN. Place it in the hands of people who are in sympathy with the American home and Government; is that what you mean?

Miss HUFFMAN. I did not understand the question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, you hope it will be placed in the hands of those who are opposed to communism? Is that what you mean?

We have nothing to do with the efficiency of the supervisors or those in control. That is not our function.

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, Congressman Dies, I don't think we ought to get in a Fascist, either. Why not get in a good all-around American, who is interested in obeying the law?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. We do not want nazi-ism or communism or fascism.

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir. We just want the law as laid down by Congress.

May I say also that in this last exhibit you will find a misquote by Mrs. Flanagan of the act of Congress, in which the act calls for 9 percent on the nonrelief project. I had forgotten that before.

Mr. THOMAS. Thank you very much, Miss Huffman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for coming before this committee and giving us the facts that you have.

The next witness will be called, and Mr. Starnes will examine the witness.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM HARRISON HUMPHREY

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your name and address.

Mr. HUMPHREY. William Harrison Humphrey, 1118 Tenth Street, NW.

Mr. STARNES. What is the nature of your work?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am an actor.

Mr. STARNES. What organization, if any, do you belong to?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I have not belonged to any.

Mr. STARNES. Did you take the part of Earl Browder in a certain play?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; in the play Triple A Plowed Under.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you continue in this capacity?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I continued with it for 6 weeks.

Mr. STARNES. Were you dismissed from the play?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Well, no; I left it.

Mr. STARNES. You left the play. Will you state the reasons why you did?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I left the play because of the propaganda that was prevalent in the project.

Mr. STARNES. What was that propaganda?

Mr. HUMPHREY. It was largely along communistic lines.

Mr. STARNES. Who disseminated that propaganda?

Mr. HUMPHREY. It was disseminated by the theater unit.

Mr. STARNES. When you say "Disseminated by the theater unit," name some names.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Well, I can give you Mr. Philip Barber, who is the New York head of the theater branch of the W. P. A., who, they claimed, was a Communist. I don't know. He is supposed to have attended Communist meetings.

Mr. STARNES. Not "supposed." Confine yourself to what you actually have knowledge of.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I think they had supervision over the theater, of course; and their allowing this character to be played as a Communist leader whose program was antagonistic to the democratic program was sufficient evidence that they were Communist sympathizers.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, that is a conclusion of yours. Now, give the committee the benefit of any facts that you have, if you have any, that came to your knowledge, that any communistic or any other un-American propaganda was disseminated among the people on the Federal Theater project.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Well, their putting on this character itself would indicate that this man had something important to say in regard to the political situation of today, and, necessarily, that would have to be interpreted according to our form of government; and my discovery was that they did not intend that it should be interpreted in that form.

Mr. STARNES. Did they say it should not be, or did they give you any definite or specific instructions as to the part you were to play and how you were to act?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; they did not; but they would not allow any facts to come out that were relevant to the situation and which I thought were necessary to a proper understanding of the part.

I should like to read an explanation or a defense of the part that I played.

Mr. STARNES. No; I do not care anything about any statements that you have got, or any of your political philosophies or ideals. I want facts, if you have any, that show that communistic propaganda was disseminated among the people working on the Federal Theater project.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. That, I should say, was a fact.

Mr. MOSIER. Tell me, what was the name of the play in which you took the part of Earl Browder?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The play was called Triple A Plowed Under.

Mr. MOSIER. You know the lines of that play, I suppose?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No; not all the lines. I know some of the lines.

Mr. MOSIER. You know Earl Browder's lines?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; I know them.

Mr. MOSIER. Were there any lines in that play that reflected a trend toward communism and against Americanism that you had to speak in the part of Earl Browder?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Well, the interpretation of the part as it was read indicates the place or the part that communism played in our form of government; not from a communistic standpoint but from the standpoint in which it should be played.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand it, you were on relief when you were on this project?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I was before I went on the project.

Mr. THOMAS. You are still on relief?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I am still on relief.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean to say that when you were on relief you resigned from the project?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I resigned from the project after playing 6 weeks in it.

Mr. THOMAS. And when you were on relief you resigned from the project?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Even though I was drawing pay as a W. P. A. worker then; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. How did you happen to get in touch with this committee?

Mr. HUMPHREY. This committee here?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I came on to Washington, not for the purpose of testifying, but for other purposes, and it occurred to me——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Did anyone ask you to get in touch with the committee?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Did anyone suggest that you get in touch with the committee?

Mr. HUMPHREY. No.

Mr. THOMAS. You just got in touch with the committee because you felt it was patriotic for you to do so?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir. I thought it was something that they wished to inquire into.

Mr. THOMAS. You got in touch with the committee so that you could read a statement to the committee?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Well, I thought the statement was necessary to indicate what my position is.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you hand me that statement? Let us look into that statement.

(The statement referred to was handed to Mr. Mosier.)

Mr. THOMAS. I think we ought to look into this witness very carefully before we put him on the stand. I know nothing about him at all.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I gather from the testimony so far that this gentleman resigned from this project because he considered the content of his part was subversive, and he refused to act it out. That is the only conclusion I can come to so far.

Mr. THOMAS. He is not under subpoena, is he?

Mr. MASON. No.

Mr. STARNES. I do not see any reason for questioning him any further.

Mr. MOSIER. Wait just a minute.

Mr. HUMPHREY. It will be impossible to bring out my objections, unless I am able to bring out——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Mr. Witness, we are not interested in your political philosophies at all.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I move that this witness be not put on.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we suspend until tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Chairman, I think this witness has come here as a good American and has offered his assistance to this committee for what it is worth. If the committee does not think the evidence he seeks to introduce here is proper, that is up to the committee to decide. If the evidence has no weight, that is up to the committee to decide. However, I do think that the witness should be commended for coming here as an American citizen, offering his assistance, and

I would like to ask the witness if he will permit these papers which he has brought here to remain in the hands of the committee, so that the committee may go over them and perhaps recall him later, if they so desire.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. You have papers here showing that you played the part of Earl Browder?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; they have been here several days already.

The CHAIRMAN. We will look them over, and may recall you later.

Mr. MOSIER. Thank you very much for coming.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Saturday, August 20, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We have this morning some four or five witnesses dealing with the Federal Theaters Project; then after those witnesses we have a witness dealing with an entirely different subject matter. We are going to try to get through with these four or five witnesses as rapidly as possible, and get right down to the meat in the coconut, as the saying goes, and Mr. Starnes will question all of those witnesses.

I want to make this statement, repeating again—this committee has nothing to do with the alleged inefficiency in any project, or any mismanagement or anything of that sort. We are solely concerned with the un-American activity phase of it, and these witnesses have been cautioned to limit their testimony to Communistic activities or Nazi activities or Fascist activities.

Mr. STARNES. Call Mr. Verdi.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS M. VERDI

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STARNES. State your name and your address.

Mr. VERDI. My name is Francis M. Verdi, 511 East Seventy-eighth Street, New York City.

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

Mr. VERDI. Playwright and actor.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any connection with the Federal Theaters Project?

Mr. VERDI. I am at present employed on the Federal Theaters Project.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. VERDI. Since its inception 3 years ago last September. Prior to that I had been employed on the P. W. A., which was also a theater project conducted by the city and State of New York, and the personnel of that project was taken over and absorbed by the present Federal Theaters Project.

Mr. STARNES. Were you appointed to make an investigation into the activities of the Federal Theaters Project, and if so, by whom were you appointed, what were your duties, and what were you to investigate?

Mr. VERDI. I was appointed in that position by Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, who is at the head of the entire work of the theater project; and as representing the Actors' Equity organization, by Frank Gilmore, at that time president of the Equity.

I wish to state that any statement I may make is to prove——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). What were you to investigate Mr. Verdi?

Mr. VERDI. I was at that time—in order for you to thoroughly understand what I was to investigate at that time, I must go back to July of 1937, when 30 percent of the Federal Theater Project personnel was dropped. Among that 30 percent, about 175 actors of the Actors' Equity Union were dropped. Now, those were only the ones belonging to Actors' Equity, and it does not include others dropped belonging to other theatrical unions. They were dropped in spite of the fact that at least 175 members of the Workers Alliance, who were unqualified to remain on the project, were held on the project.

At a meeting of the Equity about that time, when our members were dropped, a discussion arose as to procedure to have them reinstated.

Mr. STARNES. May I interrupt you a moment. You say that 175 members of Equity, or 175 professional artists, were dropped from the project?

Mr. VERDI. Were dropped from the project.

Mr. STARNES. Now, those that were dropped were all professional artists?

Mr. VERDI. Precisely.

Mr. STARNES. Who were on relief at the time?

Mr. VERDI. Precisely.

Mr. STARNES. And in their stead a large number of nonprofessionals, or people without theatrical experience were placed on these projects?

Mr. VERDI. They were held on the projects.

Mr. STARNES. Held on the projects?

Mr. VERDI. And others without theatrical experience have since been added to it.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Now, then, as a result of those conditions, this investigation was ordered?

Mr. VERDI. Precisely.

Mr. STARNES. Because complaints had been made to Mrs. Flanagan of conditions?

Mr. VERDI. Precisely.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, what did you find in your investigation?

Mr. VERDI. I found—my duties were twofold. One was to represent the Federal Theater in any protests that they wished to make to Actor's Equity; and on the other hand, to present any grievances on behalf of Actors' Equity to the Federal Theater Project. In other words, I was a liaison man to adjust any differences that arose. Those were the immediate problems. But the more important one was this survey that I conducted, as I say, on behalf of Mrs. Flana-

gan, representing the project, and Mr. Gilmore, representing Actors' Equity. They felt that the interests of both parties would be served by my serving in that capacity.

MR. STARNES. Tell us what you found. That is what we want to know for the record.

MR. VERDI. I conducted this survey. It was a difficult survey to conduct, because Actors' Equity were willing to permit on the project any amateurs who showed unusual ability, because we needed young people on the project to play the young parts, and we could not get them from within our own ranks, because there were not enough of them on relief. But I discovered that these youngsters of unusual ability were so few as to be almost negligible.

In the course of my investigation—and understand that this investigation was not only official but Mrs. Flanagan permitted me to go through all the files of the organizations so that I was enabled to look into the backgrounds of these people on the project. I was about ready to make my report the latter part of last April, when I was called into the office of Mr. Archie Hill, who at that time was executive assistant to Mr. Kondolf on the project. He was my immediate superior and supervisor. He informed me that the Federal Theater Project no longer desired a report of my survey. I told him that Mrs. Flanagan had asked that report, and that it should go in. He said they were no longer interested.

I must interpolate that about December 3, when I had ideas that this survey of mine was going to be stopped, I wrote to Mrs. Flanagan asking her assurance that it would be seen through to the finish.

MR. STARNES. All right; let me interrupt you there a minute, Mr. Verdi. Did Mr. Hill or Mrs. Flanagan or any other person have some idea—had you discussed with them what your report would be, or the tenor of your report, or had you given to them an interim report or a preliminary report of some sort?

MR. VERDI. None whatsoever; but they knew that the report would be unfavorable to the members of the Workers' Alliance who were on the project.

MR. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question on that point?

MR. STARNES. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. Mr. Verdi, was there anything in that report about the Workers' Alliance?

MR. VERDI. Not as such. My report had to do with these members of the Federal Theater Project merely as actors and actresses.

MR. THOMAS. Why do you say, then, that it would be unfavorable to the Workers' Alliance?

MR. VERDI. Because a tremendous majority of these amateurs are members of the Workers' Alliance.

Mrs. Flanagan wrote to me, as I was saying, in December, that so far as finishing the survey was concerned, it was now up to the Federal Theater Project in New York City itself, because she no longer had immediate jurisdiction over it, and that she was merely attending to her duties as the national director, so that the responsibilities then rested on the local authorities.

MR. STARNES. Who was the local administrator?

MR. VERDI. The local administrator was Mr. George Kondolf—still the local administrator.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have any discussion with Mr. Kondolf with reference to your survey?

Mr. VERDI. I had none whatever, because my immediate supervisor was Mr. Hill, and my assumption was that any decision arrived at by Mr. Hill would have been after a conference with Mr. Kondolf, naturally.

Mr. STARNES. Did you tell Mr. Hill of some of the things that your survey had disclosed?

Mr. VERDI. I did not tell him in detail; no.

Mr. STARNES. Did you give him the general tenor of what conditions it would disclose?

Mr. VERDI. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STARNES. And what were those conditions?

Mr. VERDI. The conditions were that it would disclose that there were at least 125 actors and actresses still on the project who had no right to be there by virtue of their having had no professional background whatsoever prior to joining the project, and there were probably 100 more whose qualifications were very, very dubious.

Mr. STARNES. What action, if any, did Mr. Hill take on the matter, and what reply, if any, did he give you with reference to this report?

Mr. VERDI. He told me they were no longer interested. I told him it would be a matter of a week to summarize my survey of some 10 or 11 months, and at least it would have the advantage of my report. He said positively he did not care anything about the report; he did not want it; did not want to receive it, and he was no longer interested.

Mr. STARNES. Did the Federal Theater Project have an actors' pool, Mr. Verdi, at any time?

Mr. VERDI. Yes, sir; they did.

Mr. STARNES. Were these 125 nonactors, as you term them, or lacking in professional experience, and probably a hundred more whose status was dubious—were they members of that pool?

Mr. VERDI. Some of them were, but most of them were assigned to playing atmosphere.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who made those assignments, or who was responsible for their getting these assignments, even though they were lacking in professional training and qualification?

Mr. VERDI. The directors of the plays were responsible, because they made requisitions for these people.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of any outside influence, or any inside influence, that you would term "subversive," that was responsible for placing people who were not qualified for their positions in those positions?

Mr. VERDI. I would like to give you one instance to show you the power of the Workers' Alliance, who are subversive in their intent and in their activities.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. VERDI. There was a case of a young lady, Dorothy Nolan, who was dropped on July 1 of last year, among the 30 percent. She appealed her case to the appeals board. The appeals board in its report stated clearly that she had evidently been dropped without a proper evaluation of her work on the part of her superior—who, by the way, was a member of the C. P. C. and was totally unqualified to fill that position. This lady was dropped, and when three or four other members of the Actors' Equity Association who were dropped

with Miss Nolan accused Rita Hassan—she is the lady I refer to, who was the head of the project at the time, as managing project supervisor at a salary of \$175 a month—when these actresses belonging to the Actors' Equity Association accused her of being prejudiced against Actors' Equity members, and having kept on the rolls her friends—and by "her friends" I mean members of the Workers' Alliance—she replied, "Yes; I did; and what are you going to do about it?"

When Miss Dorothy Nolan's case was appealed before the appeals board this accusation was made, and Miss Rita Hassan did not deny that she had made that statement.

In summing up the appeals board recommended that Miss Nolan's work be reevaluated so that she might be replaced on the rolls of the Federal Theater Project.

I made it my business to write to and to receive written statements from the three directors who had charge of that girl's work on the project, and they all stated without qualification that she should be reinstated.

For 10 weeks I worked to have that girl reinstated. I presented these affidavits, and I even used the power of the president of the Actors' Equity Association to influence those in authority on the Federal Theater Project to have this girl reinstated, and we were absolutely unable to do it. At the end of 10 weeks a member of the Workers Alliance approached Miss Nolan and said, "Do you want to get back on the project?" She said, "I certainly do." He said, "I will attend to that." And within 24 hours that girl was reinstated by members of the Workers Alliance.

And I wish to tell you, gentlemen, that the Workers Alliance, in their power in the project, not only know where the body is buried but they appear to have a whole cemetery of corpses at their disposal.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen communistic literature pasted on or posted on the bulletin boards on these projects?

Mr. VERDI. I have seen notices of the C. P. C., which is a body that was created by the Workers Alliance, constantly placed on the board, and I have before me a statement which I shall submit in evidence—one of their circulars placed on the board, which is signed by the Workers Alliance of America. In it they attack Mr. Paul Edwards, who is at the head of the five arts divisions in New York City, which have control of the Federal Theater Project. It also attacks Miss Ellen Woodward, who is the assistant to Mr. Aubrey Williams in the conduct of this project.

Incidentally, the Workers Alliance attacks anyone and everyone that will not fall in with their views.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever solicited to become a member of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. VERDI. I was not; because in my position as managing project supervisor on the project they felt that if I wished to join I might as well do so, but there was not—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Were you ever solicited to contribute funds to any cause sponsored by the Workers Alliance?

Mr. VERDI. Yes; I was solicited for funds to present grievances of the project here in Washington—in order to send delegations here to Washington.

Mr. STARNES. Can you tell the committee whether or not the Workers' Alliance, the C. P. C., or other organizations which you allege are

communistic in their nature and their activities, still place publications, notices, and so forth, on these bulletin boards around these Federal Theater projects?

Mr. VERDI. The document I have before me was placed on my desk as managing project supervisor some three months ago. I have since then seen statements of the C. P. C. on our bulletin boards.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen any there recently?

Mr. VERDI. I was away on my vacation for 2 months prior to July 1, so that I can say nothing regarding that interim.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the sale and distribution of communistic literature on these Federal Theater projects, among the personnel?

Mr. VERDI. That literature has been disseminated so generally that everyone knows about it.

Mr. STARNES. And you do, too? I am asking you if you know.

Mr. VERDI. Yes; I do.

Mr. STARNES. You include yourself, then, in the term "everyone"?

Mr. VERDI. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Can you give the committee the benefit of any other communistic activities carried on in connection with these Federal Theater projects, and name names, and tell what those activities are?

Mr. VERDI. Well, the ground has been very well covered by Miss Huffman. I will state that their power is such that members of my profession who have been in it many years go to their work with fear and trembling. I am sorry to have to state that members of the Actors' Equity Association have joined the C. P. C. merely because they felt they had to do it for self-preservation.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, there was a spirit of coercion prevalent on these projects that constrained those who belong to the Equity or those who belong to no organization to join the C. P. C. or the Workers' Alliance in order to retain their jobs or to secure jobs; is that correct?

Mr. VERDI. There is a spirit that is even more powerful than coercion, Mr. Congressman, and that is acts. That is showing our people that unless they do belong to the C. P. C. they may not hold their jobs. It is more insidious; it is more effective in its results.

Mr. STARNES. Is there any other statement now that you wish to make and bring to the attention of the committee dealing with alleged un-American or subversive activities in connection with the operation of these projects? If so, you may do it.

Mr. VERDI. Well, I have no—I have been in the peculiar position of holding a pretty high job on the project, and people have not approached me. In fact, you might as well have my conscientious opinion regarding the situation. As a member of the small group of about 15 who were managing project supervisors, each one of whom had charge of a unit of production, we gathered together in conference once a week to discuss policies of the organization, and Mrs. Flanagan very often attended those meetings; and while I am unswerving in my conviction that the Workers Alliance is the most vicious power of today, using the money of the taxpayers to win over to its ranks membership, I will state that at none of these conferences has Mrs. Flanagan, in fairness to her, by implication or by word, encouraged such Communist tendencies. I have found the lady most extraordinarily

gifted in her knowledge of stagecraft and in her love of the theater; and while I shall fight to the finish, I have already been demoted because of my activities against the Workers Alliance. But, gentlemen, this is a crusade on my part. I am fighting for my fellow actors and actresses. For 9 months I have had people, 40, 50, 60, or 70 years old, who have served this country in charity benefits without question of doubt, come to me with tears in their eyes—people on home relief, begging to get on this project. I was warned that I would be demoted if I carried on this project, and I have been demoted.

MR. STARNES. Who warned you?

MR. VERDI. Mr. Hill, the assistant. He did not do it by direct words, but by implication he told me that if I did not stop this work against the Workers Alliance it would be very bad. The implication was very direct. I have been demoted from managing project supervisor right down to the bottom of the line, to an actor. My abilities as a director have been unquestioned on this project, and at one time I told Mr. Ullman, who had charge of assigning directors to plays, that I was available; that in spite of conducting the survey I could still direct the plays; and yet he went outside the theater to secure—

MR. STARNES (interposing). That will be sufficient. Do any members have any questions to ask?

The CHAIRMAN. After you were subpoenaed, Mr. Verdi, did any of the supervisors or officers call you in to ask you about it?

MR. VERDI. No; they did not.

MR. STARNES. That is all. We thank you very much, Mr. Verdi.

The CHAIRMAN. Call the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES WALTON

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

MR. STARNES. Mr. Walton, will you state your name and address, please?

MR. WALTON. Yes, sir; Charles Walton—

MR. THOMAS (interposing). Mr. Chairman, before this gentleman starts, let me say just a few words.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. I received a letter this morning from Charlotte Lillard, of 6107 Salem Place, Hollywood, Calif. Charlotte Lillard claims to be a cousin of William Jennings Bryan, Jr., also of Ruth Bryan Owen, and she has made certain statements relative to the Federal Theater project in Los Angeles. I would like to incorporate in the record here, if I may, a copy of a letter of Charlotte Lillard sent to Mr. Harry Hopkins on August 12, 1938, relative to communism in the Federal Theater project at Los Angeles.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute before you do that. This committee has received thousands of communications. Every mail is bringing in numerous letters and telegrams from people who are making charges in corroboration of witnesses, and some people who are denying charges. I think it would be unfair to incorporate one without incorporating all; and if we incorporated all of them, it would consume the entire appropriation.

MR. STARNES. I suggest that the committee take that up in executive session.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I ask that is that there are certain things here which are of unusual interest.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to consider the policy later on with regard to people who are unable to appear and whom we cannot afford to subpoena, but who wish to make positive statements—the question of whether to permit them to do so by affidavit. Now, there is a question. But, you see, this testimony is under oath, and it is not fair to let someone refute these charges unless they are under oath likewise.

Mr. THOMAS. All right; I will hold this until we get into executive session.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Mr. Walton; will you give your name and address?

Mr. WALTON. Charles Walton, 511 East Seventy-eighth Street.

Mr. STARNES. What is your occupation, Mr. Walton?

Mr. WALTON. Stage director on the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. STARNES. Do you hold any official connection with the Federal Theater Project?

Mr. WALTON. Well, I am what is known as an administrative worker, as a director of plays.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been engaged in activities under, with, or through the Federal Theaters Project?

Mr. WALTON. I was appointed a year ago last April.

Mr. STARNES. What is your background and experience with reference to theatrical work?

Mr. WALTON. I have had a thorough training in every position the theater holds—as house manager, company manager, stage manager, stage director, advance agent, box-office man. I have had a thorough training since 1907.

Mr. STARNES. What duties have you performed since you have been connected with the Federal Theaters Project?

Mr. WALTON. When I was appointed I was supposed to be appointed as a director, but I soon found that I was listed as a stage manager.

Mr. STARNES. What duties have you actually performed since becoming connected with the Federal Theaters Project?

Mr. WALTON. Well, as a stage manager I was last summer on what are known as the Caravan Theaters—stage manager for a play called Tons of Money. After that closed, I was sent down to the pool to assist in sending actors to the casting office via the phone. Then I was assigned to stage manager to a one-act vaudeville skit called The Fire Ladies, and finally I was assigned as director to a play called The Milky Way this summer. That was produced. Then I was re-assigned to direct a play called Whistling in the Dark, which opened Wednesday evening of this week.

Mr. STARNES. You said that you had had some connection in handling or assigning players from the pool to various parts in the various plays.

Mr. WALTON. No, sir; not assigning. I want to make that very clear. When I was at the pool, my duty there was, when the casting office phoned—the pool is at McDougal Street—and when the casting office called for names of various actors they wanted to see, it was my duty to send them up to Twenty-third Street, the main office.

Mr. STARNES. You had nothing to do there with the actual selecting?

Mr. WALTON. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have an opportunity to observe and check on the assignments and operations of the pool?

Mr. WALTON. Oh, very much so.

Mr. STARNES. State to the committee what you observed in that connection which you would consider to be un-American and subversive in its character?

Mr. WALTON. Well, it was very apparent that the C. P. C.'s that were unassigned—while on the project, mind you—that they were given the preference by the casting office, whereas the other actors, legitimate actors, of years of experience, were seldom called, and when they were called they were assigned to parts, or sent for parts that they were entirely unsuited for. In other words, they would send a middle-aged woman for an ingenue's part, and vice versa. And as director, they have sent me the most ridiculous types for the plays, but I turned them all down unless they were nearly what I conceived the author had intended.

Mr. STARNES. Have you had any difficulty in the plays which you have directed thus far, any movement or agitation that would be deemed subversive or un-American?

Mr. WALTON. No, sir; for the simple reason—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Has any communistic propaganda been disseminated in the casts which you have directed?

Mr. WALTON. No, sir; for this reason—that I have made myself very clear, at the risk of being discharged long since, that I loathe Communists, and everything un-American; I would not have one in my cast or in my plays.

Mr. STARNES. Have they had those difficulties in the casts of other plays up there?

Mr. WALTON. Oh, continually.

Mr. STARNES. You personally know that large communistic elements or groups have been placed in the casts of some of those plays?

Mr. WALTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I use the word "placed," because, as I understand, they are all taken from the pool and placed.

Mr. WALTON. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. It is your statement that in making assignments or placements from the pool, those who were known to be members of the C. P. C. or the Workers Alliance were given preference over all others?

Mr. WALTON. Positively.

Mr. STARNES. You know that to be a fact, from personal observation and experience?

Mr. WALTON. Absolutely the fact.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever approached to join the C. P. C. or the Workers Alliance?

Mr. WALTON. Yes, sir. Mr. Congressman, I was approached by what I term now my erstwhile friend, Stuart Robson. We have been lifelong friends, and he approached me, and I complained about not being advanced, as per promise, to a directorship. He said, "Charley, why don't you become a member of the C. P. C. and the Workers' Alliance?" I said, "None of that for me, Stuart." He said, "Well, you will never get anywhere unless you do join." He admitted freely that this Daily Worker had all the communistic nature, and told me

how he went up to Columbus Park, Columbus Avenue, the Statue, and listened to those Communists every night. So, one word led to another, and finally I said that I regretted that I could not be associated with a Communist, and that ended our friendship.

MR. STARNES. Do you know anything about his activities in that direction?

MR. WALTON. Oh, he is active, positively.

MR. STARNES. Give the committee the benefit of any personal knowledge that you have.

MR. WALTON. He told me about various meetings, and one night he asked me—prior to this argument I was curious—he asked me to go to a party downtown, and my curiosity was satisfied; it was nothing but a communistic gathering under the guise—it was supposed to be a party, but there were nobody but Communists there, and I got disgusted and walked out.

MR. STARNES. Were any communistic statements made?

MR. WALTON. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Tell the committee what was said and what was done.

MR. WALTON. I do not remember the speakers' names, but two girls got up and reminded them that the next night—at this party I referred to, several girls got up and reminded their fellow members of the C. P. C. that tomorrow night, say, Friday night, and on another day, there would be meetings at such-and-such a place, and not to forget to pay their dues of 50 cents, because if they did not they would get into trouble. It was the Workers' Alliance and the C. P. C.

Before the party was over, I was so disgusted I told Stuart, I said, "I am going home."

THE CHAIRMAN. In that connection, were there any other communistic statements made at that meeting?

MR. WALTON. Yes; there were various derogatory statements made about Mr. Kondolf and Mr. Edwards.

At that time there was some agitation about dropping certain C. P. C. members. They said, "We will fight this through; we have Washington back of us."

MR. STARNES. Who was present at this party?

MR. WALTON. I do not remember all these people. There was one girl, I do remember her name, Doretta Donnelly. I remember her because she was sent to me for a job in the cast, but I turned her down because she was a Communist. Every time they sent me a Communist that they wanted me to put in a cast, I turned them down.

MR. STARNES. Did they send you many Communists?

MR. WALTON. Quite a few; and Miss Pierce took me to task about my ability as a casting director and of not knowing who was capable of playing the parts. I said I had had years of experience and I thought I knew who was capable of playing the parts. I said, "I know what is wanted in a play," and I said, "I will not have Communists in these plays and have them stirring up agitation in these things," and I would not take them. The result is I have no trouble.

MR. STARNES. Do you know anything about the sale or distribution of communistic propaganda, publications, and so forth, on Federal Theater projects?

MR. WALTON. Yes; everybody knows that; that is common practice.

MR. STARNES. What publications or papers were disseminated?

MR. WALTON. I have seen the Daily Worker and the Red—whatever they call it.

MR. STARNES. The Red Spotlight?

MR. WALTON. The Red Spotlight, and various little pamphlets. I was not interested and never looked at them but I knew they were communistic.

MR. STARNES. Did you ever see any other type of literature put on the bulletin board, other than communistic propaganda?

MR. WALTON. No, sir.

MR. STARNES. You never saw any anti-Fascist propaganda or Nazi propaganda?

MR. WALTON. Not to my knowledge.

MR. STARNES. You never saw any, shall I say, democratic propaganda—that is, in the sense of its referring to a constitutional and representative democracy; was anything of that character ever disseminated?

MR. WALTON. I never saw anything of that nature.

MR. STARNES. You never saw anything disseminated against communism?

MR. WALTON. Never.

MR. STARNES. Has this practice of posting these publications on bulletin boards been carried up to the minute or has it been stopped?

MR. WALTON. Yes; that was called to my attention, I think, last Monday or last Friday. I was quite amazed.

There are two bulletin boards, and unofficial one and an official board where orders are posted. When I got out of the elevator, I saw that board was barren, which was quite unusual. I spoke to someone, and they said, "Since the Dies committee has been after them they will not post anything more on the boards."

MR. STARNES. Are there any other facts you desire to bring before the committee dealing with communism or any other un-American, subversive activities, in connection with the operation of the Federal Theater Project?

MR. WALTON. Yes; as a finale I was very anxious to see Mr. Kondolf.

I finally, after much trouble, saw him through certain personal friends of his and my own, and I was to be with him 15 minutes, but I was with him an hour and a half.

I spoke to him, feeling that I could speak freely—

MR. STARNES. Tell the committee who Mr. Kondolf is.

MR. WALTON. George Kondolf.

I wanted to know from Mr. Kondolf why he permitted, as head of the Federal Theater, the activities of the C. P. C. and the Workers' Alliance, why they controlled the Federal Theater.

I asked him a point-blank question. I said, "Mr. Kondolf, I wish you would answer me truthfully. Are your hands tied by Washington and unseen forces?" He said, "Yes."

Mr. Kondolf impressed me absolutely. I know for a fact that when he took the job over he was against Communists and fought them, but they defeated him at every turn.

He said, "Mr. Walton, I take two steps forward and go back one."

I warned Mr. Kondolf. I said, "Mr. Kondolf, if you do not, and the rest of the officials of this Federal Theater, stop this through some source, you are pulling the walls down over your head. You are

saving your job at the moment, but the cesspool must be opened sooner or later." He told me his hands were tied and he could do nothing.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Walton, there was a meeting alleged to have taken place between a Miss Rita Carroll and Mr. Robbin Mandel; has that been taken up by you?

Mr. WALTON. There will be witnesses who will cover that. Mr. Henry Frank will cover that. That is very vital. He knows all the minute details about that.

Mr. THOMAS. Another witness has a copy of the Workers' Alliance magazine that contains those statements?

Mr. WALTON. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Walton, in reference to the party to which you referred, at which you were present, and which you left, how many were at that party, approximately?

Mr. WALTON. Approximately, I should say, about 40 or 50 people.

Mr. MOSIER. Men and women?

Mr. WALTON. Yes, sir; men and women.

Mr. MOSIER. That party was given by whom—will you repeat that?

Mr. WALTON. It was given by—Stuart Robson invited me. As a matter of fact, he gave me a pass, being an old friend.

Mr. MOSIER. He gave you a pass?

Mr. WALTON. Yes; he gave me a pass because there was an entrance fee of 50 cents, and the understanding was that the profits, if any, were to go to the fund of the C. P. C. I am very glad you mentioned that.

Mr. MOSIER. Robson is a C. P. C. man?

Mr. WALTON. Yes, sir; he is one of the Communists.

Mr. MOSIER. He is a Communist?

Mr. WALTON. Oh, absolutely.

Mr. MOSIER. This party which he gave had an admission fee of 50 cents, and he gave you a pass?

Mr. WALTON. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Was the party held in a home or in a hall?

Mr. WALTON. I wish I could remember that address. It is an enormous room. The room must have been this large [indicating], at least. They had a phonograph, although I learned afterward that he rents the hall for parties and meetings.

Mr. MOSIER. Were there men and women there?

Mr. WALTON. Correct.

Mr. MOSIER. How many men and how many women, roughly?

Mr. WALTON. That is hard to say—40 or 50, mixed.

Mr. MOSIER. About evenly divided?

Mr. WALTON. It would be very difficult to say how many of each sex were there.

Mr. MOSIER. Were they all of the same race?

Mr. WALTON. No, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you describe the party?

Mr. WALTON. There were people of the colored race there—colored men only. I remember that distinctly.

Mr. MOSIER. No colored women?

Mr. WALTON. No colored women. About 11 o'clock that night I was quite amazed when about six or eight of them walked in, and they were dancing with white girls later.

Mr. MOSIER. Was there dancing there?

Mr. WALTON. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Was there any drinking?

Mr. WALTON. Yes; you bought your drinks.

Mr. MOSIER. There was somebody there to sell drinks?

Mr. WALTON. Correct.

Mr. MOSIER. Was the money taken in from the sale of these drinks to go to the profits of the organization, if you know?

Mr. WALTON. Everything; and they also had a little bingo, cards, and games of chance, and if there were any profits at all they were to go to the fund of the C. P. C.; that is what Stuart told me.

TESTIMONY OF GARLAND KERR

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STARNES. Will you state your name and address?

Mr. KERR. Garland Kerr, 4325 Forty-fourth Street, Long Island City, N. Y.

Mr. STARNES. What is your occupation, Mr. Kerr?

Mr. KERR. My occupation is actor and stage manager in the professional theater.

Mr. STARNES. What is your professional background and experience?

Mr. KERR. I have been in the theater since 1927; that was 2 years before I graduated from college, from the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh.

Mr. STARNES. What type of work had you done with the stage prior to the time you became connected with the Federal Theater project?

Mr. KERR. I had always been an actor and a stage manager, sometimes alternating.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been connected with the Federal Theater Project?

Mr. KERR. I was with the original C. W. A. project, which played in the C. C. C. camps on the eastern seaboard.

Then the Federal Theater Project was organized while we were in the camps and upon our return we were fused with the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. STARNES. What duties have you performed in connection with your work?

Mr. KERR. I was stage manager in the camps, and when I returned I was on furlough for awhile because of the chaos in the office work in the Federal Theater Project, and you had to wait until someone requisitioned you or until someone would take you on the project.

A former friend of mine found me and put me on the experimental one-act unit. I was on there at first as stage manager.

Then they happened to be short of company managers, so I was made company manager on the project, and in that capacity of company manager you take care of the time sheets and keep the record of the personnel in the company. The directors would take over the company after the company manager was through with them, and he would dismiss them whenever he felt free to do so.

Mr. STARNES. You had an opportunity to check the personnel in Federal theater projects?

Mr. KERR. Yes. Later on I became company manager of the Children's Theater Unit, and during this time was made a junior supervisor, and later an assistant supervisor, which gave me an opportunity to see many of the records of the Federal Theater and the individuals of the Federal Theater, their background, and also much of their private and personal life.

While I was on the experimental one-act unit, I discovered that most of these people were nonprofessionals who had come from the section down around East Fourteenth Street. It seems that they had been on the city project as dramatic coaches, and then when they were brought on the Federal Theater Project their background was never checked as to whether they were professionals or not, but they were later classified as professional actors on the Federal Theater Project.

I might say that most of these people were not professionals, and that they, of course, had no right on the project, so it was necessary for them to protect their jobs.

The only way they could do that was to have meetings on the projects to plan ways and means of keeping the local administration and the Washington administration informed of their demands for the furtherance of the project.

These meetings were held on project time and on Government property when they should have been rehearsing.

Mr. STARNES. What was the nature of these meetings, and what were the organizational activities indulged in, if any?

Mr. KERR. Most of us professionals only know our own unions, legitimate unions, but we did know of the C. P. C.; in fact, it was just starting to creep into the Federal Theater Project.

Of course, we were able to follow it close, and their whole idea was that they must organize and keep people in a constant uproar and chaos to keep their jobs. There was no idea that the thing to do was to do the work they were being paid for.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, their idea was to keep the place disrupted and stirred up during the time of rehearsals and at the same time they would be retaining their jobs.

Mr. KERR. Yes; the main idea was to spend your time fighting for your job; do not work on your job, and show them you could do the work you are supposed to do.

Mr. STARNES. You stated you had a good opportunity, by reason of your work and experience, to check the personnel records and background of many of those who came to you from East Fourteenth Street.

Did you find that many of those had a communistic background, according to their own statements?

Mr. KERR. Yes; I have seen Communist membership cards on the projects, although now I would not remember the color of them because that was over a year ago.

I have heard some of them in conversation: in fact, they tried to sell me tickets for a show they had rehearsed in that section, and I asked what the proceeds were for, and they said for strike funds, for strikes in other parts of the country.

Also, later on, I was with one of the supervisors, J. K. Williams, who had informed me that he had been in the group that came from the Fourteenth Street group, where they all lived in garrets and were starving, and they finally put on a show at the Cosmopolitan Theater

which greatly ridiculed the C. C. C. camps, and from my reading of the criticisms in the papers, by the dramatic critics, it was just a communistic attempt to try to get the public against the C. C. C. camps.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall the name of that play?

Mr. KERR. I do not now, but it could easily be found.

Mr. STARNES. If you can find it, you can insert it in the record, and the committee would be glad to have the script of the play.

Mr. KERR. I will try to do that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the sale and distribution of communistic literature on Federal Theater projects, among the personnel of the Federal theater people?

Mr. KERR. I do; but before that I would like to mention another instance.

On May Day 1936, Mr. Albert Saxe, the director of the one-act experimental unit, who is a Communist—and that was told to me by his former wife, who said that he ate, drank, and slept communism; and his table was covered with literature on communism and she could not stand it, so she divorced him—he allowed these people to bring their signs for the May Day parade into the building where we had had rehearsals.

We did not hold any rehearsals on that day, but he held the people for about an hour, which was enough time to let them go down and join the ranks of the parade, and the rest of the people he kept on for a while, as a matter of formality. But they were paid a day's pay and appeared in the May Day parade.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you see those signs?

Mr. KERR. I did.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you remember what was on the signs?

Mr. KERR. It was the usual May Day sign, of the united front.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you remember what wording was on any particular sign?

Mr. KERR. It has been quite a while ago but I was quite incensed about the whole thing at the time; but I was in such a position, with a majority of them around me of the leftist side, so that it is pretty difficult for me to say anything because my job depended on that.

Mr. THOMAS. What wording was on the signs?

Mr. KERR. It was all of the same propaganda type of sign that you have seen, year after year.

Mr. THOMAS. Mostly communistic?

Mr. KERR. Yes, sir; they were definitely communistic.

Mr. STARNES. Attacks on democratic government?

Mr. KERR. Yes; and this "Snake, Do Not Tread on Me."

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other incidents to relate?

Mr. KERR. To show you also an incident that I experienced, I finally got so fed up with their using Government funds for the propaganda work and organizational work when they should have been working; they tried to hold a meeting in the Astor Hotel in which we had a rehearsal room. I said, "You are not going to hold a meeting; that is against the rules of the Government and of the Federal Theater Project." So they spent fully an hour trying to convince me to let them hold their meeting in that room.

I refused, so they finally closed the rehearsal session and went to the manager and asked him if they could have a room for a meeting. I do not think he knew what they wanted it for.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you say they were using a rehearsal room in a place where they work during working hours to indulge—

Mr. KERR. In organizational activities, some of them to fight against local administrators.

Mr. STARNES. Was it of a communistic nature?

Mr. KERR. Yes, sir; they were all of that nature. Of course, all of these meetings are led by the C. P. C. organizers.

Mr. STARNES. All of these meetings are led by C. P. C. organizers?

Mr. KERR. Yes; they are the only ones interested in that sort of thing.

Mr. STARNES. Let us come back to the question I asked you, if you, yourself, saw or have personal knowledge of the sale and distribution of communistic literature on the Federal Theater projects?

Mr. KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see some of those later posted on the unofficial bulletin boards?

Mr. KERR. Yes; I have always seen them plastered with propaganda.

Mr. STARNES. That would consist of copies of the Daily Worker, the Red Spotlight, and publications of that character?

Mr. KERR. When we were at the Maxwell Theater Building, I put one of the distributors out of the building for distributing the Red Spotlight, which said on it, "Communist Party."

Mr. STARNES. Are they continuing this activity of posting the unofficial bulletin boards with these publications?

Mr. KERR. I have seen very little of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Recently?

Mr. KERR. No; the only thing I saw was the President's letter which we presented yesterday.

Mr. STARNES. You did see that on the unofficial bulletin board?

Mr. KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Why do you think you have seen so little of that recently?

Mr. KERR. Since the McNaboe investigation and this investigation, I think the boys are afraid of the United States Government; they are afraid they might get stepped on.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other incidents you care to relate, dealing with communistic or any other un-American, subversive activities in connection with the Federal Treater Project?

Mr. KERR. When we moved to the Chammin Building, when I came into my office in the morning, I would always find these circulars belonging to the C. P. C. and the Workers' Alliance, urging the people to mass together, especially for legislation, and so forth.

Then I have had some other experiences. Just this summer one of the men, a Negro who had been on the children's theater, stated that his supervisor allowed them to hold meetings on the project. He would say, "I do not know anything about this; I will leave you here and you can take care of this meeting."

This gentleman's name is Lew Ward, but I can get an affidavit from the man concerned, because he has been kicked around quite a bit since then.

Then I would also like to refer to Kate Burkan, allegedly a Communist; she was selling the C. R. C. Councillor paper at 1991 Broadway while she was on her job.

She is also the one who tried to sell me tickets at a dollar apiece last summer, after I was fired, for the march on Washington, and in her office, which was in Mr. Brennan's office. She has charge of the transportation tokens.

Mr. STARNES. Those were being sold to organize the on to Washington march at a time when she was supposed to be engaged in her activities on a part of the project?

Mr. KERR. Exactly. She left her desk as she saw me going out of the door. That was after I had been dismissed from the Federal Theater Project on July 19, 1937, and I had joined up with Miss Huffman and the committee to see what I could do.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of your own knowledge of any effort on the part of those charged with the administration of the Federal Theater Project, any of the supervisors' councils, having charge of the organization activities for the C. P. C. and the Workers' Alliance, or taking an active part in the organization work?

Mr. KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Give us the names.

Mr. KERR. On May 27, 1937, the day of the C. P. C. stoppage, Mr. Ranck, managing producer of the children's theater unit, approached me in the office and suggested that I give a day's pay to the strike fund which the C. P. C. was collecting. I told him since I had a wife and child I could not afford to do such things, and besides, I was not of their opinion. He said, "You should be in sympathy with them." I said, "I have no sympathy with the Communists; they do not belong on the project; they are keeping other people who belong on the project from jobs." He said that Mrs. Flanagan recommended that people on the project join the C. P. C. and the supervisors' council.

Mr. THOMAS. Repeat that; that is very important.

Mr. KERR. He said that Mrs. Hallie Flanagan recommended that people on the project should join the C. P. C. and the supervisors' council.

Mr. THOMAS. I think that is a very important point, Mr. Chairman, right there. I did not get all of that.

Mr. KERR. In his final conversation, Mr. Rennie said that Mrs. Hallie Flanagan recommended that people on the project should join the C. P. C.; and the supervisors' council directly cooperates with the C. P. C. and the Workers' Alliance in allowing the organizers to hold meetings on the project, on project time.

We have witnesses, and have taken statements from witnesses who can testify as to what those meetings are, or present those as exhibits later on.

Of course, I was dismissed last July, and after the dismissal list was made public I spoke to two of the supervisors on my unit who were not sympathetic with the C. P. C., but they realized that they must play politics and join in with the C. P. C. to hold their jobs.

Mr. STARNES. And they did so?

Mr. KERR. And they did so. And, in fact, this is what they told me. They came to me individually and said, "Well, you know why you have been fired." And I said, "Well, I have a damned good idea why." And I said, "Of course, I did not give to the strike fund; I have not joined in with the organizational activities, because I have

my own legitimate union." They said, "Of course, politics had quite a bit to do with it."

Mr. THOMAS. They said that that politics had quite a bit to do with your being fired?

Mr. KERR. Yes. And, of course, the politics on the Federal Theater were not Democratic or Republican politics. You never heard Democratic or Republican politics there.

Mr. THOMAS. What politics did you hear?

Mr. KERR. You only hear of C. P. C. and Workers' Alliance organizational politics. If a Democrat or Republican should walk in there, they would start yelling "Fascist." They often go into tirades on certain things.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever see any Republicans on the project?

Mr. KERR. No; they are hard to find. About a week or two after the stoppage of May 27, 1937, Max Shohet, assistant supervisor and organizer for the supervisors' council, dictated a memorandum to Miss Irene Wolfe, of the Children's Theater, reminding supervisors that they were to contribute a day's pay to the strike fund of the C. P. C.-Workers Alliance. This was done under my own eyes, on Government time, with Government employees and Government paper. And I saw them hand it out to our company manager on that project.

Then I also stopped—or had it stopped—on an occasion when Mr. Lippman and Miss Anne Zolna, organizers for the C. P. C., were in our offices one day and they were trying to embarrass our Negro receptionist into joining the C. P. C. I think we might call that sweet coercion, because the boy was already very much embarrassed. He was not getting very much of a salary as a receptionist, he had a family to take care of. Of course, most of these people cannot afford to join organizations.

So I went to one of the supervisors, Mr. Brogan, and stopped them from doing that. And he warned them to do it outside of the office.

Then, on a previous instance, when the C. P. C. picketed 70 Columbus Avenue because of dismissals, the supervisors of the Children's Theater, against administrative orders, went out and joined in this picket line. Mr. Pardoll and myself were the only two members of the staff of that project who did not go out. They knew my opinions, but it was useless for me to argue with them about the whole thing, because I have to watch my job because of my family.

While talking to one of the company managers, a Mr. Ayers, who was dropped from the project in the offices of the Children's Theater, the same Mortimer Lipman, of the Children's Theater unit, started to pass out C. P. C. mass action propaganda in the office proper.

Although I was on vacation—I had to take my vacation before I could be dismissed, because I had never taken a vacation. We loafed so much on the job we did not need a vacation. He started to pass out these circulars, and I told him he could not do that. I forbade him to do it. He said, "What the hell difference is it anyway?" And I said, "Don't do it, that is all." And he knew my opinion, so he immediately stopped while I was there.

Now, I have told you about finding circulars on my desk every morning. Now, as for contributions: There is a Communist by the name of Samuel Roland on the Federal Theater Project who tried to collect funds from members of the project by selling Communist seals in order to send this money to Loyalist Spain. I told him that I

would not even think of contributing money to any organization or even any charity which was outside of our own country, because our own country has enough to take care of.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a C. P. C. or Workers Alliance man?

Mr. KERR. He was a supervisor, being general stage manager, and one of the people who was always talking communism.

Mr. STARNES. And he was attempting to sell these seals to Federal relief workers on a Federal project for the purpose of aiding the Spanish Loyalist cause in Spain?

Mr. KERR. Yes. In fact, I did see him sell some. But I refused, and later on he tried to explain to me and took about an hour explaining why I should help someone, some other country, out of their troubles, when we have enough of our own.

Now, it seems very funny to me that a man who is a first-class stage manager on a project should be dismissed—I am not talking about myself; I am talking about Mr. Weinberg, on the Children's Theater—that he should be dismissed and a boy who is incompetent should be put in his place.

Mr. STARNES. Was Mr. Weinberg a member of the Workers Alliance or the C. P. C.?

Mr. KERR. No.

Mr. STARNES. Was the boy who was placed in his stead a member of the C. P. C.?

Mr. KERR. He was one of that crowd, and he was one that I had had on the experimental one-act unit, and I knew him from there, and I knew he was incompetent then.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you trying to make the point that the reason the change was made was because this boy was a member of the C. P. C.?

Mr. KERR. Yes; I am. I fully believe it. They can make all the alibis they want. I know that you yourself, if you are hiring a man, you want a man who is talented and competent for the work that you have, and you do not go and hire somebody who does not know anything about it.

Mr. STARNES. We want the statement made directly that that was the reason, the real reason. Of course, you understand, we do not want to indulge in any—

Mr. KERR. Suppositions?

Mr. STARNES. Suppositions; that is right; or enter into any disputes between any organizations. Have you any other incidents to relate now? If not, has any member of the committee any questions?

The CHAIRMAN. I think the subject has been well covered.

Mr. STARNES. I think you have made an excellent statement, and we thank you.

We will call Mr. Revzin.

TESTIMONY OF SEYMOUR REVZIN

(The witness was duly sworn.)

Mr. STARNES. Will you give your name and address, please?

Mr. REVZIN. Seymour Revzin, 224 Sullivan Street, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. What is your occupation, Mr. Revzin?

Mr. REVZIN. By profession I am a stage manager.

Mr. STARNES. You have been connected with the Federal Theater Project in New York City?

Mr. REVZIN. I am at the present time connected with the Federal Theater.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been connected with it?

Mr. REVZIN. Since the inception of it as a Federal Theater Project.

Mr. STARNES. What have been your duties in connection with the Federal Theater Project?

Mr. REVZIN. To begin with, it was very difficult to get my reclassification. I was originally put on the project as an actor, merely as a classification to get on. It was very difficult to get any stage-manager rating.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have that rating now?

Mr. REVZIN. No. Apparently I was put on as a stage manager, and given duties as a director in the vacation absence of three of the directors. After that, with the closing of one of the units, I was transferred to the pool and left there for the period of—oh, many months; I can get the exact dates for you if you wish.

Mr. THOMAS. It is not clear to me what this pool is. Will the witness describe what he means by the pool?

Mr. REVZIN. The pool is the central residing place of all the unassigned actors and actresses. After that my classification was rather rudely interrupted and I was given the classification of drama coach. That was very recently. At present I am in public school No. 12, in the Bronx, as a drama coach. I am virtually serving lemonade to the children. I think the project comes under the W. P. A. and we are on loan to that project as drama coaches.

Mr. STARNES. In connection with your work with the Federal Theater Project, have you come in contact with or observed any un-American or subversive activities by any group or by any persons; and if so, state what those activities were and who those persons are.

Mr. REVZIN. First of all, the chairman said that the maladministration of a project is not un-American.

Mr. STARNES. Absolutely not. We have nothing to do with the administration of it, nor with defalcations, nor with mismanagement; nor do we have anything to do with the embezzlement of funds or larceny.

Mr. REVZIN. That is very true, Congressman Starnes, but suppose that maladministration exists in juxtaposition with this constant harassing of the people on the Federal Theater Project, with all of this literature and attempts to be drawn into the Workers Alliance? It is only human logic, at least, to draw the conclusion that all of this is—shall I say deliberate?

Mr. MASON. May I interject this thought, Mr. Chairman, that perhaps this maladministration and the waste of funds are the result of the cause which can be considered communism and the activities of the Workers Alliance, which bring it about, and in that sense there is a close connection?

Mr. REVZIN. It could very possibly be.

Mr. STARNES. Undoubtedly; but we will not permit any conclusions to be adduced by any witness, because we are not interested in anyone's conclusions. If he can show that the Workers Alliance and the C. P. C., or any other communistic organization, is responsible for such conditions of his own knowledge, then, of course, that would be pertinent.

Mr. REVZIN. All right, then, permit me to tell in my own way—

Mr. STARNES. And that is for the committee to decide, of course.

Mr. REVZIN. Of the inception, shall I say—I shall say, rather, of the City Projects Council on the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose we do it this way, Mr. Revzin. First you answer, if you can, the direct questions that are asked.

Mr. REVZIN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. In order to lay a groundwork, if possible, and then you may make your statement.

Mr. REVZIN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. The question is, Have you observed or come in contact with any un-American or subversive activities in connection with the operation of the Federal Theaters Project? If so, state what those activities were and who has been engaged in those activities, either persons or organizations.

Mr. REVZIN. There has been much sale of communistic propaganda on the Federal Theater Project. I made it my business on several occasions to purchase that material on the Federal Theater Project.

I have turned in a good number of the throw-aways that Miss Huffman yesterday of the committee of relief status presented to you. They were given in her testimony.

Mr. STARNES. Were those sales made on project time, during rehearsals, for instance?

Mr. REVZIN. They were.

Mr. STARNES. On work time?

Mr. REVZIN. Right under the noses of the supervisors, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Were they made by any member of any organization that you know of?

Mr. REVZIN. They were made by members of the City Projects Council. I believe that is a division of the Workers Alliance. Not only that, but there is a constant circulation of petitions, I guess, for Peace and Democracy. I have seen that on the project. I have been asked to sign them.

Mr. STARNES. That is the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. REVZIN. I believe that is right.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same group that solicits funds for the aid of the Spanish Loyalist cause?

Mr. REVZIN. I have been asked to contribute for the aid of the Spanish Loyalist cause, and also asked to contribute for the return of American boys who fought in Spain.

Mr. STARNES. And were wounded or otherwise disabled?

Mr. REVZIN. I do not know what happened to them.

Mr. STARNES. Were these contributions solicited by members of the C. P. C. and the Workers Alliance?

Mr. REVZIN. They were.

Mr. STARNES. And also by members of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. REVZIN. I do not know whether they belong to the American League for Peace and Democracy, but I do know that members belonged to the C. P. C. That is the one in which the theatrical workers come into direct contact.

At present—I am not sure about this—I think it has been broken up into several divisions or unions. At one time what is known as the City Projects Council encompassed the white-collar workers for the entire city of New York.

Mr. STARNES. In connection with your work on the Federal Theater Project, have you heard speakers or have you seen groups of people working on the project who have been constantly engaged in contrasting the conditions, the favorable conditions in Russia with unfavorable conditions in the United States?

Mr. REVZIN. That is a constant practice. You see, as actors and actresses have nothing to do in the pool, they have plenty of time in which to discuss all the various political problems and there is always someone around that will immediately turn the conversation to Russia and the bounties of the Russian system as contrasted to the very bad conditions that exist in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Were those people who were doing that, members of the C. P. C. and the Workers Alliance?

Mr. REVZIN. Yes. I wanted to make sure I could give you a specific example, if need be.

Mr. STARNES. And that has been going on constantly?

Mr. REVZIN. Oh, constantly, from the very inception of the Federal Theater Project.

May I be permitted at this point to tell you how a group were subtly induced to join the C. P. C. from the very beginning through Mr. Edward Goodman's statements as unit manager of the Popular Price Theater?

Mr. STARNES. Very well.

Mr. REVZIN. At the very beginning, we were all called into the rehearsal hall at the Mecca Temple and for the first time we were told how bad the system of governmental red tape was, by Mr. Goodman. Mr. Goodman has repeated that statement in front of an audience, which I heard, too, on various other occasions. And it was not many weeks after that that we were asked to start a union, as it were, as the members of the Popular Price Theater to protect our rights. Our rights was a very vague term.

Mr. STARNES. I was going to ask. What rights did you have that were being infringed upon and who was infringing upon these rights?

Mr. REVZIN. The insinuation was made that our rights were a beautiful Federal theater, and it was being trampled upon by governmental red tape, and that we must be militant and fight it.

The inception was rather innocuous. We were called together by members of the profession, and I took it as a bona fide request to start some sort of a little gathering whereby we could discuss the problems of the Federal Theaters, because it was such a new thing. And I figured I might be able to assist in keeping it a beautiful proposition.

However, weeks after that we were asked to take a part in joining or amalgamating with other such locals, and come to find out, it was the C. P. C., or the City Projects Council.

The chairman of our particular organization resigned on account of it, and I think I led the attack against joining the City Projects Council. No further ground was gained at that particular time, because we were pretty much of a professional group.

About a year after that, maybe a little less, when the three plays that we had scheduled had been produced, and they needed new people,

other people were brought in who were Workers Alliance organizers, nonprofessionals, members of the C. P. C. As a matter of fact, I think in several instances they supplanted people whose tendencies Mr. Goodman was quite conscious of. Those were the—American tendencies, shall I say?

Mr. STARNES. During all this time, did you hear anybody in connection with the Federal Theaters Project praise the constitutional representative form of government that this country has?

Mr. REVZIN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STARNES. Did you hear anybody condemning any other form of government or praising any other form of government?

Mr. REVZIN. Well, there was, I guess—there is much anti-Fascist talk on the project. It seems to me they are constantly talking about antifascism and constantly talking about prosovietism or communism.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have a copy of any of the publications that were posted on the bulletin board or were disseminated among the workers on the Federal Theater Project? If so, identify them and introduce them.

Mr. REVZIN. Closely allied, I suppose, with the cuts that were made on the project—

Mr. STARNES. What are the publications, first?

Mr. REVZIN. This one is Social Welfare, the official organ of the Workers Alliance in New York State, in which they say that 78 per cent of all Workers Alliance members were reinstated. This says: "Records show 945 back on job through union since last July."

Mr. STARNES. That was after a certain number of people had been taken off these theater projects, a year or a year and a half ago, was it not?

Mr. REVZIN. I believe that is right. Also, let me read from a specific case. On page 5 of this same Social Welfare—this is dated February 10, 1938—there is this story. It is entitled "Two Little Girls Were Fired." It reads:

Once there were two little girls who worked for the Works Progress Administration at the department of health. One little girl snuffed at the Workers Alliance. The other little girl became a member.

Ratings came along. Both girls received A ratings. Both were fired.

The first little girl made the best of it. After about 5 months she got back on the Works Progress Administration at \$13.96 a week—a cut from \$24.25. The second little girl, Helen Gaines, got her job back with the original salary of \$21.57 a week.

Question: Is it a good policy to belong to the Workers Alliance?

I submit that as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. Any other publications?

Mr. REVZIN. I had one here that was on the nonprofessionals; but, in my opinion, this is all done in order to keep the project in a constant state of turmoil, in order to do exactly what that paper insinuated, get members for the Workers Alliance and the spread of the communistic doctrine.

This is from the World-Telegram of Saturday, August 18, 1938:

The program (on WJZ) was to provide a show case for the talents of youngsters and newcomers, working or not, as well as for relief actors.

It would appear—to me, at any rate—it is un-American to disobey a congressional law. I think the law says that the relief project was started to provide relief and work relief.

Mr. STARNES. What was that last paper that you read from?

Mr. REVZIN. That is from the World-Telegram, just to show that there is a constant change of personnel, constantly changing in order to keep this disruption on the project.

Mr. STARNES. Do you make the statement of your own knowledge that members of the Federal Theater Project, workers on the Federal Theater Project, are constantly being shifted, and they are kept in a state of turmoil for the purpose of bringing about a sense of futility to such an extent that they are induced to join some communistic organization?

Mr. REVZIN. That is exactly right.

Mr. STARNES. That is the statement you are making?

Mr. REVZIN. Yes. That is exactly right.

Mr. STARNES. Are you further making the statement as a matter of your own knowledge, your personal knowledge, gained by actual contact with workers on the job, that that does take place?

Mr. REVZIN. I am. I make that of my own knowledge on the project. I make that statement.

The Sing for Your Supper company, which, unofficially, I am told, has been in rehearsal for the last 11 months—I was not with it from the beginning; I was later assigned to it; they cast and recast sketches almost daily, and people who did not belong to the Workers Alliance and the C. P. C. were constantly taken out of those sketches.

Mr. STARNES. Were people who were members of the C. P. C. and the Workers Alliance assigned to these places?

Mr. REVZIN. As far as I know, they were constantly reading new actors off the projects.

Mr. STARNES. How long has that play been in rehearsal?

Mr. REVZIN. I say unofficially, I am told, 11 months.

Mr. MASON. We have the testimony on that.

Mr. STARNES. I think we have that testimony, but I just wanted it repeated at this point.

Mr. REVZIN. That is very true. Recently they made a mass cut from that particular production and sent them back to the pool. The directors on that particular show, or at least one of the directors and a young man who is not classified as an actor, who took my place when I was abruptly pulled from the particular project, I saw at a C. P. C. meeting after rehearsal hours, but in the quarters in which we were rehearsing.

Mr. STARNES. Have you observed C. P. C. meetings and Workers Alliance meetings being carried on in the places where rehearsals and work was being engaged upon, and upon project time?

Mr. REVZIN. Yes. In connection with this constant circulation of petitions, just recently—I believe Miss Huffman brought it out in her testimony—I was present when a petition was brought out of the inner office, which was the supervisor's office, and the gentleman made a speech and asked us if we would not sign a petition to have a junior supervisor reinstated to her former classification. And when he had finished making that little speech, the supervisor stuck her head out of the door and said, "Remember, now, the meeting has been dismissed." That was on project property.

Mr. STARNES. Now, have you any other publications you wish to submit?

Mr. REVZIN. I just want to submit this. It is the usual type of blatant literature. It is Murder in the Federal Theater, circulated by the supervisory council, to which most of the supervisors——

Mr. STARNES. What is the title of that publication?

Mr. REVZIN. Murder in the Federal Theater.

Mr. STARNES. Murder in the Federal Theater?

Mr. REVZIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Are there any particular excerpts from that publication to which you wish to direct the attention of the committee?

Mr. REVZIN. The One Hundred Questions in Search of an Answer seems to me the usual type of insinuation that is used for the intimidation of the people on the project.

I want to say here, when I was subpoenaed before this committee, according to a notice posted on the bulletin board by Mr. Edwards, we were to report immediately to our supervisor so that our time could be rescheduled. My supervisor had all sorts of difficulty in rescheduling the time and made several calls in which she read the actual verbatim subpoena, after which she called me into her office and offered me legal counsel.

Mr. STARNES. For what?

Mr. REVZIN. I am sorry, I do not know. To me it sounded—I do not know what she offered it to me for—to me it sounded like a direct effort to engage me in conversation, probably even to incriminate me.

Mr. STARNES. Is there a spirit prevalent among many of the workers on the Federal Theater Project that it is absolutely necessary for them to join this C. P. C. or Workers Alliance in order to retain their positions or their jobs?

Mr. REVZIN. Definitely. Also there is a feeling that if you say anything about it, things might happen. I mean by that, that you will be demoted, you will be pushed around. In my own particular case, after my association——

Mr. STARNES. For fear of dismissal from the project if you did not?

Mr. REVZIN. Definitely, if you opened your mouth. This is shown from my own deduction. In other words, it was several months, with some excuse or other.

Mr. STARNES. That is a very fine statement. Does any member of the committee desire to ask any questions?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Revzin, are you prepared to testify at a later date before any other committee which may be appointed, a committee other than this particular one, as to the inefficiency, extravagance, and corruption in connection with the Federal Theater Project in New York City?

Mr. REVZIN. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF MISS SALLIE SAUNDERS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Before you testify, Miss Saunders, let me say we are not interested, as a committee, in the racial question, except only insofar as it forms a vital part of communistic teachings, practices, and doctrines. Later on it will be developed that Communists are working among the Negroes in certain sections of the country, and that their appeal is racial equality.

Miss SAUNDERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Only as we link that in with Communist practices, doctrines, and methods—only to that extent, we are concerned with your testimony.

Miss SAUNDERS. And only to that extent can I testify.

The CHAIRMAN. In your testimony I will ask certain questions, because we do not want to do anything that will stir up or increase any hatreds.

Miss SAUNDERS. It has much to do with racial hatred, if it is explained clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. I will ask some questions, and you will limit yourself to answering the questions. This is a delicate matter, and I would like for you to answer the questions rather than make voluntary statements or get into a discussion of the fifteenth amendment, or something else than we have before us. I will ask certain pertinent questions, and I know you will cooperate in giving the material facts we want to develop by your testimony.

Miss SAUNDERS. I will be glad to, Congressman Dies, but I feel very strongly about the fifteenth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. But this is not the place nor the time to discuss the fifteenth amendment.

Miss SAUNDERS. That is exactly the point the Communists are making.

The CHAIRMAN. We will reach that. Where were you from originally?

Miss SAUNDERS. Originally from Vienna, Austria.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir; since 1920. I believe my father took out citizenship papers then.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in New York?

Miss SAUNDERS. Since 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been employed by the Federal Theater Project; is that true?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you first employed?

Miss SAUNDERS. March 3, 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you remain with the project?

Miss SAUNDERS. Until October 8, 1937, when I took 90 days' leave of absence for private industry. I returned to the project January 7, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. You are on the project now?

Miss SAUNDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the work that you are doing now?

Miss SAUNDERS. As an actress.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen with your eyes evidence of communistic or subversive activities on this particular project?

Miss SAUNDERS. I can only say that literature has been sent around to me personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that Communist literature has been distributed on the premises?

Miss SAUNDERS. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. On one occasion you were called on the telephone. Will you go into the details of that without going too much into it?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir. On Decoration Day I received a phone call from Mr. Van Cleave.

The CHAIRMAN. This year?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir; and he asked me for a date. I lived at the Fraternity Club, and there are a great many men there. I thought it was someone I met at the Fraternity Club. I said, "Mr. Van Cleave, I do not remember you; when did I meet you?" He said, "I was the gentleman who sketched you in Sing for Your Supper." I said, "There were 289 people down there, and I do not know more than 25 of them." He said, "I am the fellow who was sketching you." The day before I had noticed a Negro making a sketch of me as I was dancing. He shoved the sketch in my face. I did not know his name, and did not know anything about him. All I knew was that a Negro had sketched me. I signed out and left the building. At first I thought it was someone trying to play a joke on me, and I became very angry about it and asked how he got my telephone number. He said that he took it from a petition blank or a petition to President Roosevelt, which we all signed regarding the \$1,000 pay cut. He took my name and address from that petition.

Mr. MOSIER. How did he know that was your address?

Miss SAUNDERS. He was one of the committee passing it around.

The CHAIRMAN. After that time when he asked permission to make a date with you, did you report it to the supervisor?

Miss SAUNDERS. I reported it to Mr. Hecht.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Hecht say to you?

Miss SAUNDERS. He said, "Sallie, I am surprised at you. He has just as much right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness as you have." He said, "It is in the Constitution." I said, "Mr. Hecht, that happens to be in the preamble to the Constitution."

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not go into that. We know there is feeling in the matter, and we have to be very cautious about race feeling. You reported it to him, and he advised you, in effect, that he was in favor of social equality?

Miss SAUNDERS. According to the Constitution, and there was some press clipping about equal social rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report it to anyone else?

Miss SAUNDERS. I talked it over with Miss Coonan, and she was appalled. I requested for an immediate transfer, which was granted. I then reported the matter through a personal friend to Senator Pat Harrison.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Hecht?

Miss SAUNDERS. Mr. Hecht is in Sing for Your Supper.

The CHAIRMAN. An employee of the Federal project?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is far enough. Is he connected with the Workers Alliance?

Miss SAUNDERS. Mr. Hecht is of split nationality. He has a card in every organization which has the most power at the moment.

Mr. MOSIER. What is his full name?

Miss SAUNDERS. Harold Hecht.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report it to Trudy Goodrich?

Miss SAUNDERS. She is a secretary of a Workers Alliance division, and she came to me of her own accord. She said she felt very sorry that I felt that way about it, because she personally encouraged Negro attention on all occasions and went out with them or with any Negro who asked her to.

Mr. STARNES. Did she say that it was the policy of the Workers Alliance to do that?

Miss SAUNDERS. She did not say that; but she is a representative of that party, and they hobnob indiscriminantly with them, throwing parties with them right and left.

Mr. STARNES. Is that a part of the Communist program?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir; social equality and race merging.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all. I thank you for your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY FRANK

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mosier will conduct the examination.

Mr. MOSIER. What is your name?

Mr. FRANK. Henry Frank.

Mr. MOSIER. Where do you live?

Mr. FRANK. At 252 West Ninety-first Street, New York City.

Mr. MOSIER. What is your business, Mr. Frank?

Mr. FRANK. I am a section head for the Federal Theater Project, W. P. A.

Mr. MOSIER. How long have you been a section head of the W. P. A. theater project?

Mr. FRANK. Two and a half years.

Mr. MOSIER. When did that project start?

Mr. FRANK. About 3 years ago.

Mr. MOSIER. So you have been section head of that project for 2½ years out of 3 years of its existence.

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir; I was in the pay-roll department of the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. MOSIER. Are you still in the pay-roll department?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir; I have charge of the pay rolls of about one-third of the people.

Mr. MOSIER. One-third of the people on the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. As I understand it, it has been testified before the committee that more than 4,000 people are on that Federal Theater Project.

Mr. FRANK. About 4,300.

Mr. MOSIER. Then you have charge of about one-third of the pay roll for 4,300 people?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And you have had charge of it for 2½ years?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. In your position, have you had occasion to notice any un-American activities that took place on this project, or any of the projects, among any of the people within your jurisdiction?

Mr. FRANK. There is constantly an un-American atmosphere made by members of the Workers Alliance, the City Project Council, and the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you seen any circulars distributed there?

Mr. FRANK. I have a number of circulars with me that were distributed there to me by members.

Mr. MOSIER. They were handed to you?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir; or put on my desk.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you, Mr. Frank, when were those circulars distributed, if you know, or during what time of day?

Mr. FRANK. There was a common practice of distributing those circulars at almost any time of the day.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that on Government time?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir; during working hours; until about 6 months ago there was a memorandum issued which stated that these circulars would not be allowed distribution during working hours. Then the practice was followed by the same organizations, and I mean by that the Workers Alliance and the C. P. C., to come in before project time, distributing one of these circulars on every desk. There was a common understanding among the supervisors not to dare touch one of those circulars until the employee who occupied that desk had read them. If you did destroy one of the circulars, you would be immediately reported to the personnel officer, who had the right to penalize you for the destruction of a circular.

Mr. MOSIER. Those circulars were distributed before 9 o'clock in the morning?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Are they still being distributed?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir. One was distributed yesterday.

Mr. MOSIER. Are they being distributed in as large numbers as before?

Mr. FRANK. No, sir; not since this Dies investigating committee has had some publicity.

Mr. MOSIER. I hand you a document that is designated "23rd Street Revue," and ask you—if that was a circular that was distributed yesterday?

Mr. FRANK. That is the circular that was distributed yesterday.

Mr. MOSIER. Was it the one distributed to you?

Mr. FRANK. It is the one that was put on my desk.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the one that was put on your desk?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir; it was put on my desk.

Mr. MOSIER. I want to read for the record an excerpt from this circular. First, I will ask you if this 23rd Street Revue is printed by the Workers Alliance?

Mr. FRANK. It is; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. I want to read one paragraph:

The Dies committee, which made a farcical whitewash of the inquiry into nazism, continues its red-baiting witch hunt, which has as its purpose to smash Roosevelt, labor, the New Deal, and the Workers Alliance.

That is in the circular that was distributed to you.

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir.

I will ask you to read this other paragraph. It will bear on something further that I have to say.

Mr. MOSIER. This is under the heading of "Letter to the Editor," followed by the statement in parentheses, "We are printing the letter below without comment. The Revue will print answers to it in forthcoming issue."

That is in parentheses, and the letter reads:

EDITOR, 23RD ST. REVUE.

DEAR SIR: Lots of times I have been asked to join the Workers Alliance. I wish you guys would lay off me.

The projects are for relief. And who are we that we should bite the hand that feeds us?

I have no use for a bunch of people that attack the United States Government.

If you don't like the way things are run on this project, why don't you quit and make room for an American that will be thankful for the chance?

You won't have the guts to print this letter.

A WORKER ON THE 13TH FLOOR.

That is in this circular.

MR. FRANK. Yes, sir.

MR. MOSIER. Now, as the head of a division of this and other projects, have you come in contact with or have you had conversations with anyone who has come there telling you that they did not want to join the Workers Alliance?

MR. FRANK. Yes, sir; there is a number of employees that are in constant fear that if they do not belong or follow with the Workers Alliance they will lose their jobs, and that is the purpose of these circulars being put out.

MR. MOSIER. Do these workers tell you that?

MR. FRANK. They come to me and ask my advice as to whether it is necessary for them to join the Workers Alliance in order to have a job, or whether it is necessary to join the Workers Alliance in order to get an increase or proper classification for the work they are doing.

MR. MOSIER. Now, do you find from your private conversations with these individuals that most of them have joined the Workers Alliance?

MR. FRANK. Most of them do not want to join the Workers Alliance, but they feel that if they do not join the Workers Alliance they have not proper protection.

MR. MOSIER. Now, the Workers Alliance puts out these circulars that you have testified about.

MR. FRANK. Yes, sir.

MR. MOSIER. Do you gather the impression from these circulars that the Workers Alliance makes the representation that they and they alone can prevent cuts in wages?

MR. FRANK. There is no doubt about that. That is the main purpose in putting them out. In fact, I have had them come to me and tell me that a certain member resigned from the Workers Alliance because he was not properly classified. In other words, there were two workers, working alongside each other. There were two clerks, one classified as a senior newspaper man and the other as a junior newspaper man. One man came over and said that one was classified as a senior newspaper man, while another, Isadore Albert, was classified as a junior newspaper man. Isadore resigned from the Workers Alliance. In other words, they are under the impression that the Workers Alliance classifies them.

MR. THOMAS. What is meant by a senior and junior newspaper man? What are their duties?

MR. FRANK. A senior newspaper man does research work. In other words, he takes newspapers and goes through them and finds propaganda that might be useful to a play. That is only done on one project. A junior newspaper man merely files and pastes them in books, and does things of that kind.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Frank, you have received all these circulars here personally in your office?

Mr. FRANK. I either received them personally, or they were on my desk when I came in.

Mr. MOSIER. I notice this circular with the heading "Back the President's Job and Recovery Program," and another one headed "National Recovery—President Roosevelt Needs Your Help." This circular is issued by the Twenty-third Street Unit of the Communist Party Federal Theater Project. Now, is it a fact that these people are using the President's name to further their interests?

Mr. FRANK. It is a method of deceiving the workers to join the Workers Alliance. A great many of these workers are Republicans and Democrats, and they believe that putting Roosevelt's name on them would be better than saying, "Join the Communist Party."

Mr. MOSIER. Here is a statement in the one that is entitled "Back the President's Job and Recovery Program" reading, "Issued by the Twenty-third Street Unit of the Federal Theater Communist Party," and I note the statement that, "Workers Alliance assembles on Thirty-ninth Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues at 1:30 p. m." Would you say, or do you say, that the Communist Party and the Workers Alliance are closely associated together?

Mr. FRANK. In my opinion, they are both one. In other words, the Workers Alliance is a disguise for the Communist Party. The Federal Theater, which is recognized as a union in the Workers Alliance, has taken out a charter, or, at least, a small group of them have taken out a charter under the C. I. O. I believe they call them the backstage technicians.

Mr. MOSIER. Here is another circular or two concerning 4,000 wage workers, and calling for a mass meeting to send a committee to Washington. When was that done, or when was that circular distributed, approximately?

Mr. FRANK. Approximately about 2 months ago.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they have the mass meeting for that?

Mr. FRANK. They had a mass meeting, and a delegation did go to Washington.

Mr. MOSIER. What was the result of that visit to Washington?

Mr. FRANK. A number of workers took that particular day off to go to Washington. That was on Monday.

Mr. MOSIER. That was in June or July of this year.

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir; I believe it was in June or the latter part of June.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know with whom they talked in Washington?

Mr. FRANK. A number of them told me when they came back that they had interviewed the assistant to Mr. Hopkins.

Mr. MOSIER. What was the result of that trip to Washington. Were they successful in preventing the cut, or not?

Mr. FRANK. They immediately came back and spread the propaganda that they were able successfully to prevent it, and that they had rescinded the cut, but we in the finance department knew at that time that the \$1,000 cut was not going into effect on the Federal Theaters.

Mr. MOSIER. Here is a circular, and at the bottom of it is the statement "Issued by Communist Party—Federal Theater, Twenty-third

Street Building." I will ask you if you received that circular on your desk?

Mr. FRANK. I received that circular. It was put on my desk.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me read that circular for the record. The headline reads, "Where Can you get the News?" Then under that this appears,

The Times Says Yes; The Herald-Tribune Says No; The News Says Maybe.

Then this follows:

Where can you read the truth? Daily Worker, peoples champion of liberty, peace, progress, and prosperity. Ask the man who reads it.

This is issued by the Communist Party, Federal Theater, Twenty-third Street Building.

What was the impression you got from reading this literature?

Mr. FRANK. That the Times did not tell the truth, that the Herald-Tribune did not tell the truth, that the News did not tell the truth, but that the Daily Worker does tell the truth.

Mr. STARNES. Do you believe that?

Mr. FRANK. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever found anything true in the Daily Worker?

Mr. FRANK. I have not. In fact, I have not read much of it. I have seen plenty of them.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Mr. Frank, the administrator of the Theater Project in New York is subject to Mr. Edwards.

Mr. FRANK. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Can you give us very briefly your impression, gained from your experience, of the activities of the Workers Alliance or the Communist Party, or any un-American activities on the part of any individuals or groups in connection with the Theater Project before Mr. Edwards took charge, in comparison with the conditions since he took charge?

Mr. FRANK. Before Mr. Edwards came to the project the general impression among the workers was that you had to be a member of the Workers Alliance in order to get anywhere on the Federal Theaters Project. In my opinion, Mr. Edwards realized that situation, and he immediately set out to try to cure the evil, but the impression was very deeply embedded, and I know as an administrative employee that it was very hard to convince the average worker otherwise. However, Mr. Edwards was successful in penalizing a number of those workers who violated the memoranda that he sent throughout the project to cure that evil. I want to offer to this committee one of his memoranda called memorandum 60.

Mr. MOSIER. This is memorandum 60, issued June 15, 1938, in which he covers such subjects as discrimination, organizational activities, etc.

Mr. FRANK. That is right.

I will ask you if under "Organizational activities," title 3, this appears:

Participation in organizational activities during working hours on job locations is prohibited, and will result in suspension or dismissal, dependent upon the gravity of the offense. Activities such as the distribution of pamphlets or organizational membership drives during working hours are examples of prohibited organizational activities.

Has that order No. 3 been enforced?

Mr. FRANK. It has been enforced; and I want to relate this particular case.

There was a memorandum similar to that out previous to 60, but 60 combines a number of other memorandums.

On February 1, 1938, we had a mass demonstration on the project, whereupon the Workers Alliance called this demonstration for some purpose, and all workers who were members of the organization stopped work and went before the Administrator's office and demanded an immediate interview. On that demonstration I, as timekeeper, made a physical check of the number of people that had left their desks. This letter is one that I had sent to my supervisor in reference to the demonstration:

Attached you will please find nine separate lists of employees who took part in the stop-work demonstration at 71 West Twenty-third Street today, between the hours of 10:45 and 12:30. This demonstration practically stopped all work on the project and as per your instructions we are deducting one hour and three quarters from their pay and fiscal quota.

At this time I could not learn the name of the agitator who in a great many instances practically forced some of these employees from their desks. I will be in a position to give you his name and tag number tomorrow, also the names of administration employees who took part in this demonstration.

These lists were furnished by the project supervisors and correspond with the physical check that we made, except in the instance of some administrative employees.

Mr. MOSIER. That is a copy of a letter which you sent—

Mr. FRANK. To Mr. Corde, the chief timekeeper.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Mosier, may I ask a question right there?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes, surely.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the date of that demonstration?

Mr. FRANK. February 1, 1938.

Mr. THOMAS. And what was the date of order No. 60?

Mr. FRANK. That was a later date, but—

Mr. MOSIER. It is dated June 15, 1938, order 60.

Now, as the result of this letter what, if anything, was done, Mr. Frank?

Mr. FRANK. The security workers—when I say "security workers" I mean employees who are on an hourly base; when we say "administrative employees," they are on a semi-monthly base—the security wage workers lost one hour and three quarters pay, and were not allowed to make that up.

Among that demonstration, as I stated in that first letter, there were seven administrative employees, and on February 2—this is a copy of a letter that I sent in regard to the administrative employees:

The following project administration employees took part in the stop-work demonstration at 71 West Twenty-third Street on February 1, 1938, between the hours of 10:45 a. m. and 12:30.

A physical check was made of all projects by the timekeeping department. The following employees were not in their respective offices but were in the midst of the demonstration on the thirteenth floor. The timekeeper (whose statements are attached) were with me in making this physical check.

Then there is a list of six employees' names. As a result of this, these nine employees were dismissed—pardon me, seven employees were dismissed.

Mr. THOMAS. They were dismissed on about what date?

Mr. FRANK. On the following day, February 3 or 4, by order of Mr. Edwards, the administrator.

Mr. THOMAS. And have they gotten back on the project since?

Mr. FRANK. Yes; every one of them were reinstated.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Mosier, I think that is an important point. These employees were dismissed as a result of this demonstration, and now they are back on the job again. How did they happen to get back?

Mr. FRANK. The Workers Alliance took that case to the administrator and demanded that they be reinstated. He refused their request. They took the case to a board of appeals, or labor relations board, as we call it in New York, and that board consists of three outside people. To the best of my information, these people are selected by the Workers Alliance and to the satisfaction of the administration.

Mr. THOMAS. You say that the Workers Alliance selects the members on this board of appeals?

Mr. FRANK. They agreed on this particular board of appeals.

Mr. THOMAS. What I want to know is whether all the members of the board of appeals are selected by the Workers Alliance.

Mr. FRANK. They are selected by the administrator with the approval of the Workers Alliance.

We tried the case, and after a number of days the board decided these employees should be reinstated.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, the administrator was overruled?

Mr. FRANK. Overruled.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess now until 1.15.

(Thereupon a recess was taken until 1.15 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee resumed its session at 1:15 p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.)

TESTIMONY OF HENRY FRANK—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mosier has several more questions to ask Mr. Frank, and then we will put on another witness.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Frank, from your observation of the theatrical projects, tell us, if you can, just how the Workers Alliance handles their work within the various projects.

Mr. FRANK. It is a practice of the Workers Alliance to get a key position for one of their members; in other words, such as a project supervisor, who has full power over all the help in his department, and by getting that worker in that position, the Workers Alliance suggests to that project supervisor a man to represent the Workers Alliance on the project. Then, if any grievance comes up, of any kind at all, anything that is dissatisfactory to their organization, they go to him and he represents the Workers Alliance to the administration.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he on the Government pay roll?

Mr. FRANK. He is on the Government pay roll. He may be under any classification. I have one specific case in mind. In the Living Newspaper we have a man named Marion Stevens, who is classified as a senior newspaper man, although he devotes all his time practically to finding grievances for the members of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. MOSIER. He is paid by the Government to work on W. P. A., but he devotes his time to matters connected with the Workers Alliance?

Mr. FRANK. Only; practically only to the Workers Alliance.

Mr. MOSIER. You mentioned the Living Newspaper. Will you tell this committee what you mean by the Living Newspaper?

Mr. FRANK. The Living Newspaper is the name of a project. That particular project puts on its own plays, and they are plays relating to matters that are happening or have happened. In other words, they put on the One-third of the Nation, which is running now. They have a staff of perhaps 75 people that do nothing but research work for that type of plays. They write nothing else but propaganda plays.

Mr. MOSIER. They write the plays that are produced by the Theatre project?

Mr. FRANK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And they produce them, too?

Mr. FRANK. They write them and they produce them.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, they are part of the project?

Mr. FRANK. They are part of the Federal Theater.

Mr. MOSIER. They are on the Federal pay roll?

Mr. FRANK. They are on the Federal pay roll, each one.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, these plays that they produce: Tell the committee, if you know, whether or not they are propaganda plays; propaganda for the Communist Party or the Soviet Government.

Mr. FRANK. That is the only thing that they look for. In other words, they do not try to put on a drama; they do not try to put on a comic; they do not try to put on a classic; they simply look for plays that are propaganda, and that is why they have such a large force of research workers. That particular project carries itself about 50 research workers who do nothing but trace records and news items on anything that relates to propaganda.

Mr. MOSIER. One more question, Mr. Frank. What is the total amount of money spent by the New York Theater Project so far, if you know?

Mr. FRANK. I could not say offhand. I haven't any records with me.

Mr. MOSIER. I have no other questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

Mr. THOMAS. Just one question. Are you familiar with the National Service Bureau?

Mr. FRANK. I am to some extent.

Mr. THOMAS. I believe it might interest the committee to have a short description of the National Service Bureau. The reason I ask that is that I believe that the National Service Bureau will come up at a later date, and it might be advisable to know a little about the bureau.

Mr. FRANK. The set-up of the National Service Bureau is to sell plays to parts of the country that the W. P. A. do not send actors to.

Mr. THOMAS. To schools?

Mr. FRANK. To schools, churches, organizations, and so forth. The National Service Bureau has its solicitors and also gets inquiries for plays, and they suggest and recommend certain types of plays for the particular school, church, or organization.

Mr. THOMAS. And is the National Service Bureau in any way connected with the Federal Theater Project?

Mr. FRANK. Yes; it is part of the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. THOMAS. And what is the address of the National Service Bureau in New York City?

Mr. FRANK. 1961 Broadway. No; wait a minute—1991 Broadway.

Mr. THOMAS. Where is Mrs. Hallie Flanagan's office in New York City?

Mr. FRANK. At that same address.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. MOSIER. Thank you very much, Mr. Frank.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Matthews. I will ask Mr. Starnes to take the chair and question the witness.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. MATTHEWS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STARNES. State your name and your address, please.

Mr. MATTHEWS. J. B. Matthews, Washington, N. J.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession or occupation, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am a writer at present.

Mr. STARNES. What is your background and experience?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have been in educational and journalistic work for some 23 years.

Mr. STARNES. What educational institutions were you affiliated with or worked for?

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the teaching staff?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; the teaching profession.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the faculties of Peabody College, Scarritt College, Fisk University, and the Y. M. C. A. Graduate School in Nashville, Tenn.—all four of those; and on the faculty of the Howard University in Washington, D. C.

Mr. STARNES. What are your professional qualifications as a teacher?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Oriental languages were my specialty.

Mr. STARNES. What other subjects did you teach?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Politics, in the form of current events.

Mr. STARNES. What are your qualifications, or what is your experience, with reference to journalistic work?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was engaged in journalistic work in the Far East, in the island of Java, for a period of 7 years, and since that time I have been engaged in various journalistic enterprises in this country, as editor, until quite recently, of Consumers Digest, and as an independent, free lance, rather, for various magazines.

Mr. STARNES. What paper are you connected with now, if any?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just at the moment I am engaged in some preparatory work for a new journalistic enterprise, the date of the appearance of which is not yet certain.

Mr. STARNES. This committee is interested in an investigation of un-American and subversive activities in their various forms. The investigation thus far has dealt with Nazi activities in this country and with communistic activities. We have testimony from witnesses

with reference to the efforts of the Communist Party boring from within, in trade-union movements, in schools, and in the theater. Are you prepared to make a statement to the committee with reference to the work of naziism, fascism, or communism—any or all of them—and if so, what statement have you to make?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not prepared to speak to the subject of fascism or naziism. I know something about it as a student, but my experience of a firsthand character is entirely with communism.

Mr. STARNES. Will you relate briefly, first, to the committee, what experience you have had with communism, and with the so-called "front" organizations of the Communist Party in this country? Relate personal experiences.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

I hope it will not appear immodest, but for a period of years, I was probably more closely associated with the Communist Party's united front movements than any other individual in this country. That may also be an indictment.

Mr. STARNES. What were those various fronts with which you were associated?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I had official or other consultatory connections with at least 20 of the Communist Party's united front organizations from the end of 1932 until 1935.

Mr. STARNES. Were you at any time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I was not. I was what is known in party circles as a "fellow traveler"—one who sympathizes very closely with the party's aims, but who generally, for strategic reasons, does not hold a party card. There is such a thing as a strategic nonmembership in the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. And you held one of those?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, it is not something you hold. It is a position you occupy.

Mr. STARNES. Well, you occupied the position?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I occupied that position.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been in Russia during the past few years in connection with your studies and your travels?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since 1928 I have made five trips to the Soviet Union.

Mr. STARNES. Now, will you name some of these front organizations for us?

The CHAIRMAN. And indicate what part you played.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. Have you read treatises and books and essays on communism and communistic doctrines and teachings?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think, Congressman, I have made a very sincere effort to cover the entire field.

Mr. STARNES. How many years have you studied that? We are asking you this, of course, for a background of your qualifications.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would say 10 years, since 1928.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you go while you were in Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I went to various places on the various trips.

Mr. STARNES. What did you study? What phases of communism did you study, or what activities of the Communist Party did you study while you were in Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the whole, I did what all visitors to the Soviet Union do—I went where I was taken, and believed what I was told, which includes the entire set-up in the Soviet Union.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you go on your first trip, and when?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1928 my trip was confined to Leningrad and Moscow and the intervening territory. On subsequent trips—

Mr. STARNES. Yes; relate those in sequence, if you please.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would have to refresh my memory from notes, and I do not have the notes here, to tell you where I went in a given year and on the various trips, but I covered the territory as far as the Black Sea and the Dnieperstory Dam in the Ukraine district of the Soviet Union.

In general, my travels were confined to western Soviet Russia, and I did not get into the Ural district.

Mr. STARNES. You stayed generally in European Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; and as a rule around Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give the committee the number of visits you made to Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Five.

Mr. STARNES. What was the duration of your visits?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They varied from a period of 2 weeks to 4 weeks.

Mr. STARNES. What did they permit you to see and to believe?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The visitor usually has the idea that he is seeing samples of the work of the Soviet Union, typical projects.

Mr. STARNES. Name some of those projects to the committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are always parks of culture, rest-homes for workers, where they take vacations at Government expense, model penal colonies, industrial projects, such as hydroelectric power plants, collective farms, and children's homes and workers' apartments.

Mr. STARNES. They did not permit you to go alone, unchaperoned, to see what you wanted to see?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not outside of Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. You had a certain amount of freedom in Moscow?

Mr. MATTHEWS. As far as I was aware; yes.

Mr. STARNES. When you went to see these various places outside of Moscow, you were fully chaperoned?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, always.

Mr. STARNES. And like an observer at military maneuvers, you saw what they wanted you to see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is my opinion.

Mr. STARNES. Will you name some of the front organizations with which you have been affiliated? Will you name them for the record?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Student Congress Against War held at the University of Chicago in 1932, the National Student League, the American Student Union, the American Youth Congress; the Free Tom Mooney Congress, the Unemployed Councils, the National Scottsboro Committee of Action, the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, the International Labor Defense, the American Committee for Struggle Against War, the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. MASON. Before the witness goes any further, what was your official capacity in that group, the League Against War and Fascism,

which is the same thing as the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was the first national chairman.

Mr. MASON. The first national chairman of that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of that organization; yes.

Mr. MASON. Did you help to organize it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Before you go any further, did you help to organize the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the same organization which I helped to organize, under a new name, adopted last winter at the annual meeting of the organization in Pittsburgh.

Mr. STARNES. That is a front for communism in this country?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. It has a direct connection with communistic activities from Moscow?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. Also there were the Anti-Imperialist League, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the American Committee for the Defense of the Chinese People, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, the International Workers' Order, the League of Women Shoppers, and the Federated Press.

I had personal knowledge of some 40 or 50 other organizations, but these are the ones for which I definitely did work of some kind or other.

Mr. STARNES. With which you had an official connection?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And some in which you were the national chairman, and others for which you acted as organizer, and others for which you spoke and espoused?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairmen and gentlemen, the Communist Party relies, for its extensive influence in public affairs, on the tactic which is known as the united front. It is by the means of this device that the party's influence reaches far beyond its immediate enrolled membership. Nothing is more essential to a thorough understanding of Communist methods and purposes than a detailed knowledge of the united front.

Much of the information necessary to an understanding of the united front is to be found in the official publications of the Communist Party. The remainder of such necessary information must be gleaned from the personal experiences and first-hand knowledge of those who have engaged in united front activities.

I propose to submit to this congressional committee some of my own intimate and extensive knowledge of the united front. For a period covering the years 1932-35, it is doubtful whether any other person in this country was associated more prominently than I with the Communist Party's so-called "innocents' clubs."

A brief summary of my united-front connections will I hope, establish my competence as a witness on this subject. I was officially or otherwise actively associated with at least 20 of the organizations which the Communist Party set up for the purpose of putting the leaven of revolution into American public opinion.

STUDENT CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

I was among the national sponsors of the Student Congress Against War held at the University of Chicago, December 27-29, 1932. I was one of the speakers at this Congress, and also a discussion leader for one of its subdivisions. The Congress was organized by the National Student League which was at that time the Communist Party's agency on American college campuses. The leader of the Student Congress Against War and also of the National Student League was Donald Henderson, about whom I shall have more to say presently. Students of other political persuasions, socialist, pacifist, and liberal, participated in the Chicago Congress, but we encountered no difficulty whatever in obtaining the adoption of a set of resolutions which conformed completely to the "line" of the Communist Party.

I underscore that because that is typically such an easy thing to do, in spite of the presence of other but less well organized groups at these various meetings.

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

On numerous other occasions I made speeches under the auspices of the National Student League in various parts of the country, particularly in educational institutions in and around New York City.

In the spring of 1933, Columbia University refused to renew, for the following academic year, its teaching contract with Donald Henderson who had been an instructor in economics in the university.

Mr. STARNES. What reason did they give for refusing?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was always a matter of debate. The university's statement does not recur to me just now in its entirety, but I think the university stood on the question that it was not obligated to renew the contract since it was a contract renewable annually. I think the university did not offer any very explicit reason other than that cause.

For a number of weeks during that spring, we conducted open air protest meetings in front of Columbia University at which we endeavored to make Henderson's "dismissal" into an issue of academic freedom. The fact was, as Henderson explained to me, that he had deliberately neglected his Columbia classes with a view to forcing the issue of his "dismissal" from the University. It was the Communist Party's plan to invest Henderson with the stature of an academic martyr and thereby obtain for him a kind of publicity which would be useful in a larger party service then contemplated.

Mr. STARNES. Donald Henderson was a Communist, I take it, from your remarks?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; Henderson was, up until the early part of 1932, a member of the Socialist Party in New York City. He resigned his membership and announced publicly that he was joining the Communist Party and was very well and publicly known to be a member of the party.

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

In the fall of 1935, the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy—socialist in its complexion—were

merged to form the present American Student Union. As a member of the board of directors of the League for Industrial Democracy, which had supervision over the Student League for Industrial Democracy, I voted for this merger. The American Student Union thus became the broader "united front" movement among American college students.

The outstanding event in the academic year of the American Student Union is its annual "anti-war strike" on college campuses—an event in which more than 150,000 students have participated on a single occasion. In the spring of 1935, I was the principal speaker for the "anti-war strike" on the campus of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. There I found that the affair was entirely under the direction of the student members of the Communist Party, who invited me to a secret meeting, even though I assured them I was not a card-holding member of the party.

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

Closely associated with the American Student Union and deriving much of its impetus and direction from it, is the American Youth Congress. According to the official version of its history, the idea and plan for an American Youth Congress were conceived 4 years ago by one Viola Ilma, who was alleged to have brought back Fascist sympathies from a trip to Europe. In one of its pamphlets, entitled "Youngville, U. S. A.", a copy of which I have here, the American Youth Congress has the following to say about Miss Ilma:

She invited representatives from national youth organizations, reaching all the way from the Boy Scouts to the Young Communist League. Her arrangements were remarkably efficient and all-inclusive. And that was her mistake.

The fact is that because Miss Ilma was so all-inclusive in her invitations, the Young Communist League in concert with left-wing socialists captured her organization in its infancy and threw her out. This is made clear in Wolf Michal's report to the sixth world congress of the Young Communist International. Writing of this capture, Wolf Michal says:

Thanks to the joint participation and work of the young American comrades with the Socialist and other non-Fascist youth at the Youth Congress * * * our Young Communist League of the United States helped to bring about a unity of several non-Fascist organizations with a membership of over a million.

Addressing himself to the members of the Young Communist International gathered in Moscow, Wolf Michal said further: "This is an example of how to influence the masses of youth * * *"

In an address delivered to the Young Communist International in Moscow in 1935, one O. Kuusinen makes this matter even clearer. He said:

Our American comrades achieved a great success at the youth congress * * * The congress was transformed into a great united front congress of the radical youth.

The American Youth Congress is an excellent example of the methods and purposes of the Communist Party's "united front." Among the organizations which have been persuaded to endorse the Youth Congress and to participate in its Communist-guided work, we find numerous groups of Christian young people, such as the Na-

tional Council of Methodist Youth and the Christian Youth Conference of North America. Among the individuals sponsoring the Youth Congress, as members of its so-called national advisory committee, we find in addition to the usual left-wingers who appear frequently on united-front committees, the names of Ralph S. Cushman, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Harold G. Hoffman, Governor of New Jersey; and Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College.

I may say that when I called Governor Hoffman's attention to the fact that he had allied himself with a Communist united-front organization, he withdrew his name from the list of sponsors.

Mr. STARNES. Is it not a fact that they have made innocent dupes of many men and women prominent in public life, such as educators, journalists, and men holding responsible positions in State and Federal Governments, and have used their names in these front organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS Congressman, there is nothing simpler. I have done it myself so many times that I could not begin to number them or tell you the number of times. There is nothing simpler than to approach men and women, prominent people in the whole country, and get them to put their signatures to things about which they have not the remotest idea.

Mr. STARNES. And which they do not favor in any shape, form, or fashion, and yet they have carelessly or indifferently or innocently permitted their names to be used as sponsors for such organizations as these front movements.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right, and the growth of the movement depends to a considerable extent upon that carelessness.

Mr. STARNES. In practically every one of these organizations you have named here, there is a direct connection with them insofar as their policies are concerned, with the Communist International in Moscow, Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; all of the major policies of the Communist Party in the United States are determined in Moscow.

Some years ago, before the Communist Party decided to cover up that fact, they boastfully said so in their literature. It boasted that its own organization, being under international control, was therefore much stronger than the Socialist Party in the respective countries.

Mr. STARNES. Have not the delegates to these organizations named here made visits to Moscow, Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. A great many of them have.

May I say that I know Bishop Cushman, personally, and I know he is not a Communist in any sense of the word, by conviction, but his name does appear as one of the sponsors of this group.

As to the second name here, Harold G. Hoffman, Governor of New Jersey, I explained awhile ago that he retired from this committee when I brought the matter to his attention.

Henry Noble MacCracken is president of Vassar College. I will be glad to submit the entire list.

Mr. THOMAS. Have the other two retired, also?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I have not the time to engage in sufficient correspondence to explain to all of these many thousand individuals what they are doing.

Mr. STARNES. It seems to be the desire of the committee that you read the entire list.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will read the entire list, as follows:

- Thomas R. Amlic, United States Representative from Wisconsin.
 Luigi Antonini, general secretary, Local 89, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
 Roger N. Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union.
 Harry Elmer Barnes, teacher, author, columnist.
 Willard W. Beatty, president, Progressive Education Association.
 Elmer A. Benson, Governor of Minnesota.
 Ruth O. Blakeslee, Chief, Division Policies and Procedures, Social Security Board.
 Bruce Bliven, an editor, New Republic.
 Margaret Bourke-White, photographer.
 LeRoy E. Bowman, director, United Parents Association.
 Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, columnist.
 Mrs. Samuel McCrea Cavert, member national board, Y. W. C. A.
 Grace L. Coyle, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, a sister of David Cushman Coyle.
 Ralph S. Cushman, bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church.
 Jerome Davis, president, American Federation of Teachers.
 Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
 Edmund deS. Brunner, professor of education, Columbia University.
 Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics, University of Chicago.
 Clark M. Eichelberger, director, League of Nations Association.
 Mrs. Kendall Emerson, chairman, public affairs committee, national board, Y. W. C. A.
 Mary Fox, League for Industrial Democracy.
 Lynn J. Frazier, United States Senator from North Dakota.
 Mrs. William Lloyd Garrison, III, member, national board, Y. W. C. A.
 Sidney E. Goldstein, Rabbi, Free Synagogue, New York.
 Francis J. Gorman, first vice president, United Textile Workers of America.
 Sheldon Glueck, professor of criminology, Harvard Law School.
 Helen Hall, Henry Street Settlement House.
 J. B. S. Hardman, editor, The Advance, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
 Daniel W. Hoan, mayor of Milwaukee.
 Harold G. Hoffman, Governor of New Jersey.
 Charles P. Howard, president, International Typographical Union, now deceased.
 James H. Hubert, executive director, Urban League.
 Marguerite Kehr, dean of women, Pennsylvania State Teachers College at Bloomsburg.
 Oliver LaFarge, novelist.
 Edward C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.
 Robert Morss Lovett, professor, University of Chicago; he appears on almost every such committee that has ever been set up. I think Professor Lovett alone surpasses my record in this respect.
 Henry Noble MacCracken, president, Vassar College.
 Archibald MacLeish, editor, Fortune, and poet.
 Jeremiah T. Mahoney, president, Amateur Athletic Union.
 Philip Murray, Chairman, Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
 Clifford Odets, playwright.
 A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church.
 William F. Quillian, general secretary, General Board of Christian Education, Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
 Homer P. Rainey, director, American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education.
 Frederick L. Redefer, executive secretary, Progressive Education Association.
 Reid Robinson, president, International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.
 Philip Schiff, headworker, Madison House, New York.
 Rose Schneiderman, president, Women's Trade Union League.
 George N. Shuster, managing editor, Commonweal.

Mary K. Simkhovitch, director, Greenwich House, New York.
 George Soule, an editor, New Republic.
 Maxwell S. Stewart, associate editor, The Nation.
 Genevieve Taggard, author and teacher.
 Katherine Terrill, The Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches of the United States
 V. T. Thayer, educational director, Ethical Culture Schools.
 Mary Van Kleeck, director, Department of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation.
 Lilian D. Wald, Henry Street Settlement House.
 Charles C. Webber, executive secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Service.
 William Allen White, editor, The Emporia Gazette.
 James Waterman Wise, author and lecturer.
 Mary E. Woolley, president, Mount Holyoke College.
 Winnifred Wygel, laboratory division, national board, Y. M. C. A.

Mr. MASON. This is list of the sponsors of the National Youth organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. MASON. Is that the organization that is holding a meeting just now at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; that organization meeting there is the World Youth Congress, to which the American Youth Congress is host.

Mr. MASON. The American Youth Congress is the host?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To the World Youth Congress.

Mr. MASON. These sponsors have, either innocently or otherwise, through the use of their names, really advanced the cause of Communism in this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a fair statement.

Ostensibly these organizations and individuals are associated with a youth organization which is dedicated to peace as one of its major goals. Actually they are being made the innocent dupes of a carefully contrived Communist maneuver. By peace, as the Communists understand it and work for it, is meant a breathing spell during which the world revolution of the proletariat may be prepared. Wolf Michal, in his report from which I have already quoted, declares that the American Youth Congress fights for peace because, among other things, "it means that the world proletariat is given still more time to rally its forces for the final overthrow of capitalism." That I could show you from many quotations, is the understanding of the word peace in many of these various peace organizations, to be given a breathing spell, during which world revolution, bigger and better war, if you please, is to be prepared.

At this very moment, the American Youth Congress is host to a so-called World Youth Congress, meeting on the campus of Vassar College. This World Youth Congress at Vassar is nothing more nor less than one of these united front maneuvers dedicated to forwarding the aims of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Anyone who denies this demonstrable fact is either the unfortunate victim of deceit or a willful deceiver. The resolutions which are assured of adoption at this World Youth Congress will follow faithfully the current line of the Communist Party and will express the same purpose of "giving the world proletariat still more time to rally its forces for the final overthrow of capitalism."

In a recent statement purporting to reply to the charge of Communist influence in the World Youth Congress, the American Youth Congress officials asked rhetorically: "Will the single delegate of the

Young Communist League of the United States outweigh all the other 49 American delegates?" This statement couched in the form of a rhetorical question is obviously intended to lead the reader to believe that the only Communist delegate who will be a member of the American group in the Youth Congress will be there in his capacity as a member of the Young Communist League—a lone Communist among 49 non-Communists. The statement is wholly false in its implication.

I have made an attempt to make a partial check on the 50 American delegates of the Congress, and I can say that approximately 35 of the 50 delegates are either communists or follow the representatives of the Communist Party. You will find, if you follow the news reports, that in the voting on the various resolutions, so far as the American delegation is concerned, the voting will be 35 or 36 in favor of the communist proposals and 14 or 15 in favor of the non-Communist proposals.

Besides being false, however, this statement reveals a typical united-front tactic of the communists. Last winter, for example, the Communist Party, as such, officially withdrew from the American League for Peace and Democracy. Earl Browder, in addressing the League on the subject of the Communist Party's withdrawal, said:

I do not think it necessary for me to say that this does not mean the withdrawal of communists from active participation and support of the league. * * * We will do our part more energetically than ever before. * * * I myself am not only a fraternal delegate from the Communist Party but also an official delegate from the International Workers' Order, a fraternal organization of 135,000 people, and in that capacity I want to take my part in this congress and the work of the league hereafter.

The International Workers' Order is one of the best known of the many communist united-front groups. Browder out of the American League for Peace and Democracy as a delegate from the Communist Party, and at the same time Browder in the American League as a delegate from the International Workers' Order add up to a situation in which there has been no change other than a purely tactical one.

The "single delegate of the Young Communist League of the United States" might well be simply one of 50 Communist American delegates at the World Youth Congress now in session at Vassar College, since the Communist Party has many more than 50 united-front organizations similar to the International Workers' Order which Browder represents in the American League for Peace and Democracy.

MR. MASON. May I ask, if a speaker at this conference at Poughkeepsie would be innocently aiding the Communist cause?

MR. MATTHEWS. To the extent that the Communists were able to exploit the publicity value,

MR. MASON. If the speaker was the wife of the President of the United States, there would be great publicity value in that fact, would there not?

MR. MATTHEWS. I take it your question answers itself.

As a matter of fact, a careful check will show that many of the organizations sponsoring the World Youth Congress and having delegates in its membership are nothing more than the Communist Party

in some of its numerous disguises. A united-front organization is nothing more than the Communist Party wearing a false face.

I must strongly emphasize the fact that it is a deliberate tactic of the Communists and their sympathizers to point to the absence of a majority of Communists in a united-front organization or in a labor union as proof that it is not controlled by Communists. This is done only for deceiving the public, however. The actual Communist theory which is basic to its work has always presupposed that it was entirely unnecessary to have a majority of Communists in any organization or movement in order to control it or to influence it in a desired direction. The theory holds that the tail can and does, in fact, wag the dog when the tail consists of a group of highly disciplined Communists. The Communist Party itself has never aimed at becoming a majority party. In fact, it has always opposed the idea of its becoming large enough to count in its party membership a majority of either the voting citizens or even of the so-called working class. This is known as the "vanguard theory," by which is meant that the Communist Party aspires to be only the general staff of the proletarian revolution. It is as meaningless to argue, as Communists and their sympathizers do for public consumption, that the American League and the World Youth Congress are not Communist organizations because they are not composed of a majority of Communists as it would be to argue that the Soviet Union is not controlled by the Communist Party because the party in Russia numbers only about 2 percent of the population.

The situations are very analogous, the difference being that the 2 percent in Russia do have full access to the armed forces and can rule both by persuasion and armed force, but the 2 percent in organizations in this country rely constantly on their ability as a closely knit and disciplined unit to rule by persuasion.

Mr. STARNES. That is a startling statement that you made about only 2 percent of the Russian people being members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; that is official.

Mr. MASON. Oh, that is official.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I may say, Mr. Congressman, we always assumed in my work in these organizations that if we could get an efficient group of 2 to 3 percent in any organization, we could influence the adoption of any set of resolutions we chose to adopt.

Mr. STARNES. And thereby direct the activities of the organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And control them.

Mr. THOMAS. Along those same lines, do you know approximately the number of Russians that caused the revolution in Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That would be difficult to say, but it has been estimated that it would be less than one million.

Mr. THOMAS. It would be less than what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It would be much less than one million.

The words of Earl Browder on this subject are clear beyond any disputing their meaning and they give the final lie to all denials of communistic character based upon the absence of a Communist

majority. Now I quote from Earl Browder in his book, *Communism in the United States*, page 244, where he says:

In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united-front movement in all its phases, stands the Communist Party. Our position in this respect is clear and unchallenged.

That statement was made several years ago and Browder would not make it now, but that would be purely for a tactical reason.

I have dwelt somewhat lengthily on the subject of this World Youth Congress because it is a matter of vital current interest and because I myself have appeared on scores of American college campuses, in one instance as the representative of this, and in another instance as a representative of that Communist united front, but never in my life as the representative of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League as such.

Now I come to the unemployed councils.

Mr. MOSIER. Professor Matthews, may I ask you a question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. How many colleges and universities have separate organizations connected with the American Youth movement?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are several hundred of them. I cannot give you the exact number.

Mr. MOSIER. Several hundred?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; there are several hundred. I myself have spoken on the campuses of approximately 250 colleges in practically every State in the Union for this general movement.

Prior to the organization of the Workers' Alliance of America, the Communist Party maintained its own rigidly controlled groups for the unemployed, which were known as "Unemployed Councils." Under the auspices of this group, a hunger march on Washington was staged in 1933. I worked with the group on sundry matters of arranging its descent upon the National Capital.

In that work I was associated particularly with Mrs. Corliss Lammont and with a young lady named Finkelstein and with a New York lawyer named Allen Taub.

I was likewise frequently a speaker for the Unemployed Leagues, supported by the left wing Socialists, which were subsequently merged with the Unemployed Councils to form the Workers' Alliance of America. In the fall of 1933 I strongly urged that merger and personally brought David Lasser and Herbert Benjamin, its two leaders, together on the platform of the United States Congress Against War, over which I was presiding in New York.

I also induced Lasser to get up and make a public statement, committing himself to make a very serious effort to bring about the existence of the Workers' Alliance of America in concert with the Communist Party, headed by Herbert Benjamin.

Mr. THOMAS. David Lasser is now chairman of the Workers' Alliance, is he not?

Mr. MATTHEWS. David Lasser is the chairman and Herbert Benjamin runs it.

Mr. STARNES. And they are avowed Communists, are they not?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are what?

Mr. STARNES. They are Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is my understanding that David Lasser does not hold a party card in the Communist Party. Benjamin, of course, does, and is known to have held a card for many years.

Mr. STARNES. Is Lasser what we call a fellow traveler?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; distinctly so. He was not at the time about which I speak, prior to 1933, but he became one after that. And it is very significant to note that Lasser was recently expelled from the Socialist Party because of his Communist activities.

I next come to the Free Tom Mooney Congress.

From April 30 to May 2, 1933, there was held in the city of Chicago a meeting known as the Free Tom Mooney Congress. It was called as a united front gathering by the International Labor Defense, another of the Communist outfits wearing a false face.

On April 29, 1933, I received the following telegram from Chicago.

Leading congress committee members unanimously agree further united action of working class would be enormously strengthened by your presence here. Congress opens 2 o'clock tomorrow lasting 3 days with vast stadium mass meeting Monday evening.

SCOTT.

Mooney Molders Defense Committee.

I wish to assure this committee that the language of the telegram is a gross exaggeration and that the Communists who sent it would undoubtedly hasten to admit as much today. I offer it as evidence for the purpose of indicating that I have excellent reasons and a background of experience for knowing a great deal about the united front. On the receipt of the telegram I left immediately for Chicago where I participated in the Free Tom Mooney Congress, including a speech at the "vast stadium mass meeting" mentioned therein.

I have a photostatic copy of the telegram and of all these other documents which I am mentioning, and which I will turn over to the committee.

Mr. STARNES. You will turn those over to the committee as exhibits?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

I now take up the National Tom Mooney Council of Action.

Following the Chicago congress a permanent organization was set up with the name National Tom Mooney Council of Action. I was made the national secretary of the organization.

NATIONAL SCOTTSBORO COMMITTEE OF ACTION

In the Daily Worker, May 3, 1933, I was listed as a member of the national committee of this united front. I made a number of speeches under its auspices.

Both Heywood Broun and I, who were members of the Socialist Party at this time, were threatened with disciplinary action in the Socialist Party for our participation in this communist united front. Broun called me aside one day at a Socialist meeting and informed me that he was resigning from the Socialist Party in order to have greater freedom to work with the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Heywood Broun.

The CHAIRMAN. The columnist?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He joined the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He did not make it quite that explicit. I said that Broun informed me that he was going to resign from the Socialist Party in order to have greater freedom to work with the Communists, because the Socialist Party never looked with favor upon our cooperating with the Communists. There is a good deal of rivalry between the two groups. As a matter of fact, I was eventually suspended and then expelled from the Socialist Party for being associated with the American League for Peace and Democracy, which is pretty good proof of whether or not the Socialists believe that it was a Communist organization.

Broun was also threatened with expulsion for speaking under these Communist auspices, and he chose to resign rather than to be expelled.

Mr. STARNES. I see that the National Scottsboro Committee of Action is also a Communist front.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. In fact, a Negro girl, Louise Thompson, who is now a member of the Communist central committee, was at the head of that committee, the Scottsboro committee, and was formerly a national secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association in this country when I first knew her many years ago. I met her at conferences of Christian young people.

Mr. STARNES. The International Labor Defense was the first organization to interest itself in that trial. That was during the course of the trial.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Very often it is the case that one united front sets up another united front, and they get the thing pyramided until it is difficult to trace it down.

The CHAIRMAN. It is something like these holding companies?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; I see that the Communist Party believes in holding companies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just another job for Congress.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you the names of the sponsors of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I have.

Mr. THOMAS. I think it would be interesting to hear those names?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is as of April 28, 1938. The national chairman is Vito Marcantonio.

The vice president is William L. Patterson, a Negro with whom I was associated in dozens of these united fronts.

Richard B. Moore; Winifred Chapell.

Jan Wittenber—with reference to Chapell, she was for many years secretary of the Methodist Federation, which was the Communist boring-from-within organization in the Methodist Church of this country, headed by Harry Ward.

Mr. MASON. And is now active?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Ward was my successor as head of the American League for Peace and Democracy. They have had only two national chairmen; he still is and I was.

On the advisory committee are George R. Anderson; Hart E. Baker; David Bentall; Joseph R. Brodsky; Gilberto Concepcion; Ben Davis; John P. Davis; I. Allan Frankel; Leo Gallagher, well known in California; Irvin Goodman; Grover C. Johnson; Carol

King; Edward Kuntz; Edward Lamb; Yetta Land; Vito Marcantonio Louis F. McCasé; Herman L. Midlo; Prof. Leon A. Ransom; Samuel L. Rothbard; Sylvia Schlesinger; Isaac Shorr; Joseph Tauber; Herbert T. Wechsler; Saul G. Waldbaum; Ruth Weyand; and A. L. Wirin, who, until a few months ago, was legal counsel for the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. THOMAS. Was Brodsky a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What are his activities now?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is a lawyer in New York City who was at one time at least the pay-off man for the Communist Party in this country; that is, the man through whom funds were transmitted from Moscow, according to the archives of the Argos Co. which were seized in London by the British Government several years ago.

Mr. THOMAS. What does he do now? Is he active in the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, he is active in all of these organizations. I think perhaps you will find his name as a candidate for some Communist office or other. There is no secret about his membership. He is frequently a candidate for office on the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. MOSIER. May I ask a question, Doctor? You read the name of A. L. Wirin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know where he practices law?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, Wirin is now, I understand, the chief legal counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union and is associated with the International Labor Defense.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he in Los Angeles?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is his place of origin and he may be out there now doing some work. I believe I have seen something to that effect somewhere recently.

The CHAIRMAN. He is mentioned in the Markheim affidavit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I may say, in order to throw further light on this, that I myself, in this activity, made a journey to California to participate in that rather nasty business in the Imperial Valley several years ago, and my contact man for the Communist Party was Mr. Wirin.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have any contact with Harry Bridges at any time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not personal, but I shall mention matters—

Mr. STARNES. Party contacts?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Matters that are taken for granted.

Mr. STARNES. Let us make one thing clear once and for all, Dr. Matthews. That is, there is a direct connection between the Communist Party, the International Party in Moscow, and this American League against War and Fascism and its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. As the first national chairman you can state positively that there is a direct connection between the two?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will be glad to elaborate that slightly.

Mr. STARNES. I wish you would, because I want to establish that definitely once and for all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At this very moment—

Mr. MASON. And in view of the fact that many Government officials belong to that organization, we want the fact established and made clear to the world.

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Congressman, I can suggest a very simple test by which any of these persons, if they desire, may find out for themselves whether or not it is controlled by Communists. Let any one of them go to the meeting of the League and introduce a resolution which suggests that the Soviet Union is other than paradise, and they will find they have immediately stepped on the "sacred cow" of the organization and they will know who runs the organization. I have proposed that to several persons who have tried it and they have discovered instantly who runs the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think of these Government officials who persist in their public statements that this is not a Communist organization and has nothing to do with it? They are just under a false impression.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Some of them know better; a few of them know better.

Mr. MASON. But most of them are ignorant of it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I should like Dr. Matthews first to answer the direct question that I asked, concerning whether there was a direct connection between the International Communist Party from Moscow, Russia, and this American League for Peace and Democracy; that is, the American League Against War and Fascism which was succeeded by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will outline that as briefly as possible.

Mr. MASON. Your answer to the question is yes, if you know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. My answer is yes. In 1932 when it was apparent that Hitler was going to come to power in Germany, the Communists for the first time became fearful of fascism. Prior to that time they had gone so far as to collaborate with Fascists in Germany against the Social Democrats.

Mr. STARNES. The Social Democracy in Germany as it was known then was more nearly akin to a constitutional representative democracy such as we have in America, than any other form of government?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; that is a fair statement. In the winter of 1932-33, a special meeting was called in Moscow of the executive committee of the Communist International. Mr. Browder attended that from this country. It was there decided that in view of the situation in Germany something would have to be done in the way of a new tactic.

Stalin foresaw an eventual military showdown with Hitler. At the time the Communist parties of the western nations were weak and isolated sects, practically without influence.

The purpose of this meeting in Moscow was to devise ways of increasing the influence of the Communist Party particularly in three countries; France first, the United States second, and Great Britain third.

It was decided then to try to set up a people's front, or a popular front government, in France, and they were eventually successful.

It was decided that in the United States the situation was not ripe for a people's front, and that first the step to be taken was to set up an organization such as the American League for Peace and Democracy. That word was brought back from Moscow by Browder, discussed in party circles.

They looked around for a man to head this organization and they picked on me. They invited me to become the national chairman. They explained in detail what I have told you, the purposes of the organization, and the situation internationally, at which this new organization was to aim.

Now, there is not the slightest doubt about it. Of course, it is perfectly ludicrous to me to hear anyone deny that the American League is communistic, knowing so well as I do and as practically all well-informed persons politically do, there is just no sense to denying it.

Mr. MASON. The practical beginning, the initiation of it, came directly from Stalin in Mo-cow?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And as a part of the international program?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right. I can give you very decisive proof of that, I think. Simultaneously there was set up the American League Against War and Fascism, the Canadian League Against War and Fascism, the British League Against War and Fascism, and the French League Against War and Fascism. They were set up simultaneously, and last winter all four simultaneously took new names.

Mr. STARNES. What were those names?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The French League for Peace and Democracy, the British League for Peace and Democracy, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy.

Now, that presupposes international cooperation of some kind.

Mr. STARNES. Later on in your statement will you be able to give us some information with reference to the financing of these various organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; the American League in particular. I, perhaps, should go just one step farther in this plan for the American League.

Mr. STARNES. I think you should.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I said the decision was that the American situation was not yet ripe for a people's front; that first it would be advisable to set up an organization like the American League. But there was also decided at that time this procedure: To work as rapidly as possible for the disintegration, as they spoke of it, of the Democratic Party. And the tactic by which that was to be accomplished was this: there would be as much boring from within the Democratic Party as could possibly be done.

Now, I can give you personal experience on that. I was requested by the Communist Party to join the Democratic Party in Congressman Thomas's district and run for the Assembly of New Jersey. I did so under instructions from the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. What year was that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1935.

Mr. THOMAS. Then we ran against each other?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I was running for the assembly and you were running for Congress. Thousands of others did precisely what I did. They apparently joined the Democratic Party. They began to infiltrate not only the Democratic Party but Government agencies by the hundreds, all with the express purpose of driving a wedge, which they call it—a wedge between the “progressive” Democrats and the “reactionary” Democrats, with the purpose of destroying the Democratic Party. And they expect that out of that disintegration or destruction there will come a Farmer-Labor Party in this country, possibly by 1940, or at the latest by 1944, and the Communist Party will have the guiding and directive influence in that Farmer-Labor Party.

That is the whole plan, and that is discussed freely in party circles. It is even written occasionally in books.

Mr. STARNES. When you say it is discussed in party circles, you mean in Communist Party circles?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. MASON. In view of those facts, would you not say that any innocent Government employee or official should immediately withdraw his membership from the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am willing to leave that to the Government official.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think there is any question but what they will withdraw when these facts become known to the public.

Mr. STARNES. Doctor, in connection with your discussion, if it comes in logical order and fits in with your prepared presentation, could you give us something on the financing of this American League for Peace and Democracy? Because, if it is a fact, this committee wants it established as a fact beyond doubt and cavil, because that it is a Communist organization has been challenged, and it has been said that it is not run or controlled by the Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. We had four methods of financing the American League. First was what we called the nickel, dime, and quarter drive upon the “innocents.”

Mr. MOSIER. Will you say that again?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The nickel, dime, and quarter drive upon the innocents; tin cans, and collections on the table, and that sort of thing, to rake in the pennies and the nickels and the dimes and the quarters from the general mass of the members. That was the first procedure.

The second procedure was to stage a banquet for the upper middle class, the pink intellectuals, and to bring as speakers to those meetings such outstanding names in left-wing circles as John Strachey, Lord Marley, and Henri Barbusse. We used all three of those in this campaign.

Very often at these banquets we raised as much as \$2,000 from the pink intellectuals.

Sometimes we got in difficulty and had to borrow money. The procedure then was for Mr. Corliss Lamont to sign a note, to make a loan, at the Amalgamated Bank in New York City. I think I was to be required to endorse the note.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Lamont is from the House of Morgan?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The House of Morgan; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any money from the Garland fund?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No. The Garland fund had been practically exhausted before this organization was built up.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know how the Garland fund was exhausted; what movements brought that about?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I know the general history of that.

Mr. STARNES. Well, proceed and finish what you had started.

Mr. MASON. You said you were going to give us four methods, and you have given us three, of raising money for this organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There were times when we could not borrow so quickly at the bank, and in those eventualities, we called Browder on the telephone. It was understood, at least by me, though I have no documents to prove it, that there was a party chest, replenished from Moscow. There was never any secret of that in the inner circle. Out of that fund we were able to draw whenever we really had to draw upon it.

For example, I was sent to Cuba by the American League Against War and Fascism. We had to have funds instantly, and they were sent over in cash by special messenger from Browder's office.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is Browder's office?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is on Twelfth Street.

Mr. MOSIER. In New York?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; on Twelfth Street in New York City, the regular Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, will you give us a further statement showing the direct connection between the International Communist Party, in Moscow, and the formation of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American League for Peace and Democracy? Will you elaborate on that? You have given some very direct and positive testimony, and I would like to have you elaborate on that before proceeding with your statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. In a recent issue of the Daily Worker it was stated categorically that the founder of the American League was Henri Barbusse, the noted French Communist. In creating the American League, Browder and Henderson had the executive committee of the International to send Barbusse over to our congress to give it a send-off. You will find in the constitution of the Communist International that leading comrades may go from country to country only with the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International. So you may deduce from that, that Barbusse's coming to America was with the permission of the Communist International. They have ever since described him (Barbusse) as the founder of the American League. As a matter of fact, at the time of the first congress, without my knowledge, even though I was chairman of the affair, they had a bust of Barbusse cast of solid silver. This bust, which cost several hundred dollars, was presented to him by the first congress, and I saw inscribed on the bust the statement that he was the founder of the American League.

I have told you how Browder came back and explained to me and others what the plan was—namely, to get allies for Soviet Russia in the expected war.

Mr. STARNES. Browder told you that after he returned from his visit to Moscow?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; from Russia. I accepted the chairmanship of this division here, and in the following December, Browder, the general secretary of the American Communist Party, went back to Moscow to report the result or success of the enterprise of setting up the American League. In that report he said:

We led a highly successful United States congress against war. The congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly.

There is no ambiguity about that, and that was Browder speaking in Moscow for the executive committee of the Communist International, that they openly led this congress which set up the American League.

Mr. STARNES. Are you still regarded as a fellow traveler in the party, or did you cease your connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I suggest that you read the Daily Worker tomorrow. I was once very casually associated with the Daily Worker correspondent who attends these sessions. I do not see him in the room now.

Mr. STARNES. What is the story with reference to that, or what is the history of the severance of your connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think you will appreciate that it may be difficult for any man to be wholly objective about his own experiences, but to the best of my ability I will try to summarize it by saying that I first became radical, like so many Americans, when we felt the influence of what we call middle-class idealism. I was a young man, just out of college, and I fell hard for the Wilsonian idealism, and for the slogan, "Making the world safe for democracy." Then came the post-war disillusionment, in which a great many of us decided that Wilsonian idealism, fine as it was, did not work out in practice, and that we needed something quicker. We felt that we needed some more direct method of stepping up the play, and we were drawn further to the left. I would say that the primary reason was that the Communists promised more. They promised to speed up the system or program of social change, and we fell for that. Now, having gone in on the basis of that idealism, like many others who have caught it in the same fashion, let me say that no man can possibly be in intimate contact with the radical movement in general, and the Communist movement in particular, and not discover that the very ideals which pushed him toward the left are more flagrantly violated in the left-wing circles than in the circles that they are opposing.

Now, I could give you several illustrations of that, but the thing that shocked me most in this radical movement was the discovery that in Norfolk, Va., Communists had organized a Ku Klux Klan, and that Communists themselves put on robes to terrorize Negroes in order to compel them to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. They explained they were killing two birds with one stone—that is, they were not only getting the Negroes in the Union but they were also able to explain, through the Daily Worker, how brutal the Ku Klux Klan was in the South. I found that was the "ideal" which I had gone left to defend, and I have discovered it in

even more gross forms. I could spend days here and bore you considerably with that sort of thing. Now, if a fellow traveler in the Communist Party is sufficiently far out on the fringe he will not discover these things, but if you get close enough on the inside you will grasp the Communist morality concept, which is, in effect, that anything goes that serves their interest in the class struggle. Then you will find out what is being done. There is no degree or kind of perjury, individual prejury or mass perjury, or violence of any sort, that is not counted upon and deliberately planned to win in its various schemes and maneuvers. Now, you can see that if you have been enticed into the left wing on idealistic grounds, you would have to have a pretty well-lined stomach to stay in very long.

The CHAIRMAN. You can be here at 10 o'clock Monday morning to resume your testimony.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned to meet Monday, August 22, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. Mr. Starnes will proceed with the examination.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Matthews, will you take the stand? Mr. Matthews, at the conclusion of the hearings on Saturday, we had reached the point when we were discussing the influence of the Communist Party in its efforts on the political front. By that we mean its efforts to obtain control of the political parties in America or to bore from within the political parties, in order to seize control of our political institutions.

Will you resume your testimony at that point, and describe to the committee in detail the plan of the Communist Party to bore from within our major political parties, and as to how they expect to seize control of either of the parties, if they do, and the methods they propose.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. MATTHEWS—Resumed

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Congressman, the Democratic Party is the major objective of the Communist Party for the splitting tactic, but their efforts are by no means confined to the Democratic Party. You will find in certain sections of the country that there are borers from within the Republican Party—men who run for office on the Republican ticket who are adhering to the Communist line.

On page 29 of the memorandum which I have prepared, I have a summary which I think bears upon the question you have just raised.

The manner in which the united front activities of the Communist Party are integrated into its whole strategy should be briefly sketched. The party aims ultimately at revolution—the complete overthrow of the system known as capitalism and the liquidation of the bourgeois class, so-called. This ultimate aim is, however, to be attained in stages which are conceived to follow logically one upon the other. These stages must be understood in order to comprehend the meaning of any Communist tactic at a given moment. I shall attempt to outline them.

The present stage in Communist strategy may be called the united-front phase. This is the period during which the party extends its influence in the many devious ways which I have tried to elucidate—a little radicalization here, a little there, boring, penetrating, infiltrating, ceaselessly maneuvering for some gain, however slight. The program is aimed more at winning an enormous number of sympathizers than at increasing the card-holding membership, although the latter is not to be underestimated. In particular, I call attention to the deliberate aim of disintegrating the Democratic Party by driving a wedge between its so-called liberal wing and its so-called conservative wing.

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point, Mr. Matthews, do you mean to say that the program, we will say, of the New Deal Party, was in any way planned or recommended by the Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Congressman, I would not say that. But it is clear, I think, from the examination of Communist literature at the moment that the immediate interests of certain administration measures and the Communist Party coincide.

Perhaps I can give you an illustration from Lenin's writings on that particular point. In a letter addressed to American Workers, Lenin explained that he once made an alliance with a French monarchist, and he said, "We shook hands with the French monarchist because at the moment our interests coincided, although we knew that each of us would readily hang his 'partner.'" That, I think, is the same situation as now exists between the Communist and the New Deal.

The Communist technique involves cooperation with almost any group with which at the moment its interests do coincide.

At times, in Germany, prior to the coming of Hitler into power, the Communist Party cooperated with the Nazis, particularly in the much-publicized plebiscite in the summer of 1932, when the Nazis and the Communists voted together on the issue which was being raised.

Mr. MAXON. Right on that point of a wedge being driven between the so-called conservatives in the Democratic Party and the so-called liberals, and in view of the fact that the Workers' Alliance has been named as one of these united fronts, would you say, Mr. Matthews, that the \$50,000 fund that is now being raised to defeat Representative O'Connor in New York, as announced in the papers by the Workers' Alliance, would be a part and a definite illustration of this wedge that is being driven in to disrupt the party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It appears to be such a measure.

I notice that the policy announced by the Workers' Alliance is to elect men who are in favor of a considerable expansion of the present expenditure measures. I have just a word on that in the memorandum I have here; but before I get to that, let me buttress what I have said about disintegrating the Democratic Party by a quotation from a book recently published and which was written by Bruce Minton and John Stewart.

Bruce Minton is at present one of the editors of the *New Masses*, a Communist weekly, and Stewart, I think, was formerly on the staff of the *New Masses*.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Bruce Minton any relation to Senator Minton of Indiana?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I doubt it seriously, but I have no information on that point.

The quotation is as follows:

As industrial interests advanced, as groups fed by political issues found new positions in the transformed political scheme, progressive forces within the disintegrating Democratic Party in alliance with the already existing Farmer-Labor groups would evolve into a national Farmer-Labor Party, an American People's Front.

Mr. STARNES. Who is that from?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is from Bruce Minton and John Stewart. Minton, as I said, is one of the editors of the *New Masses*, and that quotation is from their book recently published.

Before the Communist Party can hope to advance far toward its revolutionary goal, it understands, and rightly, that there must be a sweeping realignment of political forces in this country. That realignment is sought at the price of the very existence of the Democratic Party. Out of the chaos of the Democratic Party's destruction, it is expected that a national farmer-labor party would emerge. The backbone of this new grouping would be the industrial unions, a single political bloc numbering millions and susceptible of being moved as chess pieces upon the political board. The effort of the Communist Party will be everywhere to hold a commanding influence—not necessarily a numerical majority—in these industrial unions and consequently in the Farmer-Labor Party. With a Farmer-Labor Party in power, the Communist Party would exert every ounce of its influence to use it as a means to the sabotage of the capitalist system of production by placing upon that system burdens of restrictive legislation and enervating taxation.

These ends would, it is hoped, be achieved by the slogans of social security, unprecedented sums for relief of every conceivable sort, until the collapse of the currency induced a major crisis in the working of the economy. Meanwhile political power would be built upon these gifts of relief—a veritable monster of politics insatiable in its appetite for compensation without toil. Not only upon the economy's currency but upon every other front of the capitalist system, this incessant sabotage would do its work until finally the system would require a receiver. The Communist Party would then step in as the most militant, cohesive, and highly disciplined minority available to take over the functions of government. Thus would the dictatorship of the proletariat inaugurate a Soviet America. The reactionary property holders and the idealistic believers in democracy and civil liberties would have to be slaughtered—not because the Communists love violence or bloodshed but because they sincerely look upon themselves as the fashioners of a new destiny for mankind.

Mr. STARNES. Speaking of liquidation, you say they seek to bring about the disruption of the dominant or major political party at the time, which happens to be the Democratic Party, and the liquidation of the bourgeois class.

Is there any similarity in the expression "by liquidation" as used by them, and the expression "purge": are they synonymous?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Sometimes they just use the term "purge," particularly, however, with reference to the liquidation by Hitler.

MR. STARNES. Hitler liquidated, and Stalin purged?

MR. MATTHEWS. Stalin, I think, prefers the word, "liquidation."

MR. STARNES. And Hitler prefers the word "purge."

MR. MATTHEWS. In describing Hitler's acts, I think the word "purge" is more often used.

MR. STARNES. Is liquidation or purging to be brought about on the rank and file of the dominant political party at the time, or is it to be encouraged, aided, or abetted through communistic influences or agencies?

MR. MATTHEWS. It would be impossible to trace the exact sequence of cause and effect in the process of the purging, but I repeat that the interests of the Communist Party and of agencies in major political parties may coincide for the moment, in which event you will find in the literature of the Communist Party that the most enthusiastic support is offered to the purging measures carried on in a major political party.

MR. STARNES. That is the point I wish to bring out. They give enthusiastic support to such a movement.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is correct; and any day's issue of the Daily Worker will indicate that quite clearly.

MR. STARNES. Some question was raised as to whether or not the World Youth Congress was a Communist front organization. I believe you stated you had had some part in its affairs in the past.

MR. MATTHEWS. I had an active part in the organizations out of which this merger arose.

MR. STARNES. I notice that the organizing committee for the World Youth Congress is composed of the following names, and I will ask if you can identify any of those names as being active members of the Communist Party, or as you stated you were, a fellow traveler.

The first name is Joseph Cadden.

MR. MATTHEWS. As to Joseph Cadden, I would not be prepared to state that Joseph Cadden is a member of the Communist Party, but I have good reasons to believe that he is a fellow traveler.

I have, for example, an issue of the magazine Fight, which is the organ of the American League for Peace and Democracy, to which Joseph Cadden is a contributor, and at least there is that much of a close relationship.

MR. STARNES. James Lerner is another member of the organizing committee.

MR. MATTHEWS. James Lerner is and has been for some time youth secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and I would be willing to hazard the statement that he is extraordinarily close to the Communist Party.

MR. STARNES. What about Joseph Lash, another member of the organizing committee?

MR. MATTHEWS. I have known Joseph Lash for a number of years, and it is a matter of public record that Lash for some time now has been following the Communist Party line with considerable faithfulness.

Not long ago, Lash publicly resigned his membership in the Socialist Party with the explanation that he highly disapproved of the Socialist Party's attitude toward the civil war in Spain, and favored the attitude of the Communist Party on that question.

Mr. STARNES. What was the contrast of the attitudes of those two organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Congressman, it involves one of the most intricate matters of left-wing political intrigue in Spain, and without considerable time to formulate a statement on that I would not care to speak upon that.

I can assure you, however, that it is a matter of very great complication.

Mr. STARNES. What do you know about Robert Spizack, another member of the organizing committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know any one of that name.

Mr. STARNES. I pass now from the organizing committee to the planning committee, and the first name on the planning committee is Gilbert Green.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Gilbert Green I have known for quite a long while. He is the executive secretary of the Young Communist League of the United States.

Mr. STARNES. So he is avowedly a Communist?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is, of course, a member and has been a delegate to meetings of the Communist International in Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. The next name on the list is Angelo Herndon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is a publicly acknowledged member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. What is his racial extraction?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think he is a Negro; in fact, I know he is.

Mr. STARNES. The next name on the planning committee is Eliza Shields Collins.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I only know her by the publicity I have seen in the newspapers, as coming from England.

Mr. STARNES. She seems to be an international secretary for some organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I know nothing about her background.

Mr. STARNES. The next name is Celeste Strack.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I see her name frequently as a contributor to the Daily Worker, which would seem to indicate something of her political connections.

Mr. STARNES. You know of no believers in constitutional representative democracy, nor of any other type of government other than the Communist, who contribute to the Daily Worker, do you?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think it is a safe surmise that those who do contribute with any regularity to the columns of Communist papers are sufficiently close to the Communist Party to follow along the party line.

Mr. STARNES. Also on the list of the planning committee is the name of Max Weiss.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know him.

Mr. STARNES. And also the name of John Little.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know Little.

Mr. STARNES. There is also the name of Rose Terlin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When I first knew Rose Terlin she was a secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association in California, and I am confident, from my personal association in that movement, that she is a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. On the planning committee there is also the name of Abbot Simon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know that name.

Mr. STARNES. There is also the name of Jeanette Feder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know that name, either.

Mr. STARNES. There is also the name of Edward Strong.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

Mr. STARNES. There are a number of those whose names I have called here that you know personally to be actual, active members of the Communist Party, or workers along the Communist Party front?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. You may now resume your statement. The National Scottsboro Committee of Action is a part of the Communist front in America?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And you were active in the formation of that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was a member of its national committee.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name others who were members of the national committee or active workers in that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I believe I stated Saturday that the secretary of that committee was a negro girl, Louise Thompson, whom I knew originally as a Y. W. C. A. secretary.

I also mentioned the fact of some association with Heywood Broun in the work of that committee, and mentioned Broun having called me aside one day at a Socialist meeting and telling me that he was going to resign from the Socialist Party because the party was threatening him with disciplinary action for speaking at a meeting at the Bronx Coliseum. I was threatened at the same time, and was eventually suspended for a year from the Communist Party and finally expelled for my work with the united front.

Mr. STARNES. Will you proceed to tell us about the National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This organization was affiliated with the international Communist organization known as the Workers' International Relief. When the national committee was set up in the spring of 1933, I was made its treasurer. I also spoke for it on numerous occasions. Concerning this National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism, Earl Browder has made and published two comments which apply, in principle, with equal force to numerous other Communist united fronts. "This committee," said Browder, "has been allowed to drift along and spend most of the little money that it has collected for the expenses of the collection." On several occasions, I tried as treasurer of the organization to obtain an accounting of funds raised and expended, but without success. A competent stenographer, who was not a Communist, who was employed by this Communist united front came to me to complain that she was being paid a salary of only \$5 a week.

She sought my advice as to whether or not she, as a non-Communist, owed any kind of a cause anything which would require her to work regular hours in New York City at \$5 a week. I instantly advised her to sever the connection.

Mr. MOSIER. Who was paying her \$5 a week?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This Communist united front organization.

Mr. MOSIER. Evidently they do not believe in the wages and hours bill when it applies to their own employees.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was somewhat before the era of the wages and hours bill.

Thorough investigation would reveal that such gross and callous exploitation of labor is not uncommon in these organizations which exist ostensibly to advance the living standards of workers. The other comment of Browder to which I make reference is extremely enlightening. "On this anti-fascist committee," said Browder, "we placed Muste as chairman * * * merely as a 'united front' decoration." There are now literally several thousands of more or less prominent citizens in this country who as dupes, stooges, and decoys readily lend their names as "decorations" for these maneuvers of the Communist Party.

Next I make a brief reference to the International Labor Defense. In May 1933, I made a speech for this Communist "innocents' club" in Union Square. In more recent years, this organization has been able to avail itself to the services of members of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress.

Now, I come to the American Committee for Struggle Against War. In the summer of 1932, the Communists set up the World Committee for the Struggle Against War with a world congress convened in Amsterdam, Holland. At the Amsterdam Congress, Communists were instructed to set up national committees in their respective countries. The American Committee for Struggle Against War was the forerunner of the American League Against War and Fascism.

In the spring of 1933, I made a number of speeches for the American Committee, including one at a waterfront demonstration on the occasion of the landing in this country of a distinguished Japanese diplomat. William Simons who was acting secretary of the American Committee (later the Communist Party organizer in Omaha, Nebraska) and I were the speakers on this occasion. Simons insisted to me before the demonstration that we make every effort to provoke and defy the police with a view to compelling our arrest by them. Simons himself defied the police when they ordered us to disperse. He was clubbed and arrested. I was knocked from the chair on which I was standing while trying to make a speech in the midst of the general hubbub.

The newspapers of the time reported that incident, with pictures of Simons in the hands of the police.

I think I should say that in general it was considered that a demonstration was pretty much of a failure unless arrests and clubbings followed.

Through the process of provoking the police into making arrests or into using force, the publicity in the newspapers is expected to indicate that the capitalist system is a pretty brutal system and further publicity is expected after the American Civil Liberties Union goes into action in connection with these cases.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection, is that a part of the Communist tactics of boring from within into the trade union movement, that they get into these strikes or picket lines and so behave that they provoke the policemen to an arrest and to the use of clubs, and violence, in order to create sympathy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Out of the many situations in strikes of which I knew personally, in which the Communists had some leading part, I do not recall any single instance in which there was not the most deliberate, even carefully planned procedure, to provoke violence against the workers.

That, as I say, is a deliberate tactic to create publicity unfavorable to the employer and to indicate that the police are brutal in their treatment of workers.

Mr. STARNES. That is to create the impression that the police are brutal?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, also to create in the hearts and minds of working people a hatred for the police and all constituted authority, and against the capitalistic system in general.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is perfectly correct, and you have almost used the words that can be found in a hundred official Communistic documents on that subject.

The main slogan used by the Communists for a long time is in these words: "Trade unions are the schools of Communism." Marx, Lenin, Stalin and all the other Communist fathers have declared repeatedly that "strikes are in indispensable practice in the technique of waging class warfare."

An consequently no opportunity is ever lost to create a situation of violence. There may be the merest handful of Communists in a strike situation but a handful easily brings about a situation of violence, which creates provocative tactics.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the sit-down strike the technique of the Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Unquestionably.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where it originated?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think it originated in France before it was brought to this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they hit upon that plan?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They seem to be absolutely correct in that from their standpoint because it is very effective when the forces of constituted law and order appear to be absolutely powerless to cope with that kind of situation, and in that case the tactic justifies itself from the standpoint of Communist strategy.

Mr. STARNES. Then it is the practice that when examples of alleged brutality on the part of the police are staged and publicized, that the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense immediately rush into the fray.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are always on hand or available with a very brief notice.

Mr. STARNES. Is that due to the Communistic technique of the organization and integration of the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense, that they are attempting to bore from within these trade union organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct; you have the complete integration of all these various aspects of this revolutionary tactic.

Mr. STARNES. Did you on Saturday, go into the organization of this International Labor Defense?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I gave you a list from its letterhead, of its officers and sponsors, its legal advisers.

Mr. STARNES. And some of those are known to be avowed Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; there is no question whatever about the International Labor Defense being a Communist organization. There is no debate on that particular point.

Mr. STARNES. It has direct connections with the Communist authorities in Moscow, Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; through the Communist Party in this country.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any idea as to the membership in this International Labor Defense League?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I do not have any idea about that. Its membership or its supporting constituency fluctuates considerably depending on whether or not there is some big single issue which can be publicized.

Mr. STARNES. Such as the Scottsboro case?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; or the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which was its first great legal battle in this country.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any information as to the numbers in the American Committee for the Struggle Against War?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That committee has been dissolved, because it was the forerunner of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. STARNES. It was the beginning, it was the John the Baptist, you might say, of that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Something like that; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, the Communists might resent that statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not today, Mr. Congressman. They have taken over not only the patriots and the Constitution, but also the Bible.

Mr. STARNES. You do not mean to say that the Communist Party today is working in the churches?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I would boldly say that on the basis of their very widespread appeal to the churches.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any statements by any leaders of the Communist Party, or any documentary evidence, that they are trying to infiltrate into our churches?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have Earl Browder's book, "Communism in the United States," which contains an address which he delivered at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, in which Mr. Browder says:

You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers, preachers active in churches, who are members of the Communist Party.

If you or I said that, of course, we would be deluged with the protests of our red-baiting, but when the identical statement comes from Mr. Browder, I think we may take that as authoritative and enlightening.

Mr. STARNES. Will you explain to us something about the "red-baiting" tactics of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I was going to mention that in another connection, but it is always appropriate.

The very best tactic that has ever been devised, in my opinion, for silencing criticism, is this tactic by which Communists and their sympathizers cry "red-baiting" at the drop of a hat; that is, when

the slightest criticism is directed toward any Communist policy, program, or procedure, there is an immediate outcry of "red-baiting." I think nothing is more effective than that tactic in silencing criticism, unless, perchance, it be the firing squad.

We had many occasions on which we were called to use this in connection with the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly the American League Against War and Fascism.

The assumption in Communist circles is this, that the so-called American liberal would rather be accused of slapping his grandmother than to be accused of red-baiting. And if you throw the charge of red-baiting at him, he falls into silence, or if he does not fall into silence, the expectation is that he will be discredited in the public mind.

You can almost infallibly identify a Communist or a Communist sympathizer by watching those who cry red-baiting. It is such a deliberate tactic and has been for so many years.

You see, everybody else in the country concedes that in a democracy one of the essential features is criticism. And it is assumed that the Communist Party and its tactics are not above criticism; that is, by those who believe in the democratic procedures of free and open discussion.

But you have there a very good example of the fact that the Communist Party no more believes in free discussion, free democratic discussion, than it does in Santa Claus. And it deliberately attempts, in countries where it does not have the power of the armed forces, to silence all criticism, even the mildest, by shouting red-baiting from the roofs.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, in countries where the Communist Party is in control, if the term "red-baiting" does not stop criticism, the firing squad does stop it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They would not think of using that tactic in countries where they have power. They just proceed immediately to the firing squad. They do not try any intermediate measures.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, in a country dominated by the Communist Party and Communist principles, it is impossible to speak critically of the Communist Party and its program; is that correct?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; that is perfectly well known and admitted by Communists themselves.

Mr. MOSIER. And is it not also, Doctor, as a sort of a concomitant to that, a practice in this country to call anyone who criticizes the communistic policy a Fascist?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. That is a very recent technique. I should say one of the main purposes of the Communist Party at the moment is to play so insistently upon this word "Fascist," that you have spread throughout the entire public thinking of this country the belief or the incipient stages of the belief that we have to choose between two alternatives, communism on the one hand and fascism on the other; that anybody who is unsympathetic toward communistic purposes therefore falls by definition in the category of Fascist.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection, of course, they put what they term Tories or conservatives in the Fascist class also; is that correct?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. MASON. I want to interject this thought before you go any further. It seems to me this strategy of frightening critics of communism by crying red-baiting or Fascist is duplicated to a great ex-

tent by the New Deal; that whenever anyone criticises that, they are economic royalists or reactionists or other such names.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And they might be Republicans, too, might they not?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. We might say, if we wanted to be unkind, if there were enough of them to talk about.

You may proceed with your statement, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a brief historical background of the League Against War and Fascism.

In September 1933, the United States Congress Against War convened in the St. Nicholas arena in New York. I presided over that gathering. This Congress against War was planned by an arrangements committee of which I was the chairman. This arrangements committee met in the summer of 1933. The United States Congress Against War set up the American League and then selected me as its first national chairman.

The nations of the world were bristling with new armaments. The threat of a new world war was increasing every year. Japan had seized Manchuria. Hitler had come to power in Germany, and Mussolini was rattling the saber with increased vigor. Our new organization, the American League, was set up for the purpose, or so it appeared on the surface, of enlisting millions of Americans to stop the drift to war and fascism. Our ostensible aim was to mobilize the peace sentiments of Americans into a powerful single force of public opinion. This, at least, was our story for publication.

We set out to obtain the support of peace organizations, churches, trades and labor unions, and fraternal bodies. Every group, in fact, in which we could find any sentiment against war and fascism was the object of our solicitation.

Donald Henderson, as secretary of the American League, ran our national headquarters in New York. Henri Barbusse from France and Tom Mann, Lord Marley, and John Strachey from England, made speeches in many parts of the United States on behalf of the newly formed American League.

Mr. STARNES. Each of those men whose names you mention are known to be Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. At least three of the four are widely known as such.

Mr. STARNES. And who are those three?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Henri Barbusse, now deceased, was the most famous French Communist of this generation. Tom Mann has long been a Communist leader in Great Britain. John Strachey is perhaps the chief theoretical exponent of communism in Great Britain and Lord Marley has worked very, very closely with Communist united fronts in various parts of the world, but I think his connection is not so readily admitted.

Mr. STARNES. Will you explain to us how it was possible for those people to obtain entry into this country to practice and teach communistic doctrines, and promulgate communistic activities?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, that was back in 1933. It appeared that there was going to be some difficulty in getting these men into this country. In fact, when Tom Mann applied for a visa, for his passport to come to the United States in order to be one of the main

speakers at the United States Congress Against War, the State Department refused a visa. I personally made a visit to the State Department here in Washington, and along with a committee of demonstrators, did my best to bludgeon them into admitting Tom Mann.

I made telephone calls to the Immigration Commissioner on the subject. We enlisted hundreds, if not thousands, of prominent individuals all over the country, these persons who ordinarily worked with the united front, to flood the State Department with telegrams of protest against this infringement upon liberty in denying Tom Mann permission to come into the country in order to help us found the League.

Mr. STARNES. You were able to induce some people of the so-called liberal school of thought in this country who were not Communists, to take part in that demonstration and assist you in getting these men into the country?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. They are the ones upon whom we center our chief fire for those purposes. They are much more useful.

Mr. STARNES. It is a natural assumption, of course, that the Communist Party recognizes that people of that type of thought would have more influence with the State Department, of course, than people who are known to be of Communist leanings, or active in the councils of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. The State Department did not permit Tom Mann to come into the country in time to attend the United States Congress Against War. But it did admit him a week or two later and we made a very great deal about that, showing that at least we made the attempt and that the United States Government deliberately sabotaged our congress by depriving us of this outstanding international figure; and then it yielded to the mass pressure as a sort of a compromise by letting him in a week or two later.

We spread that story far and wide.

Mr. STARNES. And, of course, the assumption that you tried to bring to the public was that everybody who was opposed to the American League against War and Fascism and its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy, was against peace and democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; that is logical.

Mr. STARNES. That is logical, that follows; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Provided the premises are correct, it is true.

I personally made organization and speaking visits to Boston, Worcester, Northampton, Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Erie, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit, and Washington. In general I covered a pretty good section of the eastern part of the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have any discussions or conversations with Earl Browder, the head of the Communist Party in America, with reference to the organization of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I was frequently in touch with Mr. Browder on the subject. In fact, the entire set-up, shall I say, was naturally explained to me, who was to be the head of it, at least the public head of the organization.

Mr. STARNES. And you know personally that there was a direct connection between that league and the International Headquarters of the Communist Party in Moscow, Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; exactly.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you stated in your former testimony on Saturday that Henri Barbusse was sent here from Moscow; he came from Moscow?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not think he came directly from Moscow. But the constitution of the Communist International explicitly states that a leading comrade may travel from one country to another only with the permission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, from which you would naturally deduce that if Henri Barbusse, a leading Communist of France, came to the United States, it must have been with the permission of the Communist International at Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. You did make the statement, however, that he returned to Europe and visited Moscow and died while in Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He died in the Kremlin, in Moscow, shortly after his tour of the United States.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed with your statement, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The actual management of the affairs of the American League was turned over to Donald Henderson. And I have related some of Henderson's previous connections with Columbia University. Henderson is now the head of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, which is affiliated with the CIO.

Mr. STARNES. Is that an agricultural organization allegedly, of some sort?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. I presume it is actually. He has lately been active among the pecan workers of Texas.

I do not recall whether I quoted Browder's report back to Moscow in the December following our setting up of the American League against War and Fascism. But in his regular report to Moscow, which is also published in the book from which I have quoted, Browder said:

We led a highly successful United States Congress Against War. * * * The Congress from the beginning was led by our Party quite openly.

Mr. STARNES. He made that report to Moscow?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. An amusing instance of the public's innocence regarding the true nature of the American League occurred at one of the national gatherings of the organization. Meeting in Cleveland in 1935, the Communists and their fellow travelers, with a small sprinkling of innocents were welcomed by the local Jewish rabbi. The rabbi walked right into a faux pas by urging that the task of the American League be broadened to include a fight against Communism as well as against war and fascism.

It was a wholly innocent statement on his part. He assumed that this was a league against war and fascism and it occurred to his simple way of thinking that one might also oppose communism along with war and fascism.

The Cleveland Rabbi may be excused for his error when other prominent churchmen, who know better, nevertheless declare publicly

that the American League is not controlled by the Communist Party. The Secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church, has been a member of the National Executive Committee of the American League from its very beginning. And yet he has been publicly quoted more than once recently as denying the Communist origin and control of the American League. It passes belief, but his church organization, which is the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, actually shares a field organizer with the American League for Peace and Democracy. When a Communist maneuver is skillful enough to establish any kind of connection between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Communist Party, it is hardly to be wondered at that we were able to fool thousands of others about the character of the league.

There are four orders of individuals who make up a Communist united front. We used all of them in the work of the American League. First, there are the Communist Party members. Sometimes their membership is secret, but often it is openly acknowledged. Party members invariably occupy strategic positions of control. By which I mean such things as the management of the office. Second, there are fellow travelers who as a rule go along as faithfully as if they were actually party members. Usually these are middle-class intellectuals—professors, clergymen, and even Congressmen. Third, there are the stooges. These are persons of prominence whose names have considerable publicity value. They are the real decoys whose names do the work of covering up the Communist control of the united front. Finally there are the innocents, originally called so by the Communists themselves. The innocents are supposed to make up the overwhelming number of the adherents to the united front. The chief object of the united front is to draw the innocents gradually closer and closer to the Communist Party until they are at last completely under its influence. The party members do most of the hard work. The fellow travelers are the go-betweens who bring the Communist world and the capitalist world together. The stooges are the necessary camouflage for the united-front maneuver. The innocents are the fodder for revolution, although some of them are prospective party members as well.

When you see the denials of Communist control of these united front organizations made by Communists or fellow travelers, you simply must note it is the perfectly natural thing for that denial to be made. The beans would be spilled if they admitted the true character of the organizations.

On the other hand, when you find the stooges and the innocents denying the Communist control of these organizations, you must conclude that that is also natural, on the whole, because if they admitted that they had been dupes, they might look rather silly in the public mind. So there is nothing to be surprised at whatever in this great chorus of denial of the Communist control and decisive influence in these organizations.

It was easy to get party members and fellow travelers in order to start the American League. They were to be had for the asking. It required long and patient work to get the stooges. The first half-dozen such decoys were the hardest to get. After that the decoys decoyed each other. And I can give you illustrations of that. I say to one Methodist Bishop who appears on one of these lists, "This is a

Communist united front organization." He writes to headquarters and says, "Am I being duped? Is this a united front organization?" And they write back and say, "Don't you see the name of Bishop So-and-So on that committee with you? How could it be a Communist organization?"

I inform Bishop No. 2 that it is a Communist united front organization and he writes in and they cite Bishop No. 1 as proof that the organization is not communistic. In that way, the decoys decoy each other into thinking that there is no united front of the Communist Party involved.

I recall the considerable jubilation at the headquarters of the American League when we were able to list as a speaker one of the nationally prominent officers of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This particular woman appears frequently in the capacity of a united front stooge. And I can say that we usually had a good chuckle over this in these headquarters, when someone lends his name to the organization. We had a sort of a patronizing amusement at the simple-mindedness of these people who take these things at face value.

Every additional stooge or decoy made it twice as easy to get another.

The first task which I set for myself was that of persuading the Socialist Party to enter the united front. And here, Congressman, I think you have what might be called a final proof of the Communist character of the American League.

The general public may not know much about the inner workings of the radical movement, but radicals themselves know each other awfully well. The Communists know the Socialists, the Socialists know the Communists, the various splinters and fractions of the Communist movement know each other, and they frequently and publicly and vituperatively discuss each other.

Now, the Socialist Party was not under the slightest misapprehension about the American League being a 100-percent communist-controlled united front. Nevertheless, I made a personal appeal to my friends on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at a meeting in Reading, Pa., to take one more try at a united front with the Communists.

Socialists have had a long and unpleasant experience in Communist united fronts ever since the beginning of the post-war period. The Socialist Party national executive committee accepted my invitation to make one more try at a united front.

For several weeks thereafter it appeared that a united front from above, as the radical jargon expresses it—which means that the leaders of one of these radical groups come into the united front with the leaders of another—had been achieved. But this very achievement ran contrary to the whole purpose of the Communist united front, which aimed at separating the so-called rank and file of the Socialist Party from its leaders.

Mr. Browder and other Communist writers have published repeatedly such statements as this:

The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists. Have you forgotten that precisely the reason why we make the united front with them is because we have got to take their followings away from them?

Here were the Communists then in the united front facing a situation which ran contrary to its theories of the united front. The Socialist Party leadership was inside and the Communists said, "This is an intolerable situation. We must forthwith drive them out." And the Daily Worker of the period immediately began a series of its best vituperative articles against the very Socialist leaders whom I had just persuaded to come into the united front. Henderson explained to me that they could not tolerate this situation. They had to drive the Socialists out.

MR. STARNES. Who was that, Donald Henderson?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes. The upshot of the matter was that the Socialists did withdraw after being in the united front only about 2 or 3 weeks. But the Communist expectation that the rank and file of the Socialist Party would immediately thereupon repudiate the Socialist leadership for having gotten out, was not justified. The rank and file did not repudiate their leadership.

In most cases, A. F. of L. trade unions were more difficult to enroll in the new united front. In those days, 5 years ago, the Communists were guilty of dual unionism. They had set up their own "red" unions under an international body with headquarters in Moscow known as the "Red International of Labor Unions." Among these "red" unions which were participating in the newly formed American League were the National Textile Workers Unions, the National Mine Workers Union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union. True, they were largely paper unions, without any significant membership, but as long as they existed they were guilty of dual unionism. Their presence in our united front was all the proof that the A. F. of L. unions generally needed to establish the Communist control of the American League.

MR. STARNES. The Communists, then, attempted to bore from within in the American Federation of Labor several years ago?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes. They have been doing that for some time. But in this particular period they also maintained their own unions, in addition to boring from within the A. F. of L. unions.

MR. STARNES. Do they any longer retain or maintain a dual unionism?

MR. MATTHEWS. No. They have abandoned these unions.

MR. STARNES. What are the tactics now engaged in with reference to trade unions? There has been testimony on that by other witnesses. But what, from your personal knowledge of the inner workings of the Communists, with reference to boring from within the trade-union, are their tactics?

MR. MATTHEWS. The present tactic is to get in both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. unions, but particularly concentrating on the C. I. O., because the Communist theory greatly favors the industrial union form of organization.

MR. JOHN STRACHEY, whom I have mentioned already, has just published a book in which he has carefully explained that Communists should drop the phrase "boring from within" and begin to speak of working within because, he says, it sounds much more constructive to work within the unions than to bore from within.

MR. STARNES. In other words, a constructive-destructive force is what it is?

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, destruction labeled construction.

MR. STARNES. Do you know of your own personal knowledge that some or a great many of the organizers in the C. I. O. during the past 3 years have been or are active members in the Communist Party?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes; I know that.

MR. STARNES. And will you submit a list of those names as an exhibit, as part of your testimony, that of your own personal knowledge are organizers in the C. I. O.?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes; I will.

MR. STARNES. That you know are members of the Communist Party. We will ask you to submit that as an exhibit as part of your testimony.

MR. MATTHEWS. I shall do that.

MR. STARNES. All right.

MR. MATTHEWS. While we are on the subject of trade unions, I complained to Donald Henderson that we were having a hard time enlisting A. F. of L. unions because they shied away from an obviously Communist united front in which these dual unions were present. Henderson explained to me that it was my business to take care of the middle-class intellectuals and let the Communist Party itself, in more devious ways, take care of the trade-unions. He assured me that the party had already made considerable progress in getting strategic unions into the American League, sub rosa. Now, it was at that time very especially emphasized to me the Communist Party's control over Harry Bridges on the west coast, and it was our assumption that Bridges working for the Communist Party would be able, in the event of a national emergency, to paralyze shipping on the west coast.

The other particular union situation which seemed to please Henderson so greatly was a secret nucleus of Communists in one of the submarine plants in Connecticut. I believe it is the Electric Boat Co., in Connecticut.

MR. STARNES. In other words, he was pleased with the fact that they had made a strategic move to carry into effect a campaign of sabotage in case this country became involved in war against any nation, or any particular nation.

MR. MATTHEWS. Let me make a rather complete statement on that very point: He assured me that the Communists already had several strategic men in important plants and industries where they would be in a position to sabotage vital processes in the event of war—just in case the United States should become involved in any war against the Soviet Union. In this connection, as I have said, Henderson was especially boastful of a revolutionary nucleus in submarine plants in Connecticut, and of the work of Harry Bridges, in the shipping industry on the west coast. They were, Henderson claimed, secretly allied with the American League.

Now, the question frequently arose in our discussions, both public and private, as to what kind of war the American League Against War and Fascism was against. That question was always answered by saying that the American League Against War is only against imperialistic wars, but there are other kinds of wars in the classification of the Communist theorists.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the American League Against War and Fascism was not opposed to a war if it was to further their cause.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is quite correct. On that subject, they said, publicly and privately, that if the United States should go into a war on the side against the Soviet Union that would be imperialist war, and that the American League Against War and Fascism would do its utmost to cripple basic industries in the United States and to launch mutiny in the Army. That would be an imperialist war, and if the United States were on the wrong side, that would be done. However, they said that if the United States should go into war on the side of the Soviet Union, that would not be an imperialist war, but would be a class war on an international scale. In that event, the American League Against War and Fascism would wholeheartedly support the American Government.

Mr. STARNES. That organization was the fore-runner of this lovely and beautiful League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was the forerunner of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. STARNES. The purposes are identical.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The organizations are identical, with simply a change of name.

Mr. STARNES. The name is more constructive, I presume.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; it is a little more alluring, and that was the theory on which it was changed.

The one dramatic event at our United States congress against war was the appearance on the platform of a fully uniformed soldier of the United States Army. Those were the days before the Communist Party had donned the mask of 100-percent American patriotism. Earl Browder had made the most careful plans for the soldier to appear as a symbol of the insurrectionary "fraction" of the Communist Party with the Army. Flying squads were placed in readiness to block all aisles of the hall in the event of an attempted arrest of the soldier by Secret Service men. Other committees of comrades were deputized to take care of all news photographers, with instructions to smash their cameras if they insisted on making pictures of the soldier as he addressed the congress. "We also had a delegate from the United States Army," Browder reported to the executive committee of the Communist International when he appeared before it in the following December. That is not a matter of secret information. It was printed in the newspapers at the time. I personally have grave doubts whether the man there in uniform was actually a part of the United States armed forces, but his presence electrified the members present, because at that time it was the confident expectation that the United States, if it were to go to war, would go into a war against the Soviet Union, and it would be necessary to support mutiny in the Army, so this man was a living symbol of the insurrectionary fraction of the Communist Party with the Army.

Mr. STARNES. What year was that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1933, in September or October.

I now submit to the committee a complete list of the organizations which sponsored the United States congress against war and the American League Against War and Fascism which grew out of the Congress. I have double-starred 35 of the 51 organizations listed.

Those 35 I have double-starred were Communist Party united-front organizations, while the other 16 were independent of the Communist Party. Here you have a very good example of how the party often uses a set of existing united-front organizations to set up new ones.

Mr. STARNES. They believe in having one holding company for a number of others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. I have double-starred the ones that were Communist organizations.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest that you read the list.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A very large number of them no longer exist. That is characteristic of united front organizations. Most of them are mushroom organizations that come in and go out. In fact, some of them are organized overnight and are dead the next morning, because they have accomplished the single minute purpose they were created for.

Mr. STARNES. That was in 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. The list is as follows:

- **American Committee for Struggle Against War.
- **A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance.
- **Anti-Imperialist League of the United States.
- **Bonus Expeditionary Forces Rank and File of America.
Committee on Militarism in Education.
- **Communist Party of the United States.
Conference for Progressive Labor Action.
- **Farmers National Committee of Action.
Farmers Union Cooperative Marketing Association.
Fellowship of Reconciliation.
- **Finnish Workers Federation.
- **Friends of the Soviet Union.
- **Icor.
Intercollegiate Council League for Industrial Democracy.
- **International Committee for Political Prisoners.
- **International Labor Defense.
- **International Workers' Order.
- **John Reed Clubs of the United States.
- **Labor Sports Union.
League for Industrial Democracy.
- **League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford.
- **League of Struggle for Negro Rights.
- **Marine Workers' Industrial Union.
Marine Transport Independent Union of the Industrial Workers of the World.
- **National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism.
National Farmers Holiday Association.
- **National Lithuanian Youth Federation.
- **National Miners' Union.
- **National Student Committee for Struggle Against War.
- **National Student League.
- **Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union.
Ohio Unemployed League.
Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament.
Socialist Party of America.
- **Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union.
- **Trade Union Unity League.
- **National Committee Unemployed Councils.
- **United Farmers League.
- **United Farmers Protective Association.
- **Veterans National Rank and File Committee.
War Resisters' League.
- **Workers and Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance.
- **Workers Ex-Service Men's League.
- **Workers International Relief.
World Peaceways, Inc.

Women's Peace Society.
 Workers Unemployed Union.
 Industrial Workers of the World.

**Young Communist League.

**Young Pioneers of America.

**Youth Section American Committee for Struggle Against War.

As I have said, 35 of these 51 organizations were definitely Communist groups. Among them were, of course, the Communist Party itself and the Young Communist League. The other 33 were Communist "united front" organizations and Communist trade-unions from the Trade Union Unity League. Only 16 of the sponsoring organizations which sent delegates to the United States Congress Against War were in any way independent of the Communist Party. It followed, as a matter of course, that the 2,600 delegates to the Congress were overwhelmingly of Stalinist persuasion and amply justified Browder's report to Moscow that "the Congress from the beginning was led by (his) party quite openly."

The United States Congress Against War adopted what was known as "the manifesto and program of the American League Against War and Fascism." It reads as follows:

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding national recovery.

3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Camps by a Federal system of social insurance paid for by the Government and employers.

4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world: to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers, and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called "Democratic" government.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and antiwar fighters against their own imperialist governments.

10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed, and farmer organizations.

Now, referring to point 5, "To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world," they particularly are opposed to any attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. That is what the organization was set up for. It had no other basic purpose than to oppose any efforts to weaken the Soviet Union. The purpose was "To oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments."

Obviously, there is only one way of opposing intervention by imperialist nations in Europe, and that is by going to war.

You will note that in point 7 they frankly say, "To win the armed forces to the support of this program." In pursuance of that they were, so far as possible, to start mutinies in the United States Army.

Outright pacifists who abjured all wars, including class war, were to be exposed and fought. In the November 1933 issue of *The Communist*, which is the official monthly organ of the Communist Party in this country, there appears immediately after the manifesto and program of the American League, the following excerpts from a resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International:

This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism * * *. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combatted.

Now, I would like to explain what is meant by that. Recently, in New York City, on August 6, the American League for Peace and Democracy held a great peace parade. One of the men who was invited to act as a grand marshal of the parade and to make a speech was Harry Elmer Barnes, a newspaper columnist for the Scripps-Howard papers. He was invited to be a marshal, and was also invited to make a speech for the occasion. He submitted in advance a copy of his speech to the American League for Peace and Democracy. When they read it, they discovered that Mr. Barnes either said or implied that the United States should stay out of all wars. They promptly notified Mr. Barnes that he would not be allowed to act as a marshal in the parade or to make a speech. Consequently, Mr. Barnes did not appear either as a speaker or as a grand marshal.

The most pathetic thing about this incident was Barnes' statement to the press that he had not known that the "holy war boys" had got hold of the American League. There is hardly any excuse for any moderately informed adult in the United States who says that he thought the American League was a peace organization. From its very inception down to the present moment, the American League has been, in effect, a part of an international Communist conspiracy to involve the United States in a contemplated war on the side of the Soviet Union, or, failing in that objective, to cripple the United States through mutiny in the Army and the stoppage of basic industries and to inaugurate class war and revolution here.

Frequently, in the early days of the American League, it was the common practice, when they held a mass meeting, to invite one of the colleagues in the united front who was a pacifist to make a speech, and then one of their colleagues would also be called upon to make a speech, in which he would invariably denounce with bitter invective his own colleague in the united front. That was in compliance with the resolution I have just read, that "the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combatted." The pacifists are generally pretty good natured people, but some of their colleagues in the united front kick them around. Yet they seem to believe in the united-front purposes. I have several illustrations of that, but, perhaps, I should not burden the record with them.

In February 1934 I resigned from the chairmanship of the American League as a gesture of protest against a riot which the Communist Party staged in breaking up a mass meeting of trade unionists in Madison Square Garden. Mayor LaGuardia and Matthew Woll, of the A. F. of L., had been invited to address the gathering. Earl Browder telegraphed me asking for a conference in Detroit, where I was trying to set up a local branch of the American League, and I met Browder in accordance with the request contained in his telegram. We discussed what happened at the Madison Square Garden.

Without any hesitation, Browder assumed for the Communist Party the full responsibility for that disgraceful affair. He explained that the party had educated its members to such a hatred of LaGuardia and Woll that they would not tolerate any meeting where those two men were announced to speak. That was in 1934. That was a meeting at which some 35,000 Socialists and trade unionists were packed in Madison Square Garden. The Communists entered the hall, and did not permit some men to go in, and a riot occurred, and scores of them were taken for first-aid treatment at hospitals. I call particular attention to this fact, that the American League Against War and Fascism was not directly involved in this Madison Square Garden incident. It was only the Communist Party. They sent their own party men. Because of that incident, practically all of the non-Communists who were in the united front of the American League at the time withdrew. I ask you why they would withdraw if they were under any illusion about who was running the organization. In other words, we were protesting whether it had any connection with the Communist Party, or whether the American League, under the influence of the Communist Party, had been through this disgraceful scene at the Madison Square Garden.

Browder urged me to remain as chairman of the American League, but my own education with respect to Communist trickery and violence was proceeding rapidly, and I resigned. I was succeeded in the national chairmanship by Prof. Harry F. Ward, of Union Theological Seminary, who is still head of the League. Professor Ward is also national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union and the head of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

After my resignation as national chairman of the American League, I remained for a time inactive in the united fronts of the Communist Party. In the spring of 1935, however, I returned to the American League as a member of its National Bureau and continued in that capacity until the following September.

MR. STARNES. Approximately, what was the largest membership of the American League Against War and Fascism, at the highest point?

MR. MATTHEWS. Four million is claimed, but too much stock cannot be placed in those claims. Quite often the member of some organization elects himself to participate in one of these united fronts. Now, in fact, he may be the only individual of his organization that has anything to do with it, but his organization may have 1,000 members; so when the Communist Party representatives refer to it, they count the whole 1,000 membership for which the individual spoke, or from which he said he came.

MR. MASON. What do you know about the Methodist Federation for Social Service?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have known this Methodist Federation for Social Service for a number of years, and I know Professor Ward. I also know the present executive secretary, Charles C. Webber, and was associated with him in work for a number of years. I would like to state, if the committee please, that both of these men are thoroughly sincere and are devoted to the cause in which they believe. I question only the premises on which they are building their activities. Both men are following the Communist Party through the activity in which they participate. The Methodist Federation for Social Service is entirely in accord with the Communist Party line.

Mr. MASON. Would you say that the American Federation for Social Service is an organization that is a part of the Communist united front?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It falls in a slightly different category from the united front organizations. It was not originally set up on the initiative of the Communist Party, so I would distinguish between it and the united front organizations which are set up on the initiative of the Communist Party.

Mr. MASON. Would you say that its name is being used by the Communist Party to further the program of the Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Absolutely, unquestionably.

Mr. MASON. I will ask you if you know whether the Methodist Church at a conference has repudiated this organization and has protested the use of the name of "Methodist" in connection with it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; I am aware of that. I have known of that fight throughout the country, because I happen to be a Methodist myself. Continuing my account of my activities in various organizations, I was a member of the Anti-Imperialist League's delegation to Cuba in November and December 1933. The other members of the delegation were Harry Gannes, columnist of the Daily Worker; Alfred Runge, Workers Ex-Service Men's League; Henry Shepard, Trade Union Unity League; and Walter Rollis, National Students' League.

Mr. STARNES. How many of them were Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. All of them. We had numerous meetings with the leaders and members of the Communist Party of Cuba. The Daily Worker, of November 9, 1933, said: "The delegation plane to arrange numerous mass demonstrations in Havana and other cities," and is "bringing banners, letters and other expressions of warm revolutionary greetings and solidarity." Actively, but secretly, cooperating with this delegation was Dr. Antonio Guiteras, who at the time was holding three cabinet posts in the Government headed by Ramon Grau San Martin. Guiteras was later killed by the troops of Batista in the course of plotting a revolutionary overthrow of the present Cuban regime. Guiteras met our delegation after midnight one night, and gave us a pass to travel through the island although martial law was in force at the time. Subsequently, we were arrested when we reached the center of the island, and ordered by the military to return to Havana.

I was also a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union. In 1934 I was a member of the national committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and was among the signers of the call for a national convention of the organization held January 26-28, 1934. I contributed

two articles to the organization's publication, Soviet Russia Today. I made many speeches for the organization in various parts of the country, including two in Chicago and Milwaukee, together with Congressman Ernest Lundeen, of Minnesota. It was frankly the purpose of this organization to defend the Soviet Union, but that is not so frankly stated at the present time.

The next is the American Friends of the Chinese People: I was one of the principal speakers at the initial meeting of this organization in January 1934. I have, therefore, personal knowledge of the fact that it, too, is one of the Communist Party's united front disguises. In a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post, Dr. Stanley High describes this organization as "authentically non-Communist." This is incorrect. Dr. High's error was undoubtedly accidental, but it indicates something of the difficulty to be experienced by the novice who tries to identify the many united fronts of the Communist Party. Dr. High errs throughout his widely read article by understatement of the relationship of the united fronts to the Communist Party. He says, for example, that the American League for Peace and Democracy "is not officially Communist," and that the American Student Union "is not organically Communist." No united front disguise of the Communist Party is ever "officially" or "organically" Communist. Far more accurate than Dr. High is Earl Browder when he says: "In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front movement in all its phases, stands the Communist Party."

There are three or four other organizations and programs of which I was one of the original sponsors. One is the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. Among other personal connections with this organization, I was a speaker at the "Strachey Protest Meeting" held under its auspices on March 20, 1935. Heywood Broun was chairman of the meeting.

I also submit a photographic copy of the flyer distributed for that particular meeting.

MR. STARNES. What does it say on that flyer? Does it carry the names of any of the organizers or the planning committee?

MR. MATTHEWS. It says:

Wednesday evening, March 20th, 8:30 p. m., Fifth Avenue Theater, Twenty-Eighth Street and Broadway.

Strachey protest meeting.

Speakers: J. B. Matthews, coauthor Partners in Plunder.

Orrick Johns (of New Masses).

Dwight Morgan (Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born).

And—

John Ujich (out on bail in deportation case).

Then across the center:

Heywood Broun, chairman, and several surprise speakers.

Tickets, 35 cents and 49 cents at door only.

Auspices National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

Room 534, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

(The photograph referred to was filed with the committee.)

MR. STARNES. Who organized that front organization?

MR. MATTHEWS. That is one of the earlier united front organizations, which has been in existence for some years, and I do not know about the history of its earlier days.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know any of the directors or any of the guiding spirits at the present time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do, if I had access to my complete file, in which I have the letterhead; but I cannot tell you offhand.

Mr. STARNES. Will you get your file and submit to the committee as an exhibit, the names of the directors or the active managers of the group today, and designate those that you know to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; I will.

Mr. STARNES. All right; thank you. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I mentioned the Labor Sports Union, which is an international organization controlled by Communists.

The International Workers Order, which I have already mentioned, also is well known to be a Communist order.

Finally, there is the League of Women Shoppers, which I think is not so generally recognized as being a Communist United Front as some of the others.

Throughout the period of incubation of the League of Women Shoppers, I was consulted as to its organization and program. This, too, was in the spring and early summer of 1935. It was at that time that the Communist Party decided to launch a whole new series of united front organizations dealing ostensibly with the interests of consumers. I was called into practically all of the important conferences where this new departure in united front was discussed.

It was out of this decision that the Consumers Union of the United States, the Milk Consumers Protective Committee, and the Consumers National Federation were also set up, in addition to the League of Women Shoppers.

Mr. STARNES. Name some of the Communist Party members, or "fellow travelers" engaged in that particular front.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The principal ones in the consumer field who worked for the party are a lady named Susan Jenkins, Arthur Kallet, coauthor of *A Hundred Million Guinea-pigs*—Dr. Caroline Whitney and Meyer Parodneck.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if we could take a recess now, because it is necessary for the committee to hold an executive session.

I want to say this, too: Our plans are to conclude the hearings here in Washington tomorrow evening, and then we will resume at some other point our hearings on nazi-ism and fascism. We have a considerable number of witnesses ready to testify in regard to fascism, and then expect to resume our inquiry into nazi-ism, which will take up from the point where we left off on our first day. But our plans are to conclude here in Washington tomorrow night. We think that by hurrying with the next witnesses this evening and tomorrow we will finish our hearings at that time.

Mr. STARNES. The committee stands in recess until 1. 15.

(Thereupon a recess was taken until 1. 15 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened at 1. 15 p. m.)

Mr. STARNES (presiding). The committee will come to order.

Mr. Matthews, you will resume your statement.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. MATTHEWS—Continued

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Congressman, in this rather concrete matter of enumerating more than a score of the communistic united front organizations and my first-hand experience with them, I have tried to indicate something of the wide range of interests around which the party organizes millions of innocent but dangerously gullible Americans in order to radicalize their thought and action, looking toward the day when it hopes to overthrow American capitalism and democracy and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

May I say that there is hardly any conceivable public interest that the Communist Party does not capitalize for the purpose of organizing a group around it.

I hope I have sufficiently established my claim to a degree of expertness in the understanding of the united-front movement. The growth of the united front and the influence of the Communist Party has been enormous during recent years. More progress than they had hoped to make in 50 years.

With your permission, I should like to make a few general observations which will attempt to sum up the evidence which I have introduced.

First, it is widely believed that the Communist International seriously altered its fundamental objectives at the seventh world congress held in Moscow in August 1935. The fact is that the so-called new party line was decided upon long before the summer of 1935, and that the seventh world congress of the Communist International simply ratified this decision at that time.

I may point out that the Communist International did not hold an international congress for a period of 7 years. The sixth congress was held in 1928, the seventh in 1935, and in that interim of 7 years the affairs of the world Communist movement were entirely in the hands of a very small group in the executive committee of the Communist International at Moscow, and it was that group that decided upon this so-called new tactic.

This new tactic was very gradually introduced, beginning with the setting up of the popular-front program in France and continuing sometime after 1935. For example, the new party line on religion was slower in coming than other features. As late as 1936, Corliss Lamont wrote a pamphlet published by the Communists in which he quoted approvingly Marx's statement that "the social principles of Christianity are lickspittle, whereas the proletariat is revolutionary." In this pamphlet which is a direct broadside against all religion of whatever form or temper, Lamont writes:

A reformed and liberal church * * * is even more dangerous basically than an out-and-out reactionary religious organization.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt there? I apparently came in a little late. Mr. Matthews, have you discussed this part on page 25 relative to the growth of the united front and the influence of the Communist Party which you say, has been enormous during recent years—more progress than they had hoped to make in 50 years?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I just brought that out.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I would like to—

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). With your permission, may I just finish this one statement on this first point, and then go back?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Contrast these statements with the 1938 party line under which Earl Browder declared at the recent tenth convention of the Communist Party: "We extend the hand of fellowship to our Catholic brothers."

Now, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask two questions right at that point. The first is, Mr. Matthews, has Soviet Russia as much a form of dictator as have Germany and Italy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In my opinion, I would not hesitate to say that the dictatorship of the Soviet Union is somewhat more rigid than the dictatorships to be found in Germany or Italy: and without trying to go into the evidence fully, I simply remark that Hitler and Mussolini have not gone to anything like the lengths in exterminating their opponents that Stalin has gone to in Russia.

For example, Hitler had his hands on the leaders of the Communist movement in Germany, such as Georgi Dimitroff, and let them go. It is not of record that anybody has been deliberately let go in the Soviet Union.

Mr. THOMAS. The second question is: Are not many of the acts now being advocated or now being enacted by the Government of the United States similar to the steps which led to dictators in Soviet Russia, Germany, and Italy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, now, Mr. Chairman, that is calling for a pure conclusion.

Mr. STARNES (presiding). I think so. This committee is not concerned in the least in partisanship.

Mr. THOMAS. This is not partisanship. This is un-American activity.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an indictment of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. No: it is not.

Mr. STARNES. Just a moment. Let the chair make a statement. This committee is not interested in conflicts between trade unions, and it is not interested in partisan politics; and the inquiry, insofar as it relates to either trade unionism or to political institutions, should be addressed wholly and solely to what may be deemed un-American activities. The committee is not interested in conclusions of witnesses, and it is not interested in an attempt to inject any partisanship, either by witnesses or by members of the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. I agree with you, Mr. Starnes, but the committee is interested in this phase of it, and that is to show that high governmental officials in this country are, wittingly or unwittingly, under the influences of radicalism. Now, my question is a fair question, I believe, and I think that we should have the advantage of Mr. Matthews' answer to that fair question, and I would like to hear how Mr. Matthews is going to answer the question.

Mr. STARNES. I think the question in its present form is improper.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you. I cannot see how that would be proper. If you want to ask what steps they have taken in other countries, that is a different matter.

Mr. THOMAS. My point is, that we are taking the same steps in this country that they took in some of those other countries, and I think the public should know it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is wandering far afield.

Mr. THOMAS. I believe such steps are un-American, and I should like to hear the answer to the question.

Mr. STARNES. I think the question in its present form is improper, because it is entirely too general. If you want to name names——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). All right; I will name names.

Mr. STARNES. And specific acts——

Mr. THOMAS. I will name specific acts.

Mr. STARNES. It will be a different proposition, of course; and then I think the committee should pass upon the wisdom of such question. The committee does not want to lay itself open to the charge that it is injecting partisanship into its hearings.

Mr. THOMAS. I agree with that, Mr. Chairman; but inasmuch as you have asked me to name names and specific acts, I will do so.

Mr. STARNES. I said if you did name names and specific acts, that would present it in a different light, and then the committee could pass on it, as to whether it is in line with our inquiry.

Mr. THOMAS. All right; let me word the question in a different way.

Mr. Matthews, do you not think that the many steps taken by our Government in the last few years, such as the recommendations of the Supreme Court packing bill and the reorganization bill—and those are two specific cases—which have been made, do not constitute a prelude to dictatorship in this country?

Mr. STARNES. I think that question is entirely improper. It is the judgment of the Chair—and if the committee wants to overrule it, that is their province—that it is injecting partisanship into this hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is entirely correct in that, and the chairman agrees entirely in the ruling.

Mr. STARNES. If the gentleman wishes to overrule the Chair, he is at liberty to do so.

Mr. THOMAS. No; I have not got a chance.

Mr. STARNES. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Point No. 2: In understanding the work of the Communist Party's united front, it is necessary to distinguish between maneuver and principle, between transitional slogans and ultimate objectives.

The principle to which communism has always adhered and still adheres is "the dictatorship of the proletariat." The current maneuver adopted by the Communist Party is to speak everywhere, in season and out of season, of the need to "defend democracy."

Or again, the principle which is unalterable in communism is that violence, in which Communists take the offensive against the bourgeois, is necessary for the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

And I can buttress that by endless quotations from the literature.

The current maneuver of the Communist Party is to try to impress the gullible with the belief that the party is in favor of wholly peaceful methods of bringing communism.

Or again, the principle, stated again and again in Communist literature, is that the so-called reformist trade-unions must be entirely destroyed. The current maneuver of the Communist Party is to claim a deep and genuine interest in building up these same trade-unions.

Georgi Dimitroff, in his much-publicized speech at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, explicitly called attention to the need for what he described as "transitional slogans"—propaganda devices to be used in the period preceding the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The defense of democracy," "Peace," "The hand of fellowship extended to Catholic brothers," and "Building the trade-unions," are all transitional slogans which, it is assumed, are to be discarded when the moment arrives to seek openly the attainment of communism's objectives.

Third. Lenin said: "Our task is to utilize every manifestation of discontent, and to collect and utilize every grain of even rudimentary protest." The united front is communism's method of capitalizing upon any current discontent, no matter how slight or rudimentary. If there is current sentiment for peace as ordinary folk understand the word, it is the business of the Communist Party to utilize that sentiment for its own ultimate objectives. If there is current distress in the economic affairs of the country, it is the business of the Communist Party to utilize that distress for its own ulterior purposes. If there is even rudimentary protest against the curtailment of civil liberties anywhere (outside the Soviet Union), it is the business of the Communist Party to organize and utilize that protest for building up its own movement. All this is the major strategy in the Communist science of revolution.

It can be stated, I think, without fear of successful contradiction, that the Communist Party had no interest in peace, or job security, or civil liberties, as most Americans understand these things. They are simply the temporary ideas and ideals which the Communist Party utilizes for its objective of bringing class war, almost universal insecurity, and the complete abolition of civil liberties.

Fourth point. It is relatively easy to identify the professional united fronters or stooges who are doing the cover-up work for the Communist Party in the united-front maneuvers. Any person in this class is almost certain to bob up at a number of places in the whole maneuver—as I have shown you, I bobbed up in 20 places myself, and no intelligent American could possibly be excused from knowing that I was functioning as a united-front leader for the Communist Party.

Take, for example, Mr. William P. Mangold, who is one of the editors of the *New Republic*.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the one who visited Spain not long ago?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he represent himself as the secretary for some congressional mission?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know. He went to Spain on behalf of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which is a Communist united-front organization. He then came back, and some of you will recall, perhaps, that he went around the House and Senate Office Buildings and signed up 60 Congressmen and United States Senators to a statement to send greetings to the Loyalist Government of Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them repudiated it, though, and got their names off of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; they stated publicly, some of them, that they did not so much as look at the paper they signed.

That, you see, is one of the problems that we face in this whole situation. There are so many Americans who are willing to put their signatures to these papers, and when I say respectfully that Congressmen are tempted to do that, it is easy to understand how other persons among the population, less politically astute than Congressmen, will do the same thing.

Mr. STARNES. The same tactics were used to obtain signatures from, it is alleged, more than 100 Members of Congress in support of the "Free Tom Mooney" movement; is not that true, too?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think so, from what I have read in the press.

Mr. STARNES. It is another example of what you have testified to previously, that men and women of high repute are used as a front to act for them in their designs?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And to decoy other decoys, or to lead millions of otherwise good, sound-thinking American citizens into a path that they would not knowingly pursue?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Gentlemen, I single out Mr. Mangold, not because I have the slightest malice toward him as an individual, but because he supplies this concrete evidence of how he got the signatures from Congressmen. For many years he has been the treasurer of the American League Against War and Fascism, later the League for Peace and Democracy; also during my incumbency you find him in that connection. You find him in the Committee to Air Spanish Democracy. Then you find him at a session of the stockholders of the Borden Co. on behalf of the League of Women Shoppers.

Mr. STARNES. That is another instance of these leaders who bob up here and there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Exactly. And I could duplicate that example many times over, so that the alert Americans who want to understand this whole thing, and have time to read the literature, should have no difficulty.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not he accompanied the Members of Congress who went to Spain?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I am not in a position to state.

Fifth: The Communist Party relies heavily upon the carelessness or indifference of thousands of prominent citizens in lending their names for its propaganda purposes.

Here I think you have another good example; and again I am not trying to make these persons' names stand out in any odious manner whatsoever. The Communist Party owns outright the newspaper which is regarded by many as the swankiest newspaper published in France at the present time. The name of the newspaper is *Ce Soir*. It is a little more than a year old. On the occasion of its first anniversary recently, this Communist newspaper featured greetings from Clark Gable, Robert Taylor, James Cagney, and even Shirley Temple.

The League of Women Shoppers boasts of the membership of Miriam Hopkins and Bette Davis. A list of such persons could be

expanded almost indefinitely. No one, I hope, is going to claim that any one of these persons in particular is a Communist. The unfortunate fact, however, remains that most of them unwittingly serve, albeit in this slight way, the purposes of the Communist Party. Their names have definite propaganda value which the party is quick to exploit.

Mr. STARNES. What about Charlie McCarthy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They have so many Charlie McCarthys in everything everywhere now that they do not need the wooden one.

In Communist Party circles it is a matter of pride and boasting that the party has its friends and sympathizers situated strategically in every important institution in the land—newspapers, magazines, churches, women's clubs, trade-unions, Government agencies, and educational institutions. Oftimes party members themselves are so situated. Individually these strategically situated persons may not do a great deal for the party but cumulatively their influence on behalf of the party is of the highest importance. Earl Browder himself has stated publicly that there are active clergymen who are secretly members of the Communist Party. In addressing the students of Union Theological Seminary, Mr. Browder said: "You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers active in churches who are members of the Communist Party."

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any idea as to what extent they have friends and sympathizers on the newspapers and magazines in this country?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I can tell you about some matters which are more or less commonly discussed in that respect. If it is not possible to have an editorial worker on a newspaper or a magazine, the party will be content with a routine clerk who opens the mail, for example.

I can tell you from experiences which have come to me indirectly that it is considered good business to have even a routine person who opens the mail to undertake the business of censorship or destruction of mail at the request of the Communist Party.

That sort of work is so very extensive that there is not any detective agency or group of agencies that could possibly track them down in years of investigation. It is a matter of public knowledge that leading news organizations have enough Communists or Communist sympathizers on their staffs to publish communistic unit periodicals.

The New York Times, for example, has enough Communists or Communist sympathizers on it to bring out a little paper known as Better Times, on the masthead of which it is frankly stated that this is published by the Communist members of the staff of the New York Times.

The Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers, up until recently, had a similar publication put out by the Communist members and supervisors on its staff, and so did the Hearst chain of newspapers.

These are all matters of public record.

It is difficult to understand the tactics and the statements of Communists and their "fellow travelers" unless their very special code of ethics be kept constantly in mind. Lenin summarized this morality when he said:

Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

I should like to soften this next statement ever so much, if it were possible to soften it, but I see no way whatever of watering it down to make it sound less severe than the facts actually justify.

It is a fact that there is no kind or degree of perjury, violence, or chicanery which is not at times found useful to Communists in furthering "the interests of the class struggle," and when you remember that the class struggle is a theory of real warfare, that becomes intelligible. All groups and all nations in waging warfare have been known to transgress all the codes of ethics which prevail in more civilized periods, and since the Communist Party believes that it is always engaged in class warfare, you have, I think, some inkling of the idea as to why this particular code of morality is accepted.

On the basis of this code of ethics which Lenin enunciated and which has been the ethical code of Marxists from the beginning, acts and statements which are reprehensible from the standpoint of the ethics of most of the human race become not only permissible but also highly virtuous. So it has become customary of late for distinguished educators and even theologians to justify this Marxist or Communist code of ethics.

A distinguished Marxist professor in Union Theological Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr, has given this Marxist ethical code theological respectability among a large group of younger Protestant clergymen in this country over whom his influence is significant. In his book, *Reflections on the End of an Era*, Professor Niebuhr has expounded the view that we are shut up, as social moralists, to a "choice between hypocrisy and vengeance."

Professor Niebuhr says that anyone who undertakes to do anything socially useful in the next 50 years is going to have to choose between hypocrisy and vengeance. His theory is that the so-called capitalist world is possessed by the "demon of hypocrisy," and that the Communist or radical world is possessed by the "demon of vengeance." As between these two, Professor Niebuhr prefers the "demon of vengeance," because it is, in his opinion, capable of "purer moral insights."

Under this ethical theory of deliberately taking one's stand with the "demon of vengeance" a significant clerical group under Professor Niebuhr's influence is able to rationalize and to some extent at least justify the perpetration of almost any crime because it serves, as Lenin said, "the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat."

Professor Niebuhr has recently become the secretary of a group of clergymen which calls itself the United Christian Council for Democracy, and the constituent members of that organization are two organizations which I have already mentioned, the Methodist organization and the Church League for Industrial Democracy, both of which are substantially under the influence of the Communist Party at the moment.

Among the basic principles adopted by this group of clergymen, are the following:

1. We reject the profit-seeking economy and the capitalistic way of life with its private ownership of the things upon which the lives of all depend.

4. We propose to support the necessary political and economic action to implement these aims.

Mr. Chairman, at the risk of appearing repetitive, I would like to underscore the point that I have no desire whatever to malign a man who is so capable and distinguished in his own right as Professor Niebuhr, a man of the highest intellectual qualities. I find myself opposed to him simply on the ground that his premises appear to me to be entirely fallacious, and on the basis of those premises to create the sort of theological doctrine which I have just expressed.

Until we come to understand his effect on a wide section of Protestant clergymen in this country, we are not going to get very far in understanding the way in which the church is integrated, in part, into this whole Communist movement.

In my humble opinion, it is of the first importance that we make a serious effort to understand the premises from which the theories and practices of communism proceed. Until this is accomplished, it will be next to useless to attempt to set in motion those counteracting forces which promise any success in combating communism.

I wish to say simply in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that I have offered this testimony from long and wide first-hand experience, which includes a personal acquaintance with almost every prominent radical in America, with the deep conviction that present-day radicalism in general and communism in particular is the most complete illusion ever born in the human brain, that its usually sincerely held ideals of liberty, fraternity, equality, and security are certain to be negated by their extreme opposites if Communists ever come into complete possession of the government of this country.

Mr. STARNES. We thank you very much for your statement. There are a few questions I would like to ask you, and then other members of the committee may want to ask you some questions.

Will you give to us the names of those organizations in the united front, which are numerically the strongest?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Unquestionably, the American League for Peace and Democracy, so-called, is the largest of the party's united front organizations.

I think it should be borne in mind, however, Congressman Starnes, that more significant than the numerical strength these organizations have is the quality of the support they find in certain circles.

In order not to be ambiguous on that point, I think it should be said that in the recent peace parade of the American League in New York City on August 6, you had sponsoring it in an approving manner of some sort the Civil Service Commissioner of New York, the Solicitor General of the United States Government, and other equally distinguished citizens.

I would not have it understood for a second that I am levelling any charge at these individuals who are in any way deliberately supporting this thing innocently. But it is a great misfortune that the party is able to exploit these people for their own ends and purposes, with which these individuals undoubtedly disagree.

Mr. STARNES. You say that this American League Against War claimed at one time to have a membership of 4,000,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The Friends of the Soviet Union, I think, is the next in order. They claim about 2,000,000 members.

Mr. STARNES. What is the next in order?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Without having statistical information at hand, but based on wide reading, I would say that these various Spanish organizations undoubtedly come next in the list. There are a dozen or more of the united-front organizations of the Communist Party engaged in some way in exploiting the Spanish civil war.

Mr. STARNES. The Spanish war furnishes them with a definite means or vehicle upon which to organize?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; and they also have an actual stake in that particular instance.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the organization and antecedents of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union I know a good deal about from first-hand experience through its moving spirit, the young man who really organized it, and has been its moving spirit ever since, because he was one of my own former students, and to a very considerable degree I must accept responsibility for having influenced his viewpoint in the past.

He is and was a member of the Socialist Party, but known as a left-wing member of the Socialist Party. The left-wing members of the Socialist Party have, in general, cooperated pretty closely with the Communist Party.

In the work of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the Communists have been allowed to come in. Donald Henderson is the editor of the Rural Worker, which is a publication put out by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and his wife is associate editor. I have given you enough of Henderson's background to indicate that there is a decided communist influence in that organization.

I have had close personal touch with the Southern Tenant Farmers Union for a number of years, up until quite recently. It is fair to say that it is carrying out, in general, the Communist Party line in this work.

Lest I be suspected of any partisanship in this matter, I think I had better name the young man to whom I have referred. I am not trying to hide anything, and he would not want me to do that, because he is a thoroughly forthright young man. His name is Howard Kester.

Mr. STARNES. He is forthright and makes no denial of it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, he is a very forthright young man and makes no denial of it at all. He makes no denial of the fact that he is radical and does not deny he cooperates with the Communists. He is not one to cover up, and, in fact, his position is too well known for him to do so, even if he were inclined to do it.

Mr. MASON. How do you account, Mr. Matthews, for the rapid spread of communism in the United States during the last decade or so?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Congressman, I think that question might call for a book in order to give you a complete answer.

First of all, there must be put down the fact that this country has faced an economic crisis in the past decade.

Mr. MASON. And always in an economic crisis there is fertile soil.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a thing upon which revolutions always feed, and that has given the Communist Party its great opportunity in this country; there is no question about that.

For the rest, I think you perhaps might determine from what I have said the things that have helped them along, such as the way in which they have been able to obtain the support of prominent citizens, intended or unintended, the way in which it has been able to penetrate and bore from within numerous organizations, such as trade unions and governmental agencies. All these things have contributed their measure of support to the growth of the movement.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Matthews, who owns the Daily Worker, if you know, or will you give us some idea of the set-up of that newspaper?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. You will find on the masthead the actual way in which the corporation is set up, and it is acknowledged to be a Communist Party publication. It is stated on the masthead that it is an organ of the Communist Party of the United States. I take it that is what you are getting at, rather than the matter of its technical ownership.

Mr. MOSIER. It is a corporation?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; it is a corporation.

Mr. MOSIER. And the stock, presumably, is owned by Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If any.

Mr. MOSIER. We had some testimony here that in one year recently that newspaper lost \$120,000. Do you have any idea of how that newspaper is financed?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I would not be prepared to testify on that point.

Mr. MOSIER. What would be a source for making up such a loss?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are numerous appeals for donations from the public, and by that means some of the deficit is made up. That sort of an appeal is very common in the pages of the Daily Worker. That would be all I know on the subject.

Mr. STARNES. You spoke of the reasons for the rapid growth of communism in this country during the past decade. Those who have bared from within in the trade unions are really not at heart in sympathy with the trade unions; is not that true?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If by a trade union you understand what I think Congressmen generally understand by trade unions, then the Communist Party is opposed to the trade unions, and it has written more literature on that single subject than any other.

The Communist Party calls what you call a trade union a reformist trade union, and it always has been in favor, by one means or another, of destroying the reformist trade union or changing it from a reformist trade union into a revolutionary trade union.

The indications of that viewpoint can be found almost endlessly.

I will give you some of those. For example, here is a typical statement about the distinguished head of the C. I. O., made by a radical before the present period of cooperation came about.

When I grew up in the radical movement, the one man hated above all others hated by that section was Mr. John L. Lewis. Adjectives freely thrown about in connection with Mr. Lewis I

would not want to introduce in this record, and they were adjectives used by radicals.

But Mr. Norman Thomas, in his book, *America's Way Out*, has this to say:

Under the ruinous but eminently practical leadership or rather the unscrupulous dictatorship of John L. Lewis, the soft coal miners were defeated in tragic strikes and their organizations reduced to paper unions of which President Lewis voted the ghosts.

Again, in the same book, Mr. Thomas said:

In the United Mine Workers, not to mention other unions, there has been more flagrant vote fraud than under Tammany. And that is saying something.

I could give you such quotations endlessly.

Mr. STARNES. If they have been successful in their policy of boring from within in the dominant political party of the day, it is not because of the fact that they have any interest in the party's life, or hopes, or its ideals; is not that correct?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, that is, any ultimate interest.

Mr. MASON. I wonder if he has anything more on Lewis and his manner of handling unions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I simply said that not because I think it bears upon the present situation but because it shows that radicals and people of that school of thought, up to a few years ago, did not highly regard Mr. Lewis.

Mr. MASON. But they are willing to use him now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now they are riding on the coattails of Mr. Lewis.

A writer in a recent issue of a publication of a rather small left-wing unit says, "The Communist Party is making a delicate readjustment to Mr. John L. Lewis." That is about it, it is a delicate readjustment.

Mr. MASON. Does Mr. Lewis deny he is being used?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would not know that.

Mr. STARNES. In line with your testimony, you testified that it is a fact that the Communist or radical element in the country attach themselves to the dominant political party of the day in order to drive a wedge between the different schools of thought within that party, looking to disintegration of the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. STARNES. It is not looking for the purification of the party, for the liquidation or purge of either wing of the dominant party, but merely to the disintegration of the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. The Communist Party would not think of trying to capture the Democratic Party and take it over. They have particular plans, and they particularly include the Farmer-Labor Party in them.

Mr. STARNES. It is a part of their strategy to bring about the disintegration of that party and to bring about the rise of another party which they can control.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So they say, and say in print.

Mr. STARNES. And therefore be in a position to be either in control or exercise a dominant influence upon the political institutions of this country within the next decade.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Matthews, could you tell us the purposes, aims, and activities of the Garland fund?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Congressman, I think any contribution I might make on that would be so completely second-hand that it would not be useful for your purposes. That record is pretty widely published.

It was a fund set up by a wealthy man to be devoted to the radical cause in general, and it was so devoted. I have been told that it is practically, if not entirely, exhausted. I do not know whether that is correct or not.

Mr. THOMAS. Who are the ones who have to do with the dispensing of that fund?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know who make up the committee, if any exists.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the arguments used frequently in minimizing any seriousness of the Communist threat, is that they only poll approximately seventy-five or eighty thousand votes. You made some statement in reference to that. Will you elaborate on that a little bit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the election 4 years ago—I mean in 1932, 6 years ago—the Communist Party polled a little more than 100,000 votes.

Four years later their vote was practically cut half in two, because it was generally understood, and anyone who knew what was going on could easily see, that the Communist Party was really throwing its support to the Democratic candidate. Let me say that I have no desire to intimate that the Democratic candidate sought, or even desired, that support.

The CHAIRMAN. He repudiated it publicly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Nevertheless that support did come. The vote of the Communist Party was cut half in two.

The CHAIRMAN. My point is this, that they do not seek a majority of the votes. They do not want them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What they want is a highly organized minority capable of taking advantage of any chaotic condition that may exist at any time.

It is a fact that in Russia, when they took over control of Russia, they never had more than a million members of the party whereas there were 160,000,000 people in Russia. But they were organized and in a position to seize the reins of power.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. I can give you some authoritative quotations from the writings of Stalin himself on that very point. In one of his books he says:

To overcome the distinction between the vanguard and the whole of the masses gravitating toward it is a direct and constant duty of the vanguard, to raise these increasingly widening strata to this advanced level and means only deceiving one's self and shutting one's eyes to the immensity of our task.

Then he says:

If we had opened the party to all comers it would have been inundated with professors and students and it would have generated into a widely diffused and disorganized body, lost in a sea of sympathizers that would have abolished all lines of demarcation between the party and the class and would have

destroyed the aim of the party, which is to raise the unorganized masses to the level of the vanguard.

That is the theory.

The CHAIRMAN. In the event of their ability to seize control of a country, what part do the members play in that new government? They are the elect, the cream of the crop.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The party members constitute what has been called elsewhere the general staff of the revolution. They constitute the vanguard, and the general staff or the vanguard, is really the directing force.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact of the smallness of the membership is no test of their influence or activity.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct; it means almost nothing. It is a qualitative rather than a quantitative question.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they would rather have 100,000 devoted adherents than to have 5,000,000 or 10,000,000 loosely connected members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the meaning of the statement I referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. I gather from your testimony that the Communists favor any policy, economic, social, political, or otherwise, which tends to create a condition of chaos, conditions of hatred, conditions of prejudice, which stir up the masses and keep them in eternal turmoil, and they, therefore, encourage such processes upon every occasion, to the end that they can bring about conditions in the country that are favorable to their attack and power; is that a fact?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I should say you are very well schooled in the Communist theory, without meaning to be facetious at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any movement or any effort that brings about class hatred, religious hatred, or anything of that sort, makes fertile ground for the Communist; is not that true?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. The party has never in its authentic treatises denied that the moving force of their whole movement must be hate, hate of the bourgeois class, the big property-owning class.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a paradox, and does it not show the utter hypocrisy of this movement, that in the United States the Communists and their front organizations are identifying themselves with freedom of speech and freedom of the press, constantly seeking to pose as advocates of those liberal movements when, as a matter of fact, in Russia they have destroyed every semblance of freedom: is not that a fact?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think that is essentially correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a further fact that it is a part of their strategy to call names, to brand people they build up a name which they call liberal and they classify everyone who disagrees with them as reactionary, and by placing the brand of reactionary upon some one they take advantage of the ability of a phrase to intimidate and cow people. I mean, for instance, in the case of the phrase, "red-baiting," they intimidate a large section of the country, so that large numbers of people fear that if they denounce this movement or expose it they will come under the general, indefinite phrase of "red-baiting," in line with the power of a well-cut phrase over the public's imagination, just as the phrase used during the war, "Make the world safe for democracy" captured the imagination of the people in general.

They realize the power of those phrases over the public mind and take advantage of them; is not that a fact?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think we ought to recognize that in the devising of these appeals through slogans and in many other respects the Communists are far more clever than the articulate opponents of communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that really due to the fact that after all it is a sort of mental aberration. The man who believes it and sincerely believes it becomes a fanatic, and a fanatic will devote a hundred times more energy and effort to a cause than one who is not a fanatic.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. It is the life of the Communist to busy himself entirely for revolution and naturally he becomes somewhat skilled in that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his ultimate hope? What is the reward that is in the mind of such a man as that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would not want to say.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you sever all connections with the Communist movement, approximately?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Congressman, the way in which I got in was a gradual process, and the way in which I got out was also a gradual process, beginning with a protest against various tactics which were not changed, and I broke completely with the movement.

The matter of getting in required a period of almost 10 years, and I can say the matter of getting out required a period of 2 years.

There were numerous clashes over matters of policies and tactics with my erstwhile colleagues in the movement. They finally reached the point of thorough disagreement and a general clash, and the break came then.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, I want to express, in the name of the committee, our deep appreciation of your testimony. I think you have rendered invaluable assistance to the country at large in exposing the tactics, the methods of the Communists in the United States, and their aims and objectives. I am sure I speak for the committee in expressing our gratitude to you. I hope and believe that at a near date, with the facilities of our broadcasting systems, you will be accorded an opportunity to tell this to the entire nation. I am satisfied that if the people generally can hear your testimony it will do much to unmask some of these front organizations.

Mr. MASON. And save the innocents that are members of it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Matthews, I am sorry I have not heard all of your testimony. I have not been here before today. May I ask you, how long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was never a member. I explained that in my testimony. I was what they call a fellow traveler.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But did you subscribe to the principles of communism?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. A fellow traveler, in general, goes along as faithfully as any other party member, but very often he is not a member for strategic reasons.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But, during this period that you were with them as a fellow traveler—whatever you term it—this idea based upon hatred; the idea based upon securing results, whether by perjury or other methods—were you part of that? Did you subscribe to that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have been a part of the entire movement, in all of its phases, good, bad, and indifferent.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How long is it since you got the idea that that was wrong, if you have gotten that idea?

Mr. MATTHEWS. A good deal of this would involve my going over testimony that is already in the record.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not want you to do that. I am only asking the question because I have not been here up until this time.

Mr. STARNES. That is all in the record.

Mr. MASON. That is all in his testimony.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have no objection to reiterating it, but I imagine the committee would not care to hear it all over again.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I do not wish to take either your time or the time of the committee for you to do that. I just wondered about it.

Mr. MOSIER. It is all in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Dr. Matthews.

We will call Mr. Stark.

TESTIMONY OF WALLACE STARK

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Wallace R. Stark?

Mr. STARK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You live at 321 Lexington Avenue, New York City; is that right?

Mr. STARK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Speak distinctly, Mr. Stark, and answer my questions directly. We are only concerned with un-American activities, communism, fascism, or nazi-ism, and we want you to confine your testimony strictly to that.

You live in New York at the present time?

Mr. STARK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were formerly employed by the Federal Theater Project; is that right?

Mr. STARK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you first employed in that project?

Mr. STARK. You mean under Mrs. Flanagan?

The CHAIRMAN. No; at the very beginning.

Mr. STARK. At the very beginning I was with the adult education project, at 80 Center Street, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. About what year was that?

Mr. STARK. 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you sever your connections with the Federal Theater Project?

Mr. STARK. I left the 2d of October 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there under the administration of Mrs. Hallie Flanagan; is that true?

Mr. STARK. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your work there in connection with that project?

Mr. STARK. You mean with Mrs. Flanagan?

The CHAIRMAN. From the beginning. Briefly, you started in as what?

MR. STARK. I started in as instructor in dramatics, public speaking, and screen technique, with the adult educational program, under the University of the State of New York. I taught for the unit of dance music and drama, which was a branch of the adult project.

At that time there were several groups organizing and teaching different types of propaganda. The types of propaganda that they were teaching at that time started out in the form of dancing. They called it propaganda dances.

This dancing unit carried out the thought that if they would train these people to advocate communistic theories, when Mrs. Flanagan took over the Federal Theater project—which was known some time before she took it over—these people would be taken into the project as full-fledged professional people.

THE CHAIRMAN. Now, let us get into this directly. We shall have to abbreviate your testimony. You are here under subpoena from New York?

MR. STARK. That is right.

THE CHAIRMAN. While you were there working on that project, did you know personally of any communistic activity that took place there?

MR. STARK. Yes. At the very beginning of Mrs. Flanagan's taking over the office, she put in a man by the name of Irving Mendell, a candymaker from Brooklyn.

THE CHAIRMAN. Was he a Communist?

MR. STARK. Yes; an avowed Communist.

THE CHAIRMAN. An admitted Communist?

MR. STARK. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. What position did he occupy?

MR. STARK. She put him in at the head of the personnel department to induct people into the Federal Theater in the different units.

THE CHAIRMAN. Did he bring other Communists into that project?

MR. STARK. Yes; several from the unit of dance music and drama where I taught, even students that I taught.

THE CHAIRMAN. What took place with reference to communistic activities after he became head of the personnel division?

MR. STARK. He was afterward transferred to the living newspaper, which was supposed to be the unit that advocated the overthrow of the Government type of plays on the Federal Theater.

THE CHAIRMAN. What else took place, with reference to communistic activity, of your own personal knowledge?

MR. STARK. Well, of my own personal connection with the Communist group, they have asked me several times if I would become a member.

THE CHAIRMAN. Who do you mean by "they"?

MR. STARK. The different people on the project.

THE CHAIRMAN. The supervisors?

MR. STARK. Yes; the supervisors.

THE CHAIRMAN. Very well, name some of them who asked you to do that.

MR. STARK. Well, Irving Mendell is one. I could name several others if I had the time to think about them, because almost everyone brought out the point, that "If you would agree to our theories of government, we would give you a better position on the Federal Theater."

The CHAIRMAN. Did they distribute communistic literature on the project?

Mr. STARK. Continuously; they would even have staff meetings in different groups, like the living newspaper, the dance unit, and the different units on the project. They would start out as units and then they would switch and turn it over to the Communistic Party or the Workers Alliance, and they told people that if they did not belong to the Communist Party or the Workers Alliance they would not get positions on the project. Or, "If you had any problems to be solved, you have to go to the Workers Alliance in order to have your problems solved."

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. STARK. At that particular meeting Alvin Robinson, who is now in the personnel department of the Federal Theater. He is one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you charge that they coerced people working on the project to become members of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. STARK. Yes, sir; I could have many people who would verify my statements, if one thing would happen; if this committee had the authority to suspend Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, during this investigation, and prove that you are really not on a fishing trip, and that you want to——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now——

Mr. STARK. I am sorry, but I would like to continue the point. They would come up here and testify if you would give them an indication of your sincerity.

The CHAIRMAN. You know we have no authority to suspend any Government official.

Mr. STARK. Then I am afraid that you will not get those people on the Federal Theater to come up here.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that they are afraid to come up here and testify to the truth?

Mr. STARK. Yes; and I have proof that they are afraid to come up here.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your proof?

Mr. STARK. Mrs. Flanagan in a brief to the Patents Committee on February 8, said:

The decision as to the allocation of funds, opening and closing of projects, employment and dismissal of personnel in key positions, is invested in the national director and deputy director.

And they figure that if they testify, they will be out of a job and nobody will come to the front to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. STARK. I have talked to several of them since I was in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you charge that Mrs. Flanagan participated in communistic activity?

Mr. STARK. I have seen reports on several plays and read several plays that she has produced up in Poughkeepsie.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever had any conversation with Mrs. Flanagan?

Mr. STARK. No. She has avoided every opportunity I have had to offer any constructive plans of mine, of my organization, which I represented, to have a veterans' project on the Federal Theater.

The CHAIRMAN. What organization do you represent?

Mr. STARK. I do not represent any at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. At one time did you represent any organization?

Mr. STARK. I was one of the deputies of the Veterans' Association.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you base your statement that she engaged in communistic activity upon these plays that were produced by the Federal Theater project?

Mr. STARK. I do, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Mrs. O'Shea?

Mr. STARK. Mrs. O'Shea at the present time is in charge of the employment division of actors on the Federal Theater and also handles the Little Theater groups and the amateur theater projects.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever had any conversation with Mrs. O'Shea?

Mr. STARK. To this extent, that she broke up a group that I had started at one time, because I would not advocate communistic theories in the plays I was putting on with a group that I had organized under the heading of the Little Theater group.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you tell the committee what Mrs. O'Shea said?

Mr. STARK. She said she had no position for me, because I did not carry out the theories of the project. I suppose she meant the political theories of the project.

The CHAIRMAN. What were the political theories of the project?

Mr. STARK. From what I understand—

The CHAIRMAN. Not from what you understand, but from what you know. What do you know?

Mr. STARK. The propaganda plays, the putting on of propaganda plays.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of propaganda, to do what?

Mr. STARK. To advocate communism, social-problem plays of a revolutionary nature.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever try to put on any other kind?

Mr. STARK. Yes; I did. And I had my scenery slashed, I had my lights cut out on me, and had my actors taken out of cast.

Mr. STARNES. Who did that, Mr. Stark?

Mr. STARK. I would like to know. Those things were done to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Name some of the plays that she produced or wrote or had anything to do with.

Mr. STARK. The Revolt of the Beavers is one play.

The CHAIRMAN. What was communistic about that play?

Mr. STARK. The story is about two children going up north with the north wind. They were supposed to get to the north, and they found the beavers working there. There were two groups of beavers, the working beavers, and those who were the bosses. In the story, the beavers were supposed to advocate a revolutionary theory of smuggling into the places where they work, guns and arms, to overthrow the bosses and overthrow constituted authority.

That play was banned by the New York police department after 3 weeks' production in New York. After Mrs. Flanagan asked the police force to send several of their children in plays the police

department sponsored, and they said, No: they would not send their children in to see a revolutionary play of that type.

At the opening performance of that show, I was sitting directly back of Mrs. Flanagan and I heard her remarks, that the play was marvelous, and that it was just the type of propaganda that was necessary in this country.

Mr. THOMAS. What play did you want to put on?

Mr. STARK. I wanted the veterans' project to put on patriotic and historical plays about this country, to put on many one-act plays, which would employ many more actors, and take it throughout the country.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you name one play that you wanted to put on?

Mr. STARK. There are so many—one was the Life of Abraham Lincoln; the Life of Theodore Roosevelt; another play called the Making of a Nation.

Mr. THOMAS. Was there a play called Rugged Individual?

Mr. STARK. Yes. That is a play of mine about the World War.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ask them to put that play on?

Mr. STARK. Yes; I asked them to put that play on. It was taken up for consideration and we were told by Mr. Bosworth, who was Mrs. Flanagan's assistant at that time in charge of the play bureau, that there was a possibility of getting into immediate production, and I might have to go to Chicago. In the meantime they found out that I had some "anti-red" feelings, and that I was against communism. I expressed myself quite freely. The next thing I heard, the play would not be produced.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand Mr. Edwards, the administrator in New York, favored that play.

Mr. STARK. He did. He said it showed that I had definite ability.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you got any proof that Mrs. Flanagan did not favor the play?

Mr. STARK. I do not think you can trace anything definitely back to her. That is why you cannot get other people on the project to testify at this particular time, because most of them are on vacation and they are afraid of this investigating committee. That is the reason they will not testify.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stark, we would like to hear from you more at length, but we have other witnesses from out of town who are here under subpoena, and the committee must hear them.

Mr. STARK. Yes, sir. I would like to submit charges that we made on the project, published in the New York-Brooklyn—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Anything you wish to submit to the committee we shall be glad to receive it and take it under advisement. We appreciate your testimony and the tenor of your evidence.

Mr. STARK. And I hope you can suspend Mrs. Flanagan.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not within the province of the committee.

Mr. STARNES. We are not interested in matters of administration. And I hope, Mr. Chairman, you will warn witnesses that this committee is not interested in matters of administration or charges of maladministration, or any matters of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. We have absolutely nothing in the world to do with them.

Mr. STARNES. And we do not care to hear any statements with reference to conclusions on such matters. Witnesses must confine their testimony to the subject matter.

We will call Mr. Dawson.

TESTIMONY OF LEO A. DAWSON

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Leo A. Dawson?

Mr. DAWSON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in New York City?

Mr. DAWSON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You worked on the Federal Theater project, did you?

Mr. DAWSON. I did, and I still do.

The CHAIRMAN. You still work for them?

Mr. DAWSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. DAWSON. Right now I hold the title of supervising clerk. I am a messenger boy.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything with reference to communistic or fascistic or nazi activity in connection with that project that you are in a position, of your own knowledge, to tell this committee about?

Mr. DAWSON. That is why I think I am here.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here under subpoena?

Mr. DAWSON. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee now of any of those activities with which you are familiar? Just confine yourself to those activities that you are familiar with yourself.

Mr. DAWSON. I will. I was employed on the project March 10, 1936, by Philip Barbour, then the acting city director for New York City, who succeeded Elmer Rice. Mr. Barbour transferred me to the State department under the direction of George M. Gatts. While in the State department I had charge of all Government files. I was the only one in the department who had access to the Government files, to the communications between the State project offices and the Federal officials in Washington.

In various communications which I was told to send to Albany—all those files at this time are in Albany. The State department moved to Albany and closed the New York office. I was picked up by a city project called the National Servicing Bureau. While I was in the National Servicing Bureau my duties were to take charge of the files.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is this going to bear any direct relationship to the subject matter which I have indicated we want testimony on?

Mr. DAWSON. It certainly is. Being in charge of the files of the National Servicing Bureau, on a few occasions I was asked to join the Workers Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Mr. DAWSON. By the workers in the office, by the shop stewards, as they called them. Upon refusing to join the Workers Alliance, I was told that I would not be at ease in the office, that they would do everything to make things unpleasant for me in the office.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. DAWSON. The shop steward of the Workers Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give his name?

Mr. DAWSON. John Rimassa at the present time. After working in the particular department and seeing literature passed out wholesale during office hours—

Mr. STARNES. What type of literature, Mr. Witness?

Mr. MASON. Have you samples of it here?

Mr. DAWSON. I have samples of the literature. Literature being passed out wholesale—and this is the type of literature, with “Back the President—Jobs and Recovery—Workers Alliance—Communist Party Federal Theater Project.”

When I protested the distribution of that particular literature I was immediately placed in a particular corner of the office. I would say the space was about 4 by 6, the size of an ordinary cell in a prison.

While I was put in that corner, I immediately made contact with the promotion department of the Federal Theater project. This is where the fun begins. In the promotion department which is, to my knowledge and to the knowledge of many people working on the theater project, the backbone of the activities and the propaganda of the Federal Theater project, I was a promotion worker. My job was to go out and sell the plays that we put on, that we had to sell to the public. My particular field was the religious field. I was made what they called a field executive of the religious field.

The plays that I had to sell were plays such as have been mentioned before, No More Peace. Here is a review from critics in the New York newspapers saying:

The Government might easily cause official trouble; a caricature which is indirectly sponsored by the Government.

After making contact with these several organizations—as a matter of fact, churches, orphanages, and charitable institutions, and so forth—I was told that they wanted no part of the Federal Theater or its propaganda plays. Upon reporting this to my supervisors, I was told that my attitude toward the Federal Theater was negative.

I explained that my attitude toward the Federal Theater was not negative, but my attitude toward the left-wing propaganda that was being put on by the Federal Theater was negative. This immediately caused by transferral.

In particular, one play that was put on, or that they rehearsed for practically ten and a half months—that is the Federal Theater—and spent many, many, thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money, was called The Cradle Will Rock. That was a play concerning a strike in a steel town. After being reviewed by Government officials at a preview the night before it was to go on under Government sponsorship, they decided not to put the play on. The actors and actresses had rehearsed this play—

The CHAIRMAN. What has that got to do with communistic activity?

Mr. DAWSON. The play is evidently a communistic play.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they did not put it on.

Mr. DAWSON. You see, we have to get to a nucleus of the whole thing. It has to be built up. It cannot be done in a few minutes. They have had 3 or 4 years to build it up.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to seem to be rude or cut you short, or anything of that sort, but we have had considerable testimony on these plays. However, you may proceed.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, even if the play was not put on, the testimony shows that it had been in rehearsal and that thousands of dollars had been spent in getting it ready to put on, and it was so bad that they called it off the night before it was to be put on.

Mr. DAWSON. Thank you.

The play was then immediately taken over by the author, Mark Blitstein, who took the play to the Venice Theater in New York and took the actors and actresses who had been paid by the Government to rehearse for 10 months, and put that play on without any cost to himself. After playing this play for 1 week at this particular theater, they had decided to close it and make sets of their own. In turn, those actors and actresses were taken back onto the Government project, until this particular producer, the Mercury Theater, which branched off from the Federal Theater, which Mrs. Flanagan speaks of so highly, could make sets, costumes, and scenery, and again take the workers from the project into their play.

In other words, the Government was paying for the rehearsal of these workers in this play which spells radicalism from the word go, and every time they wanted to release the actors, they brought them back onto another Government project.

They had another play called Processional. This play dealt with a large mining town in West Virginia. The time was the Fourth of July, 1925. A strike was in progress. The Army had been called in to put the strike to an end. There was the killing of an American soldier in uniform on the stage of the theater.

It also dealt with the tearing up of the American flag. The American flag was not actually torn up in the presence of the audience, but it dealt with a miner who had torn up the American flag and was put into jail. Later he killed this soldier who had seen him and he claimed that he had seen this particular soldier in a church, or in a labor temple having sexual intercourse, if you please, with his mother. That was the type of play that was put on.

Mr. STARNES. Where was that put on?

Mr. DAWSON. At the Maxine Elliott Theatre, Thirty-ninth Street, in New York.

Mr. STARNES. Under the auspices of the Federal Theater Project?

Mr. DAWSON. Works Progress Administration; that is right.

They also had a play called "Professor Mannlock," which played the Daly's Theater, Sixty-third Street, in New York. This particular play dealt with a Jewish-German doctor who had been ousted from Germany, and it was built up to show that there was a building up of a class, a racial hatred by the people. That is what this play dealt with. In other words, it catered particularly to the Hebrews, to show how Germany was dealing, as we read in the press at the present time, with the annihilation of the Jewish people. It made them conscious of it. That was the idea of the play.

Another play which I want to mention, after reading the newspapers and following this trial, and so forth, is the play called "Can You Hear Their Voices?" This play was published—

Mr. THOMAS. On that play we have had a great deal of testimony.

Mr. DAWSON. Have you the authentic copy of the play?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We have had a good deal of testimony on that. We do not want to be discourteous with you. You are here representing a large group of veterans, are you not?

Mr. DAWSON. I am representing the veterans, but I am not a veteran. I am down here speaking for the veterans on the Federal Theater.

Here is a quotation in reference to a play called "A Trojan Incident." This play was a version by Mrs. Flanagan's husband, Professor Davis, who is a professor, I think, of English at Vassar College, at the present time. A critic said of this play: "If the Government is going to put such things on the stage, it might as well ask Congress to grant to them, in the logical course, money for paying the people to go to see this play."

This play deals with propaganda and with war, and I quote this from the critic writing for the New York Journal:

I suggest that the production be turned over to the War Department to be used as poison gas in warfare.

That is the critic's comment on that play. That play was perfectly free. Although we are a promotion department, we had not a single solitary sale for that play. Everything was free.

Passing from that, the supervisors called us in a conference and asked us for suggestions, but we had nothing but propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of propaganda?

Mr. DAWSON. That matter I have just read to you. They did not want us to do anything that was constructive. If you wanted to put on anything that was constructive, such as American Peace Aims, sponsored by 250,000 people, they were not interested in such things at all. They wanted nothing but war plays.

Now, may I say something of the Workers Alliance activities on the Federal Theater project, touching the employment of veterans on the project: In that connection, I might mention a veteran by the name of Emanuel Winn, who was dismissed from the project. Upon asking Mr. Edwards, the administrator, for the reinstatement of the veteran, Mr. Edwards told the veteran's representative to take it up with Mr. Reece, director of labor relations on the project. Now, this is the ruling that Mr. Reece made, that no one was allowed to be present to contradict the story brought against him on the project, but, upon Mr. Winn's joining the Workers Alliance, he was immediately reinstated on the project.

Therefore, may I say that the veterans can do nothing for their workers on the theater project, but the Workers Alliance can get by and do something on the project for the veterans.

On the project at the present time there are aliens who are working in a supervisory capacity.

Mr. THOMAS. Going back to the Workers Alliance, tell the committee about the meeting of 200 members of the Workers Alliance that took place.

Mr. DAWSON. That was in June 1937, when Congress was making appropriations for the Works Progress Administration. The Workers Alliance had something on foot, just as they usually do. That is the practice they have, of putting something new on foot making it unrestful for the people. They went into the administrator's office at that time. Mr. Farnsworth was the administrator. About three or

four hundred workers gathered in his office, and demanded that he call the Administrator in Washington. By that I mean the Administrator in charge of the projects. They demanded that he call him, and ask that he rescind the dismissals that had been made. Upon his refusal to do that, they told him that if he refused, they would pull down everything over his ears, and march to Washington. Those were statements made by members of the Workers Alliance—that they would march to Washington. They said they would march to Washington and pull the Capital down over their ears.

MR. THOMAS. Did they make the statement that they would take possession of the quarters or the Government property until they had been put on the pay roll?

MR. DAWSON. That was another case.

MR. THOMAS. That is the case I was referring to.

MR. DAWSON. That case happened in May 1938. The Federal appropriation for the Federal Theater projects had been increased, and they were asking that the workers of the Workers Alliance send up a delegation of about 200 people. Those 200 people took possession of the Government offices at 71 West Twenty-third Street, on the twelfth and thirteenth floors. They stayed there all night in the halls. They had sandwiches and brought up coffee, fruit, and everything else. The halls were strewn with newspapers and rubbish. They said they were not leaving until they were put on the pay roll. This was sponsored by the Workers Alliance.

MR. THOMAS. Up to that time, they were on the Federal Theater project?

MR. DAWSON. They were doing work on the Federal Theater project.

MR. THOMAS. How long did they stay on the Government property?

MR. DAWSON. They stayed in the halls for 2 days. They were blocking the halls and the elevators. About 15 policemen from the police department of New York City were assigned there. In order that there would be no conflict, and being one of the subordinates, I went to the supervisor and questioned the authority of their staying there. I was told that they had nothing to do with it. Upon asking the director about it, I was told that they were in conference with the police department about removing them.

MR. THOMAS. Do you know whether those people were unemployed actors and actresses?

MR. DAWSON. I do not know whether they were actors and actresses, or not.

(At this point Mr. Dawson's testimony was temporarily suspended.)

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Heywood Broun, whose name was mentioned by Mr. Matthews, has a short written statement here that he wishes to make. In fairness to Mr. Broun, the committee will accord him an opportunity to read that statement, if you prefer.

MR. BROUN. I would prefer to make it myself.

MR. STARNES. I think I voted in favor of the request that Mr. Broun be permitted to make that statement, but, at the same time, I want to keep this record straight and clear. It has been repeatedly stated here by the chairman of the committee that any person or organization whose name was referred to in the testimony would be accorded an opportunity to appear in the public hearings before this

committee. We have other witnesses here today who are staying here at Government expense, and I do not want this to be taken as a precedent for interrupting our regular hearings at any time in order to permit any person to come in and make a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. He will require a very short time.

Mr. STARNES. I am in favor of hearing his statement, but I am trying to keep the record straight, and to be assured that we are not establishing a precedent by interrupting the regular proceedings of the committee before a witness has completed his testimony.

Mr. BROWN. I could write a column.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read your statement, Mr. Brown.

TESTIMONY OF HEYWOOD BROWN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman. Mr. J. B. Matthews has testified before your committee that in a private conversation some 6 years ago I told him that I was quitting the Socialist Party to work for the Communist Party. Just what Mr. Matthews would regard as a private conversation, I do not know, but neither under the seal of secrecy nor publicly did I ever tell him that I was drawing out from the Socialists to work for the Communists. As a matter of fact, I quit the Socialist ranks because I was irked by party discipline. I had been called up on the carpet for writing a column in which I spoke well of Al Smith. Remember this was 6 years ago. I was summoned again when I spoke at the Scottsboro meeting which was off bounds. This was too much of a nuisance. I am for C. I. O. leadership and I favor the Loyalist cause in Spain. I am against fascism and I am for peace and democracy. I am not a Communist and I never have been a Communist.

In other words, before you shut me off, let me say that I think you are wasting your time—

(Demonstration by the audience.)

The CHAIRMAN. You were to read the statement you prepared. If there are any demonstrations or interruptions on the part of the audience, we will clear the room.

Mr. Dawson will now resume his testimony.

TESTIMONY OF LEO A. DAWSON—Continued

Mr. DAWSON. I think I was discussing the Workers Alliance taking possession of the Government offices. At that time I went to the city director, and he said he was in conference. He said Mr. Condorf was in conference with the police department. That conference was on the subject of the Workers Alliance members who were not members of the Federal Theater Project remaining on the premises. I called upon the assistant United States district attorney in New York City, and asked Mr. Walsh whether those people could take possession of Government property, or not, and he told me that the only people who could oust them were the officials of the office. The official in the office refused to sign a plan.

Mr. THOMAS. Who was the official?

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Condorf refused to sign a plan. The Workers Alliance people on the project came to some peaceful settlement of

some kind, which I do not know. Morning after morning and day after day, during working hours and at other times, the Workers Alliance is continually passing out literature, announcing meetings of some kind or other, about wage cuts, and things of that sort, that will arouse the people, so that they do not know whether they are coming or going. They also have a Revue that they pass out, and they also pass out applications to join the World Youth Congress. They pass posters out, with the picture of the President of the United States on them, in support of the Roosevelt recovery program. Those things are passed out by the Workers Alliance. They are being circulated all the time by the Workers Alliance according to a well-established system. They are posted on the bulletin board or the unofficial bulletin board. The unofficial bulletin boards, according to the Workers Alliance, are also official bulletin boards.

Mr. STARNES. I think I raised the point once before that the use of pictures or letters from the President, in and of itself, should not be regarded as an un-American activity. It might be highly improper or unethical on the part of a person using such matter, but I do not see anything un-American in that.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that a signed document?

Mr. DAWSON. There is no signature on it at all. It is placed on the bulletin board.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with Mr. Starnes that that should not be admitted in evidence. Suppose you pass on to something else.

Mr. DAWSON. On the 19th of February, or prior to the 19th of February, there was a parade of that type going on in New York. Incidentally, this was by members of the Workers Alliance on the particular project I was on. They displayed large posters around New York, and paraded through Wall Street. This particular parade was against America's "sixty families," as we call them.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you have there some Communist literature, and I suggest that you turn that over to the committee.

Mr. DAWSON. I want to call this to the attention of the committee: I have here a list of the aliens on the project, and Congress, in the appropriations made by the Congress of the United States, provides that there shall be no aliens to receive funds from these appropriations.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have a list of aliens working on that project?

Mr. DAWSON. Yes, sir. According to the appropriation act, no alien is allowed to derive any benefit from that money. However, these aliens are on the projects with the knowledge of the officials, or the administrative officials.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the names of the aliens?

Mr. DAWSON. Yes, sir. We have checked the files showing whether their papers have come through or not, with a list of how many aliens were receiving \$2,000 or \$2,500 a year on the project, and that were essential to the project. The administrator knew what I was doing on the project. As a matter of fact, I have a signed memorandum by the administrator keeping them off the project.

There is another thing I want to say, and that is it is common knowledge that Madelyn O'Shea is a cousin of Mrs. Hallie Flanagan. It is commonly known among the people on the project that Mrs. Flanagan is a cousin of Madelyn O'Shea. Madelyn O'Shea has com-

plete control over the actors and actresses cast in the project. There is no actor or actress on the project without her signature.

Mr. THOMAS. Was Miss O'Shea taken from the list of unemployed?

Mr. DAWSON. She was not unemployed. As a matter of fact, none of them are taken from the unemployment list. I have a list or pay roll showing their status and everything else, right here. One particular instance that I want to bring out is this, that while I worked there, there was a good deal of transferring from city projects to Federal projects, and there were transfers from Federal projects to make room for new people who were coming in. There was the particular case of Alexanian Altman against the administration. You will find that the supervisor testified that people can, with the understanding that they were instructed to do it by Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, do this kind of work on Government time. This record shows that they can use Government funds to carry on their campaigns, at all hours, and this at a time when Congress was thinking very seriously of closing them up because of the headaches they had caused.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask this: Do you know whether Miss O'Shea is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAWSON. I do not think anyone knows as to that. There is no criterion—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do they often stage demonstrations on the project?

Mr. DAWSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Communists and their sympathizers congregate on the project, and carry on demonstrations?

Mr. DAWSON. Yes, sir; they picket the place, relieving one another, and carry on demonstrations.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether Miss O'Shea has spent any time recently in Moscow?

Mr. DAWSON. I cannot say that; no, sir. I can tell you that on February 28, 1938, when I went to see Mr. Edwards, and asked Mr. Edwards on behalf of the people who stood for the theater not to take back seven dismissed workers of the Workers Alliance, who were supervisors, or drawing supervisors' pay, while they were not doing supervisors' work, so they could not be classified as supervisors, although still drawing supervisors' pay—I asked Mr. Edwards not to take those people back, and he said he would not take them back. In the meeting, the telephone rang, and Mr. Edwards said that it was Willis Morgan, who happened to be the chairman of the Workers Alliance. I said, "I will leave and come back some other time when you can talk to me." He said, "Go out by the back door for about 20 minutes so they will not put their finger on you."

The CHAIRMAN. You are going a little afield of the subject matter we are investigating. We must confine this to the particular subject we have under inquiry.

Mr. THOMAS. Your implication from that incident is what?

Mr. DAWSON. My implication is this: The administrator of the project, who had sole authority to believe me or to discount my statement, told me to leave through the back door, by the elevator, so I would not be seen by Mr. Morgan.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Morgan was the head of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. DAWSON. He was the chairman of the National Workers Alliance.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us some concrete evidence of communistic activities on the project?

Mr. DAWSON. The most concrete evidence I can give you is evidence that chances on the project for employees depend on these influences. It shows that the Daily Worker circulates matter in aid of the Spanish democracy, collects union dues, and carries on other activities in Government time, all with the knowledge of the supervisors. Some people from other projects who have testified before me have testified to these same facts, which substantiates my statements.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mrs. Flanagan knows about this, or that she approves it?

Mr. DAWSON. The only knowledge I have is like this: While Mrs. Flanagan is in charge of the project, generally no one can go to Mrs. Flanagan, but you must go to her subordinates. Nothing ever goes directly to Mrs. Flanagan, but it goes to her subordinates.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have concrete evidence of that?

Mr. DAWSON. No concrete evidence, except that Mrs. Flanagan knows there are aliens on the project, and Mrs. Flanagan determines what plays are put on. They have to clear through the play clearing house, and she has to sanction all the plays that go on the project. In a statement before the House Patents Committee she testified on that. It was testified that Mrs. Flanagan had supreme control over the Federal Theater Project plays. She can appoint or dismiss whom she pleases, when she pleases, and how she pleases.

Mr. STARNES. That is an administrative matter, and we are not interested in that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other communist activities that occurred on the premises other than what you have testified to?

Mr. DAWSON. I have stated that the Workers Alliance is continually making demands, passing out leaflets, and doing everything else of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. All of that is done with the knowledge and acquiescence of the supervisors.

Mr. DAWSON. Yes, sir. It is done under the guise of the Communist Party. They make no bones about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anything else along that line?

Mr. DAWSON. I do not think there is much more I can say, except something that does not pertain to the Federal Theater. This is a leaflet issued by the W. P. A. division of the Workers Alliance [indicating]. This was on the bulletin board of the project. It is issued by the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which is a W. P. A. division of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it an appeal for money?

Mr. DAWSON. Yes, sir; for \$50,000 to load ships for Spain.

Mr. MOSIER. What ships were they to load?

Mr. DAWSON. They mention here that they must write to the Chief Executive, the Secretary of State, and other Representatives, to lift the embargo on stuff from the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is that signed by?

Mr. DAWSON. This is a statement by the Workers Alliance. It is issued for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. It has nothing to do with the testimony in regard to the Federal Theater. Last Friday night the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade held memorial services

for a soldier, Ben Vidor, at Carnegie Hall. The people who carried the body into Carnegie Hall had on uniforms that were not the regulation uniform of our Government nor any military organization. They also carried Spanish Republic flags, which is permitted. They carried the American flag. In due course, during the ceremony and the services, I sat in Carnegie Hall, and after the service was over the Spanish flags passed up the aisle before the American flag. The American flag was still lying in the corner, while the Spanish flag was being escorted up the aisle. When the company carried the flag, the marshal of this assembly gave this salute [indicating] to the American flag. I would say there were 4,500 people there. The hall was jammed. The hall accommodates about 6,000 people. They gave this salute [indicating] to the American flag, with clenched fists. I called it to the attention of the police in charge, and he saw that they brought the American flag up.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you represent a veterans' organization?

Mr. DAWSON. I do not particularly represent a veterans' organization. I represent myself on the project, and there was a member of the veterans' organization who had practically the same knowledge that I have, and he gave me authority to come down here and act for them. I have here a list of the America-Russia Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. This was a part of the mailing list of the experimental theater, and there is listed in here the names of some very prominent people who are very active radicals. Some of them are financiers and professors in colleges and universities throughout the country. In brief, this is the American branch of the Institute for Cultural Relations with Russia. That is one of the Communist fractions of the Communist Party in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate very much your testimony here. I am sure that you have a great deal of evidence that we are unable to receive. It is not that we are not patient or do not want the facts to come out, but we are limited to some extent by the scope of this investigation, and are unable to accord you full opportunity to be heard on matters dealing with management or efficiency or anything of that sort.

Our other witnesses will go on tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock. We expect to conclude the hearings tomorrow evening, so far as Washington is concerned, and, as I stated this morning, we will go into about 7 or 8 days of hearings dealing with fascism and resuming our inquiry into nazi-ism. Our testimony is fairly shaped up along those lines, and we will soon be prepared to go from 7 to 10 days dealing with fascism and nazi-ism. We are not at this time disclosing what city we will be in first, for obvious reasons; but preparations are now being made to resume the inquiry which we had on the first day on nazi-ism. Then, after we conclude some 7 or 8 or 10 days hearing on nazi-ism, we will resume some other phase of the investigation.

The committee will now go into executive session.

(Thereupon the committee proceeded to the consideration of business in executive session, following which it adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, August 23, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The Chairman. The committee will come to order. We will call Professor Fenlon.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD I. FENLON

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Edward I. Fenlon?

Professor FENLON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You hold a Ph. D. degree?

Professor FENLON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the head of the department of philosophy?

Professor FENLON. No; I am a member of the department.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a member of the department of philosophy, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.?

Professor FENLON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been identified with that institution?

Professor FENLON. Nearly 8 years now, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to your connection with that institution, where were you?

Professor FENLON. I was professor at St. Mary's College, California.

The CHAIRMAN. St. Mary's College in California?

Professor FENLON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been an educator practically all of your life?

Professor FENLON. All my lifetime.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor, you understand, of course, that what we are primarily concerned with is an inquiry into communistic, fascistic, and nazi activities in the United States. Your statement is based upon communistic activities, is it not?

Professor FENLON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Professor.

Professor FENLON. May I say these things by way of preface? First of all, that we professors that are here regret very much that

Brooklyn College seems to have been singled out in this inquiry, because we feel that others, perhaps, could also be noted. Perhaps it was the refusal of the faculty to endorse the R. O. T. C. movement that caused us to be noticed more than the others.

Of course, this thing is a very intimate disclosure and naturally we feel the responsibility for it very greatly. But we think we are doing a service to the college. I, for one, certainly accept the responsibility for what I have to say and all I ask is that we be not quoted out of our context. We ask for fair play. We will hold closely to the paper in order that I might be able to be responsible for the things that I have said.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "we," you mean——

Professor FENLON. Well, I speak of myself. I have no right to speak for anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. But there are several other members of the faculty here?

Professor FENLON. There are several other members of the faculty that will speak after me. Also, I would help expedite matters, as I think that is what you want, very much, if I call attention to my exhibits here, which I will leave with the committee afterward.

The CHAIRMAN. As you come to your exhibits, you will state briefly what they are and what is pertinent about them?

Professor FENLON. Yes; I shall.

The CHAIRMAN. And after the committee is through with them, you wish the return of those exhibits?

Professor FENLON. Yes, afterward; later on.

I shall try to answer the following questions formally addressed to me not long ago:

1. Is there communism at Brooklyn College, and, if so, what is some of the evidence?

2. If there is communism at the college, what is its extent?

3. If there is communism at the college, do you consider it a menace; if so, can you offer or suggest a remedy against it?

1. The answer to the initial part of the first question, viz. "Is there communism in Brooklyn College?" is categoric; there is, undoubtedly, communism at Brooklyn College.

For the evidence:

(a) On May 1, 1935, appeared the first number of a publication calling itself *The Staff*. At its masthead was the announcement: "Issued monthly by the Brooklyn College Unit of the Communist Party of America." The very intimacy of much of the content of the *Staff* established its authorship as unerringly of the college. The unit is a teacher-group, and, as you see, confessedly so. To date the paper has appeared practically on schedule and has, in addition, offered supplementary numbers. To be sure, it does seek to spread Communist doctrines, does do its utmost to form and strength the so-called united front, and does not hesitate to censure or denounce those whom it finds in its way. It seems ever on the trigger to oppose authority as constituted. I have at hand a number of exhibits as evidence of the exactness of these statements. The *Staff* poses as herald and torchbearer of free speech and academic freedom, but not at all for every one. It takes as a matter of course that a Fascist, by which we must ordinarily mean an anti-Communist, has no rights whatever in the college.

These exhibits that I might show you are in folder No. 7. I call your attention especially to these months: May 1935, October 1935, March 1936, June 1936, January 1938, and April 1938, and ask you especially to note this folder 7 of the Staff.

The Staff is forwarded by mail, and occasionally carries a printed Communist enclosure. Here are two examples, two exhibits, which came to me only recently. These copies are mimeographed, but usually the paper is well printed and is of six pages. Marked copies of the *New Masses*, by way of propaganda and presumably from the same source, were sent, on a particular occasion, to the homes of certain teachers of the college.

(b) Another organization of members of the teaching body of the college should not be overlooked. If we may not call it Communist, we can at least note it well for doing certain of the work of communism and doing it with efficiency, that is, as vulgarly as might be done by disgruntled Communist employees in the open places of our cities. I refer to the teachers' union.

Besides the Staff, which makes its appeal chiefly to the teaching, administrative, and clerical forces of the college (though copies are circulated among the students), there is an incessant barrage of handbills at the various entrances, distributed, ordinarily, by students of the college. At times the stairways and sidewalks are littered, in one place perhaps a half-inch thick. In this folder is a collection picked up on the sidewalks by a neighbor, who, learning that I was coming here, besought me to show it to you. Morning, noon, and night, and in between, do these leaflets appear. For this reason alone Brooklyn College might quite fairly be labeled a hotbed of propaganda. Responsible for no inconsiderable part of this propaganda is the teachers' union, an organization federated with labor, but having few, if any, problems to do with labor. In the college it is incontestably a pressure group. Indeed, the faculty, as we shall see, was forced to condemn certain of these activities. Very many teachers and students cannot help but believe that it is linked with communism.

I have a folder here that reveals some little of this propaganda spirit. The folder contains leaflets handed out by the union pursuant to a single objective, not overlooking that similar or other objectives needing pressure are constantly recurrent. Even here I have not nearly all the leaflets pertaining to this particular case. It was called the *Klein case*. The purpose of these handbills, very naturally, was to arouse students and teachers and thus influence or intimidate the authorities in face of the proposed dismissal of a tutor of the college, a certain Mr. Klein. At the same time, and in the same intent, was a sit-down strike. Sit-down strikes, if you recall, were rather the style at the time. Having marched along the street bearing placards and shouting, "We want Klein, we want Klein, etc.," some 70 or more girl students planted themselves on the floor around the president's office, who at the moment, I understand, happened to be in Manhattan.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, I notice in one of the Staff there is an article dealing with the *Klein case*. It says, "From Marx to McCooey."

Professor FENLON. That is supposed to be a slap at the president of the college.

There is no way for the union to shirk responsibility for this shame. It either directed it, or through its flood of leaflets, inspired it.

I believe that Mr. John P. Frey testified before this body on August 15 (New York Times of 16th), that communism had continued its hold on certain units of the A. F. of L., when, after the Tampa convention, it elected to favor the C. I. O. In particular he stated, according to this report, that, in 1936, the Communist Party gained control of local No. 5 of the school teachers' organization of the A. F. of L. and had been able to dictate the slates for members of the executive board of this local, the New York City local, the largest in the teachers' union. Mr. Frey said (again I am relying on the report), that while communism named the slates, there being more than 30 members of the executive board, he was not prepared to say that all members of the union were Communists. This is about how I should view the status of the union at Brooklyn College, viz, Communist controlled, Communist dictated, with many good but naive persons being led by the nose, persuaded that they here have a live pressure group behind them in the event of personal danger.

I have also an exhibit here It is Happening Here, on page 13, relative to the American Federation of Teachers. I will leave that with you.

(c) As for the students, four Communist groups, with still another propagandist organization, at least, have been active and are active, overtly so.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, to identify some of these exhibits, I see one called Trotskyite Rats.

Professor FENLON. That refers to the fight between the Stalinists, one group, and the Trotskyites.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Young Communist League?

Professor FENLON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice the peace rally to open the Brooklyn convention of the Young Communist League. All of this is communistic literature?

Professor FENLON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about that, is there?

Professor FENLON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All propaganda is of a communistic nature?

Professor FENLON. Yes; as a rule. Sometimes there is propaganda to try to offset it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you ever see any propaganda distributed in behalf of Americanism?

Professor FENLON. Yes; I have. I think you will find one number in that first one there.

The CHAIRMAN. One out of all of these?

Professor FENLON. Well, perhaps once a month we would get something of that kind.

As for the students, four Communist groups, with still another propagandist organization, at least, have been active and are active, overtly so. One group is perhaps but a reshuffling of the various groups that, for special occasions, at any rate, might be said to constitute a united front; it is the link with the American League for Peace and Democracy, not long ago known as the American League Against War and Fascism. The league, while carrying along an important feature of the Communist program, is getting by handsomely

as a democratic educational asset, and, if for no other reason, is most dangerous.

You might notice there in that leaflet in K, Strike Against War, the yellow leaflet.

Now, it is openly denied that the League for Peace and Democracy is Communist. See the New York Times of the 19th instance, and it may be openly denied that it is officially functioning at Brooklyn College. But, I ask, what is this Anti-War League of the college, and why is it, and why are all units of communism and socialism so fervidly furthering the program of this more general league? Of course, it is true, that, of late years, or since the peace parades (now peace parades but formerly war parades) have been allowed at the college, that many non-Communist units go along in the Strike for Peace. This is the united front, and the united front always means that wool has been pulled over the eyes of the innocent. I refer to the Moscow program of 1935. For exhibits here I refer you to Tactics, pages 13, 14, 15, 25, and page 17. You will have that here.

All we ask is this one evidence as assurance that the league is non-Communist: Let a thousand or fewer official representatives of the league from the outside, on any day or hour, march around Brooklyn College with the anti-war group of the college, in sincere denunciation of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism, and we will begin to listen to officials of the league.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever head of an instance where the league denounced communism?

Professor FENLON. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, as a fact that in one of their conventions they practically approved communism? Are you acquainted with that incident?

Professor FENLON. I am not prepared to say that.

The CHAIRMAN. But do you know that there is no record where they ever denounced communism?

Professor FENLON. No; I am sure of that.

But this will never be done, notwithstanding that it was communism, and communism alone that gave to the world such defensive offshoots and evils as facism and nazi-ism. It is absurd to assert that fascism is more dangerous that communism. Fascism is national; communism is international, directly challenging us.

This Anti-War League, an appendage of the League for Peace and Democracy, is one of the groups whose representatives now regularly assemble in this country under the aegis of the American Youth Congress, and whose representatives may be found at the World Youth Congress, so-called, now in session at Poughkeepsie.

I call your attention to exhibit 1, page 16, and I call your attention to K, Who Controls the Youth Congress? You will find it there.

The four Communist organizations of the college, only the first two being avowed, are:

1. The Young Communist League, the members of which are Stalinist.

2. The Marxists or Trotskyists, supposed to be pristine or orthodox Communists.

In No. 4 you will find some of the folders of the Trotskyites. I think you have it there.

3. The American Student Union, said to be jointly controlled by communism and socialism, but very certainly influenced by communism.

4. The peace-democracy group (Anti-War League), which I have called the united-front grouping.

5. The other propagandist coterie is the Young Socialist League.

I believe that I have enough evidence with me to give the Communist status of the American Student Union, and I have said enough, effectually, to challenge the peace and democracy organization.

I think you will find in this folder ample evidence to justify the charge that the American Student Union is bound up with communism. I call attention to the article by Arthur Knowles in there. I call attention to the Mercury of April 1937. They are all in that folder.

A further word concerning the World Youth Congress might not be out of order. On August 10 the Brooklyn College Faculty-Student Committee entertained foreign visiting delegates to this congress. I did not attend the reception, but received a report from a judicious professor who was present. He said that the speakers from abroad, from South America and England, in particular, seemed to emphasize but one paramount objective, viz, their loathing of fascism. He said that he sensed even a spirit of fanaticism when fascism was the topic. One would suppose, he said, that they were the official ambassadors of their respective countries and were speaking for the youth of their nations en bloc, apiece of news circulated at the moment of their coming here. As a fact, they do not represent their countries in any particular, nor the youth of their countries, not more, for instance, than the American Youth Congress represents the youth of this country. I refer to the Mercury of the current August for particulars hereon, and would, in addition, leave this other exhibit with you. The author of the Mercury article likens the presumption of this Poughkeepsie gathering to that of The Nine Tailors of Tooley Street: We the people of England, etc.

How groups of youth can so volubly and vehemently condemn fascism, while conveying never even a gesture of disapproval of communism, is sufficiently indicative of itself alone. That this spirit has so quickly taken hold in the educational institutions of the nations, near and far, is something to be concerned about. Dean Carl W. Ackerman, of Columbia University, in his January (current) report to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, tells most pointedly of the penetration of propaganda ("the black plague") of all the dictator countries—Communist, Fascist, and Nazi-ist—into particular countries of South America, for instance, and into all other countries of the world where a free press has been throttled. This means that he spares, among other nations, neither Russia, nor Germany, nor Italy.

Consider the expense of this Poughkeepsie gathering, the preliminary organization for it, the fervor behind it, the numbers of good people who have, as the boys say, "fallen for it," and there is additional incentive for thought. Let us not overlook the danger. Herein is the leaven of this whole international idea, and this leaven is communism.

President McGracken said to notice the resolutions that were coming out of that convention at Poughkeepsie, that there would be

something worth while. Let us watch for the resolutions. It is a 100 to 1 bet that there is no mention of communism in them.

2. For the second question. "What is the extent of communism at Brooklyn College?"

It would be difficult if not impossible to know. From "red" to "pink" the shading is as fine as that among the colors of the spectrum. Many, as noted, not officially linked with communism are quite ready, at times, to go along with it, and are often scornful of capitalism and of so-called capitalistic authority, which they as frequently insist is our particular brand of authority at Brooklyn College and in other city colleges. Capitalism and authority, it seems to be accepted, must somehow be linked, must have gone wrong, and free speech and academic freedom must be in imminent danger, else why the incessant commotion and shouting round about us? At times this spirit appears rather spontaneously in the classes, even among students who insist that they have nothing to do with communism.

Relative to the question of "red to pink." I offer these exhibits, two of them publications of the college that are legal, Vanguard and Beacon. I offer the exhibits 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 as evidence. These I will leave here.

Because of the propaganda in the college and at its doors, much of which cannot escape the neighbors and the passers-by, it is frequently said in the streets of Brooklyn that communism has actually taken over the college. This, to be sure, is not true. It is important to point out, however, that the spirit of communism, in some of its varied ramifications, at any rate, and unconsciously even to particular members of the faculty and perhaps to particular members of the board of higher education, is progressively gathering influence, especially in the ever-recurring appeal for democracy.

I offer the Staff of April 1938, folder 7.

"Democracy" is the slogan of slogans with communism, and so-called liberals (a term nobody has yet defined) seem at times to hearken complacently to it. Two years ago a teacher, very active in the teachers' union, and said to be no less ardent in the ranks of communism, speaking of a particular official of the college, emphasized in a spirit of victory: "If you keep after him you can make him step around. After all, what can anyone do against organization? Organization is what makes all of them look up."

Other alluring slogans are: "Academic freedom," "Free speech," "Anti-Semitism," "Fascism," "Nazi-ism," "Peace," and "Reactionary," this last a term consecrated by Lenin and Stalin.

And now, no one can present a picture of communism in any of our colleges in numerical terms. The real picture is that of apostles, of adventurers, in their very first fervor—vociferous, vehemently and constantly inspired from the outside, and highly controversial. All of which leaves the impression on some persons, as said, that communism, in reality, is already running away with things. Indeed, communism much desires that we believe and spread such talk. One of the very last numbers of the Staff estimates something of its own achievements. The facts, however, have to be evaluated in other than quantitative terms, and, in effect, qualitatively, which, in the conclusion to this paper I propose briefly to do, or try to do.

I refer you to the May and June issues, 1938, and May of 1935, where it was claimed by the Communists that 5,000 students walked out against authority in the school.

But we may come to numbers with some results. The sole percentage test in the college of which I am aware came a year ago last May, May 17, 1937, to be precise. I think I am free to use the figures, for more than once they have been found in public print. The faculty of the college on that day censured the activities of the Communist teachers of the institution by a vote of 70 to 19.

You will find I quote with reference to this in the Eagle, on the card in folder No. 7.

Until now, the faculty has included only the professors—full, associate, and assistant. I say until now, for in November next a certain number of instructors will be admitted to the faculty for the first time. On the occasion of the vote just mentioned, the faculty numbered perhaps 125, only 89 of whom, it is apparent, registered their votes. Because of lateral class gatherings and other causes, professors are often absent from the meetings of the faculty and are excused. The teaching force in all, however, numbers possibly 550 teachers or thereabouts, which, besides the professors, falls into three classes, viz, instructors, tutors, and fellows.

At the same session of the faculty proper—that is to say, of the professors—of the aforesaid 90 or thereabouts—the activities of the teachers' union at the college were censured by a vote of 59 to 32. Certain of the spokesmen of the teachers' union rebelled at the time, at seeming to be classed with the Communists. Notwithstanding that, many of the teachers of the union are not Communists, and possibly would oppose it did they know more about it; it is undoubtedly dominated by a coterie that does not hesitate to employ the most objectionable of the pressure methods of communism, as we have already noted.

The exhibits here are seven, in the Eagle, on the card, and page 13, It Is Happening Here.

How, then, are we to interpret these voting figures of the faculty? It is known that of the 19 of the faculty who refused to censure the Communist activity among us, certain of them are opposed to communism per se. Several of them advanced personal reasons, or perhaps reasons of principle, for withholding their votes or even for voting contrariwise. All of which seems to mark our voluble Communists in the faculty proper as not more, perhaps, than 8 to 12; that is to say, 8 to 12 out of the 90 or thereabouts.

The vote against the activities of the teachers' union would likely have been as contrasting as that against communism save for the thought or feeling among a goodly number of the faculty in favor of unionism. Unionism, to be sure, was not on trial. The issue was the palpable abuse of unionism in the college. I might add that sometime before—we noticed this in June 1935, folder No. 7—a year or more before this faculty vote, the instructors, tutors, and fellows, who, as has been already suggested, constitute by far the majority of the teaching force, voted a resolution against the workings of the Communists as disclosed by the Staff.

As for the students, no one seems to know how many are Communist. If the crowds assembled on the campus under the warring Communist factions of the college—the one designating the other "rats": the other responding somewhat in kind—were to be estimated,

I would say that there are very far fewer than 1,000 Stalinists in the day session of the college and still fewer in the evening, while the Marxists or Trotskyists can hardly have a hundred in either session. I have heard several discerning professors place the number as not more than 10 percent, all told. Recalling that there are, roughly, 11,000 students in all in Brooklyn College, about equally divided between day and evening, the number of Communists cannot prove alarming, as yet, in itself.

Withal, considering the activity of the Communist teachers, communism has had no mean influence in the college and has gathered this influence, not through numbers, evidently, but through its ceaseless appeals and untiring pressure. The children of this world, the Bible says, are wiser in their generation than the children of light. Here is evidence. Communism leaves a residue that is often very effective beyond itself. Students have often complained to some of us that an active Communist student has an advantage "in landing" a key position, even in some of the recognized college publications, a position often seemingly closed, it is said, to one who becomes labeled a conservative.

I offer you for evidence a comparison of the first number of the Staff in May 1935, with the matter in folder 14. One thing was the program that they set out to achieve; and the other, what they claim they have achieved, which is to go into effect this November. Also, I would ask that you look up 16, 17, and 18.

On the point of creating opposition and faction, it is well known that communism has split both students and teachers, has generated a spirit of suspicion all about, and has made authority to suffer keenly, which, indeed, is the goal wherever it gains a foothold. Such efforts, according to Lenin, are within the scope of the science of socialism. Marx and Engels uphold the view.

I could give you the authorities here; the copy of the Eagle that we mentioned, No. 7, April 1938—No. 7; January 1930, in No. 19 folder, excerpts from Lenin; Manifesto, my copy that I am leaving with you, pages 43 and 44; Marx letters to Engels; Stalin, on Leninism; State and Revolution, by Lenin; What Is to Be Done?—page 135, in folder K.

Before this activity of communism, before 5 years ago, the spirit within the teaching body carried no trace of suspicion, was a friendly, confiding spirit throughout. Not so now. The Communists have been listened to, and, as said, they pride themselves in the changes that have ensued. And let us say right here—let me say it for the great silent crowd of teachers, and in the interest of the college we love—that it is not at all true that we, as a body, were ever, at any time, academically handicapped by authority. All along have we been as free as birds. Only now are people afraid. Nor is it true at all that our authorities, from president, through the deans, down to heads of departments, have been "the teeny-weeny Mussolinis" that a member of our board of higher education is publicly quoted as having said derogatorily of them, or some of them. This kind of talk, I emphasize, is irresponsible. It is right down the Communist alley. The Communist laps it up, and then proceeds to turn it over and over on his tongue in tribute to its sweetness. I know that my conferees will sense this as bold, but I do, here and now, in return, accept in full the implied responsibility, and in the interest of our college. I

have not come here of my personal choosing, and I have been bid to tell what I think, for my country and my college. I have no choice. This "academic freedom" crowd ought, surely, now to be with me if at any time. They would if they were sports.

More specifically, our Communists have recently seen certain of their plannings of years ago become actualized, and now seem ready, for they are in a position, to make of Brooklyn College a veritable center of politics, to the detriment of its real purpose, the education of our fine boys and girls. How can men and women be constantly engrossed in this political agitation and at the same time do justice to the unique objective of the college?

Here in this folder K, May 1935, will be found the new rulings that were put into effect.

Even the so-called peace strikes of May 1, when the Communist publications of the college claimed three or more thousand students for the day-session parade alone, I noted, first, that the numbers said to be in line were exaggerated; and secondly, I felt that hundreds of students walked out on their classes and teachers merely for a lark, to see what was going on, or to escape the bantering of Communist associates. In some classes, in my own classes, for example, I have known not more than 5 to 10 to leave, out of, say, 35, though I had never said anything of the event, to deter or to inspire. It is not altogether uncommon for Communist students to stand at or near the doors of classes and direct verbal, sometime insulating, darts at those who elect not to march.

3. We come to the third question: "Do you consider communism a menace to the college; if so, can you offer or suggest a remedy against it?" Here I must ask your indulgence for a few minutes.

The Manifesto of Marx and Engels, is the pole-star of communism. No authorized Communist ever questions the validity of its least particular. He dare not. Few, certainly of our professors and students, bother reading *Das Kapital*, and it is well so, for only the elect among them would, even satisfactorily to themselves, grasp its voluble ramblings. If to The Manifesto we add certain of the writings, or even excerpts, of Lenin, Stalin, and Browder we can have an adequate enough résumé of the principles, aims, and methods of this pernicious philosophy. Indeed, it is more than an economic system. It is complete as a philosophy, fixed in its metaphysics, a philosophy full in its sweep apart from metaphysics, embracing an ethics as materialistic, as sensual, as may be found among the most radical of the French philosophies of the eighteenth century. Family life and love, known for ages of the Hebrew and the Christian, and even of others, is a something that can be readily dispensed with if not altogether disregarded.

I give here in K folder, Communism and Religion and, also, in folder K an article on Communism by Browder. In the same number, No. 19, Folder K, you will find the *Morals of Moscow*. These will be filed as exhibits in connection with the statement.

Why is it a menace? It is a philosophy that is set to destroy by force our system of government and the now sacred traditions following from it, to overthrow religion and our religious institutions, to impose upon us this totalitarian tyranny, backed by an impracticable theory that, adjudged merely by its initial attempt in all history at concrete realization, promises a centralized system even

more to be dreaded than the centralization of power under czar, or fascism, or nazi-ism. My exhibit on the point contains this quotation from the correspondent, Harold Denny, as of April 22, current year, *New York Times*:

Within the past year there has been no power but Stalin. He alone decides the party, and woe to him who strays from it.

I have a number of quotations there from Lenin, in folder K from *What Is To Be Done*.

The danger most of all to be feared is the utter hypocrisy of communism. It is tricky, and part of its science is to work trickily. Take this case, that of the mentality of the communists who edit the *Staff* at Brooklyn College. They are forever prating about unionism, but many copies of the paper, in fact, all of the first numbers, and other numbers, appeared without the union label. Why? The shop that printed editions of it says that it is a union shop.

It is numbered 151 at the union label offices. Why? There is the trick! The editors would not be found out, even as they slandered some of their associates. When the label did appear, it appeared without a number, which is a positive ethical violation. And when a number was finally shown, either it was battered or otherwise disfigured. There are numerous exhibits right here. Is this number 51, or 31, or 81? Or is it 151, or 131, or 181? And look at the battering this number got. In addition, the printer himself "could not" (sic) tell who brought the work to him:—"Some young men; it was dark: I did not notice, and so forth." When asked by a Government investigator if he would recognize the gentlemen on the street, he answered that it was dark when he met them and he "did not see them good." So they could not be recognized.

I have a number of copies here. Moreover, he claimed that the forms were brought to him, already set up, together with the paper. All he had to do was the presswork. He took what money he could get, and so forth, which is all very mysterious.

And I have it on fine authority—I shall name the authority if you wish—that these numbers of the *Staff* and mimeographed numbers, have most likely been printed by a United States Government agency, one of those W. P. A. agencies. The matter can yet be traced down, and will be. Now, the United States Government popularizing its own doom, while paying for it, certainly belongs to the comics.

Hence, I ask, would you personally like to have mentors for your children of such shiftiness of soul, a sneaking mentality of the type directing or conditioning the lives of your sons and daughters? I ask you. But, keep in mind that these persons are but an insignificant fraction of a wonderfully fine teaching personnel. Let us make no mistake here.

The founder of Christianity long ago warned the world of the enemy that comes in the clothing of sheep, even as the prudent counselor before him warned of the Greeks bearing gifts. Communism has its arms outstretched for every one in the wide world who finds himself or herself in distress or discontent. Let them beware. Christ likewise forewarned of the wonder-working false prophets who would, in the latter days, be clever enough to deceive the nations, and, "if that were possible, even the elect." Many, hence, cannot help but believe that communism has arisen as perhaps the most dreadful

scourge of the ages, for it is positively the first directly antithetical world movement to all that Christian and Jewish cultures have stood for.

Even Islam accepted much of the Old Testament, built its cause, as it were, upon Abraham, while other sects or formations carried along something of vital traditional culture or religion or else remained wholly indifferent to much of it. But communism wants no part whatsoever with Christ or the prophets, no portion with the culture that made the nations great. Communism is the sole absolute world-wide anti-Christ of history, at least in aspiration and determination. It is set to destroy His cause, and to build completely anew, and entirely against Him.

Through pet traditional slogans and gestures of affection suggested by invitations to the so-called united front, communism is, in fact, deceiving multitudes right before your eyes: Ministers in their pulpits, professors in our universities, teachers in our high schools, politicians in our seats of government, leaders of refinement in civil society, and above all, ever so many of the young in our colleges and schools: even in the grades where we find the young pioneers besides laborers, the unemployed, and multitudes among the persecuted or minority races or groups, notably the Jews and the Negroes. Read the account of George Weiss, Jr., in the New York Sun, of August 12, this year, of the Communist "get together" parade in New York on August 6. You will find this account in the corresponding exhibit here on the desk.

You will also find on page 10, in folder K, It Is Happening Here, and the Manifesto, at pages 26 and 29, also, Minister to Spain, in the same folder, and Catholics and Browder. You will find Radicalism in the High Schools in the same folder.

To repeat, communism's appeal is especially directed to these four classes: Our students, our laborers, our unemployed, and our Jews and colored people. With false promises of plenty and equality, with allurements of peace and security, with the ceaseless slogans already noted, it is undoubtedly insinuating itself, its baneful spirit permeating whole sections of our people. Even does communism go unblushingly forth with an offer of the kiss of peace to its arch enemy, the Catholic Church, hoping, first, to confuse and disarm many of that fold, to sow seeds of discord among them and thence to conquer.

You will notice in the folder the statement that people went around from door to door to distribute that appeal in New York.

Again we emphasize that the mistake is ubiquitous, that of estimating the gains of communism in numerical terms, and thence to minimize its actual status: "What are they." it is innocently asked, "among so many?" No, it is not Communist numbers that we have right now to fear; it is the Communist leaven, the Communist influence. We recall that but 12 inflamed apostles went forth from the Cenacle, and in fewer than two centuries their spirit had taken hold so effectively, so thoroughly, that it conditioned, more or less completely, nearly every nation of the Western World and even far beyond. If we agree that nothing succeeds so well as truth, we shall have to add, if it is not the semblance of truth; and here there is reason for pause and reflection. Communism strikes in forcefully with the semblance of truth, and with all the lessons of history at its back. It is a leaven, and must be regarded in terms of a leaven, not

in terms of number, a leaven that, if we don't watch carefully and act speedily, will insinuate itself and corrupt the whole mass.

It has learned well one of the most striking of the human reasons for the success of Christianity: that is, to give assiduous attention to the education of the young. It is this phase of the activity of communism that very especially concerns us now, even as we speak of its insidiousness at Brooklyn College, and of the harm that it has already brought to Brooklyn College. The leaven we have shown is there; there is no denying it, even as we must stop blinking it. It is a virile leaven; its germs cannot but multiply.

If communism were uniformly accepted by our authorities—Federal, State, and municipal, as by those of our colleges and high schools—for what it really is, its dangers, forthwith, could be minimized. And if these authorities could then agree as to the methods of treatment of its various ramifications, its dangers would be still further minimized. But as mentalities are now, a spirit of what is called "liberalism" has taken hold among an appreciable number, even in the so-called "high places," and in consequence communism has a pretty carefree rein in certain of the colleges and in other institutions, even as at Brooklyn College. In lieu of being uprooted, or at least neutralized, it is actually being fertilized.

You will find at page 16 of the folder, on Religion and Communism, a report of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, that teachers are promoting communism.

Let me offer a few examples, among a number: Harold Lord Varney shows in this month's Mercury (August), that of the nine youth organizations represented in Milwaukee at the fourth conference of the American Youth Congress, five of them were official units of the Communist Party, that the sixth was a Communist-Socialist controlled body, the seventh a Socialist Party affiliate, and that only the other two were nonradical. And now in face of such a set-up, the Stalinist-supported chairman was able to produce a letter from President Roosevelt to the effect, that the gathering of the American Youth Congress was an "important instrument" of the democratic cause and that "it has the goodwill and the best wishes of all who are concerned with the future of democracy." Which is precisely, as said, what the united front is hourly scheming to achieve—to pull the wool over the eyes of authorities and of the people. Another, of the President's family, has gone out of the way unwittingly to inspire the alien spirit that undoubtedly controls this world congress. The President also sent a letter of regard to the American Youth Congress at its last December meeting, at Poughkeepsie.

Let us come to our own city, New York. The American Student Union has a tie to Moscow, which, I think I can readily prove. At a time when its members took the so-called oxford oath, engaging them to have no part in any way, offensive or defensive, waged by the United States Government, the board of higher education, through a blanket ruling, sponsored by Joseph McGoldrick, then a member of the board and now comptroller of New York City, provided that the American Student Union had to be officially recognized by the authorities of the colleges of the city of New York, as had or has practically any other sort of organization, propagandist or not, seeking credentials. Previously the board had voted down the application of the American Student Union. On that occasion

a member of the board, according to the World-Telegram, declared impatiently that the permission would be given when the mayor would have had an opportunity to appoint others to succeed retiring members of the board.

This was almost at the same time when the R. O. T. C. was refused an organization in the college.

We need not, then, insist that communism is a danger to Brooklyn College, a danger to the country, to its traditions, a danger to education in general. It is bent upon flouting any authority not of its own creation, it is set on pulling down discipline in the colleges and is already to an appreciable extent succeeding, it is keen on destroying reputations, on dissembling and of thus encouraging the habits of trickery and deceit, all of which, we take it, is positively opposed to everything that the finest culture of the ages has ever represented and has ever sought to eradicate all belief in the supernatural.

There is an article here in the folder, Radicals Double Faced. That is in folder 19.

To offset this unhappy condition something more constructive than has been done must be attempted. Here is a matter for study for best minds. I will not enter into this now. For one thing, however, our students should be sympathetically shown that the hated capitalism is not an evil in itself. Most of them are too immature to grasp such a conception, after all the propaganda, without ceaseless repetition and consistent and friendly amplification—a procedure that communism appreciates so thoroughly. They must be brought to see that there is the difference of a world between a thing and the abuse of it.

Capitalism, after all, is representative of the competitive spirit, the individual spirit, the spirit that has made America unique among the great nations of all time. The competitive spirit is essentially democratic, leaving final decisions in every instance with the masses. Business of all categories, inclusive of our strongest corporations, are ultimately dependent upon the people. Let them fail to serve as they should and they can be peacefully annihilated by this same people as if overnight. How often has this not happened among us? Even when, in instances, capitalism seems forever entrenched, the genius of the people, with new inventions, with new processes, can readily humble it to the ground. Assisted by the Government, which the people can also control, capitalism can be taught its lesson, lessons that it can never lose, can never afford to lose.

Are we prepared to replace, or to see replaced, our system of government and economics, a system that has served us so well, that brought us in so short a time from humble beginnings to greatness, that gave us a freedom heretofore unknown, shall we replace it, we ask, or allow it to be replaced, for an alien system that is imposed, and imposed from the top, that permits only one party, wherein the individual loses his dignity and his significance, for a will-o'-the-wisp among the systems of history, for the untried thing in all the world, the thing called totalitarianism?

Given half a chance, free, even somewhat free, from this incessant imposition known as propaganda, now adversely inspiring or conditioning hundreds of them, our students would be too appreciative of their unique advantages, knowing, as we do, that these students are normal, that they are intelligent, to be detained longer in blind

alleys by no less inexperienced, because mostly youthful, Communist pedagogues, half-baked philosophers, and designing political and economic Socialists.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor, from your observation and experience in Brooklyn College, are you prepared to say that communism has gained a definite foothold among the student body?

Professor FENLON. Yes, sir; I would say there are 1,000 anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that it is increasing there?

Professor FENLON. I would not say that, but I would say that it is increasing in influence.

The CHAIRMAN. It is increasing in influence.

Professor FENLON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true of the faculty, too?

Professor FENLON. I would say so; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have knowledge with reference to any other institutions besides Brooklyn College?

Professor FENLON. It is only hearsay. I cannot speak for any other institution.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for coming here and giving us the benefit of your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF PROF. EARL A. MARTIN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your full name?

Professor MARTIN. Earl A. Martin.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation or profession?

Professor MARTIN. I am chairman of the biology department of the college, and for the past year I have been serving as chairman of the building committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You are chairman of the biology department of Brooklyn College, and for the past year you have been serving as what?

Professor MARTIN. As chairman for the building committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a prepared statement, have you not?

Professor MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Dealing with communism in Brooklyn College?

Professor MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been connected with that institution?

Professor MARTIN. I came to City College, I think, in 1920, and then, when they established an extension of City College—I think it was in 1926—in Brooklyn, I was transferred to this extension of City College. In that same year Hunter College established an extension in Brooklyn and later those two extensions were brought together, and President Boylan was made president of the New Brooklyn College.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Professor MARTIN. Before reading my formal statement, I should like the committee to know that the three of us who have prepared statements for this committee have prepared their statements independently. We have not collaborated in the preparation of our

statements for the committee. The committee, therefore, has the reaction of three members of the faculty who have looked at this problem from different points of view. I would also like to state that I do not pose as a specialist in communism. My connection with this subject arose because the publication of this Communist literature in the college had become so extensive that, because of the heckling, it actually prevented me from discharging my duties as effectively as I would have been able to do. Last spring, another professor, Mr. Coonfield and myself, took a brief case full of Communist literature, and sent it to the editor of the Brooklyn Eagle, because it was a Brooklyn paper, and asked the Eagle to write a series of articles on the subject of communism in Brooklyn College.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they write them?

Professor MARTIN. Yes, sir; they wrote them. The articles were not written by ourselves. We gave the literature to the Eagle and they were written by a reporter on the Eagle. In those articles are quotations from my statement concerning the subject, and I presume that it is through them that the committee has obtained our names. I would like to say further that Professor Coonfield and I have collaborated in the preparation of this statement.

The Communist Party has been very active in Brooklyn College for several years. Their chief publicity organ is a periodical known as the Staff, which is "issued monthly by the Brooklyn College unit of the Communist Party of America." Besides the regularly printed Staff, there are numerous mimeographed sheets that the Communist Party distributes at the college. The Staff and a considerable number of the mimeographed sheets (together with other Communist publications) are mailed to members of the college staff as second-class mail. Besides these, Communist circulars are handed out to students on the campus or on the streets, just outside the campus. All Communist publications that concern the college are anonymous. The Staff has printed addresses for mailing contributions and articles, but those who have gone to these addresses have reported that none of these are the headquarters of the paper.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Brooklyn College supported by the city of New York?

Professor MARTIN. The city of New York supports City College, Hunter College, Brooklyn College, and Queens College. All of them are municipal institutions.

Mr. MOSIER. Does Brooklyn College have a board of trustees?

Professor MARTIN. All of these institutions are under the supervision of the board of higher education.

Mr. MOSIER. Who appoints the board of higher education?

Professor MARTIN. The board of higher education is appointed by the mayor.

Mr. MOSIER. Do they have certain specific terms that they are appointed for?

Professor MARTIN. I believe that each trustee is appointed for a period of 9 years.

Mr. MOSIER. How many are there on the board?

Professor MARTIN. I think there are approximately 21. I am not absolutely certain, but I think it is 21.

Mr. MOSIER. So that, in theory, at least, the mayor of the city of New York could dominate this college by his appointments to the board of trustees?

Professor MARTIN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number of the student body of Brooklyn College?

Professor MARTIN. Professor Fenlon has given you 11,000. I think that is approximately correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the faculty are there?

Professor MARTIN. I do not know the exact number of the faculty.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. Proceed.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you another question: How many of the 21 trustees has the present mayor of New York appointed since he took office, if you know?

Professor MARTIN. I do not know the exact number, but I believe that it is a majority of the trustees.

Mr. MOSIER. A majority of the trustees?

Professor MARTIN. I think that is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. Have been appointed by the present mayor of New York since he took office?

Professor MARTIN. I think that is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Professor MARTIN. The Staff has printed addresses for mailing contributions and articles, but those who have gone to these addresses have reported that none of these are the headquarters of the paper. The regularly printed publication bears a union label that has been defaced to such an extent that it cannot be identified. In one or two instances, a number appears adjacent to this union label but it is very doubtful whether this number has any significance.

The committee will observe that Professor Fenlon had more information on that subject than I have.

I am herewith presenting for your inspection a considerable number of copies of the aforementioned Staff. All of these have been received by me or other members of the Department of Biology and are taken from the files of that department. The articles that appear in this paper may be classified under the following general headings:

Now, I call the committee's attention to the fact that in this report I have dealt only with the Staff, not with any other Communist or Communist-affiliated publications, and I have done so because the Staff is obviously an official organ of the Communist Party.

My classification of the literature that appears in the Staff follows under the general headings:

- A. Personal attacks on administrative officials of the college.
- B. Appeal for greater democracy.
- C. Dissemination of general information concerning the Communist program and specific information concerning the Communist program in Brooklyn College.
- D. Attempt to discourage loyalty to American institutions.

A. PERSONAL ATTACKS ON ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS OF THE COLLEGE

There have been repeated personal attacks on the administrative officials of the college. The general idea that the president, dean, and departmental heads are dictators, who rule with an iron hand, appears frequently in different articles. Your particular attention is called to the references listed below. I believe that you will find this one of the principal characteristics of Communist literature, not only at Brooklyn College, but elsewhere.

Enclosure A-1. Another Robinson in the Making. (The Staff, January 1938.)

Enclosure A-2. Our Departmental Heads; I. Martin Meyer. (The Staff, March 1938.)

Enclosure A-3. Hillary and Tammany. (The Staff, March 1938.)

I submit for your information these copies of The Staff, the first one dated January 1938, with the article called "Another Robinson in the Making."

The president of Brooklyn College, President Boylan, is sick. He went on sick leave, and the Board of Higher Education appointed Dean Cosenza to act in his place, and that appointment was greeted with this article.

Here is another dated March 1938, entitled "Our Departmental Heads"; and in that same issue of the Staff here is one about the custodial engineer, Mr. Hillary, entitled "Hillary and Tammany."

B. APPEAL FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY

An appeal for greater democracy has been one of the outstanding points stressed in the Communist publications. The idea of the whole group in the college voting on all major decisions in college policy is one of their major tenets. I do not believe that the Communists have any intention of abiding by democratic decisions. This is shown by the article in the Staff that was published after the majority of the faculty of the college had condemned the action of the Communist Party and the teachers' union, with regard to the methods they had employed in supporting the case of Klein, a tutor, who was later dismissed by the Board of Higher Education.

Enclosure B-1. Article in the Staff entitled "Local Hearsts on the move," May 1937.

Enclosure B-2. Mimeographed sheets of the Staff, dated May 1937.

Enclosure B-3. A Democratic Front at the College. (The Staff, dated May-June 1938.)

Enclosure B-4. Behind the Red-Baiting. (The Staff, February 1938.)

Enclosure B-1, the article in the Staff entitled "Local Hearsts on the Move," is the reaction of the Communists to this faculty meeting in which their activities were condemned. The subheading here is "Group of Red-baiters Call Special Faculty Meeting in Attempt to Attack Teachers' Union."

Enclosure B-2 is a mimeographed sheet concerning the same subject.

Enclosure B-3 is an article entitled "A Democratic Front at the College."

Enclosure B-4 is another article entitled "Behind the Red-Baiting." I will read the first paragraph in this enclosure.

Why the widespread attack upon the Communist Party during the past weeks? Why the outcries from the confirmed right through the supposed liberal to the super-left? Why in this extremely critical period of world history is so much time and energy given to "exposing" the "reds"?

Then the article goes on quite extensively.

C. DISSEMINATION OF GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM AND SPECIFIC INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM IN BROOKLYN COLLEGE

In this section of my report I have let the Communists speak for themselves. This introduction is mine.

It has never been possible to eliminate political propaganda entirely from our educational institutions. Nevertheless, most civic-minded citizens concede that politics should be kept out of our institutions of learning. In almost every publication of The Staff, there are articles spreading the gospel of communism.

In an article in The Staff, dated May 1, 1935, entitled "Why Communists?" (enclosure C-1), the writer states:

* * * We did not seek positions at this college for the purpose of spreading "Communist propaganda" among you. To the contrary, we have turned toward communism for the most part during the period of our service to the college, this period of the crisis, of unemployment and misery, of world economic and political chaos. We have become Communists because we have found that the Communist Party alone has a clear realistic program through which not only our present problems can be solved, but by means of which a new and better society may be realized. At the same time that we are Communists we are Americans. In fact, it is precisely because we are Americans, because we love our country, that we seek to overthrow the power of the industrial barons and financial dictators in order that the great body of American people might live a decent life. We are the true heirs of the American Revolution of 1776. We believe literally in the words of the Declaration of Independence that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness) it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government."

Now, there is the revolution served up in a palatable form to students of Brooklyn College.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, as a reader of that article, would you not get the impression that they were advocating an overthrow of the present system of American government?

Professor MARTIN. I think that is what it indicates.

Mr. MOSIER. Is not that a logical conclusion, and the only conclusion?

Professor MARTIN. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn, and it has been dressed up in the most innocuous form.

Later, in the same article, the writer states:

We have learned, through experience of the rapacity of our own capitalist class, through our experience of its complete domination of our government, through its increasing terrorism against any who struggle for a better life, that only the united struggle of the broadest strata of workers, farmers, and white-collar groups, led by a militant fighting party, the Communist Party, with a scientific understanding of our society and a clear view of its objectives, can lead our country out of its misery into better social order. We are therefore members of that party, coworkers with all the oppressed of the earth for a socialist society.

Mr. MOSIER. Referring again to what you have just read, who was the writer of that article, if you know?

Professor MARTIN. I do not know who the writer of that article is.

Mr. MOSIER. I was not here at the beginning of the testimony. I presume from what I have heard that the Staff is a publication of your college.

Professor MARTIN. The Staff is an anonymous publication, which bears on its front page, "Published by the Brooklyn College Unit of the Communist Party of America."

Mr. MOSIER. But it is anonymous?

Professor MARTIN. It is anonymous.

Mr. MOSIER. It is simply printed and distributed around the college?

Professor MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Doctor, let me ask you this question: From your knowledge of the principles of the Communist Party, and from the issues of this Staff, which you have read, would you conclude that the statement which you have just read would be a fair statement of the principles of the Communist Party?

Professor MARTIN. I think so; yes.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, in general, advocating the overthrow of the present system of American government?

Professor MARTIN. I do not see any other interpretation that can be placed on it.

In December 1935, in an editorial in the Staff, entitled "Student and Teacher," the writer declares:

* * * We see that in the Soviet Union, where the working class won power by the November revolution of 1917, the exploitation of labor by capital has been abolished and a new society has arisen in which the opportunities of education and the benefits of the arts and sciences are the common property of all. We see that educational institutions are flourishing there as never before in history and that students and teachers are welded together in a common effort which has as its aim the fullest well-being of all society.

Quoting further:

Some teachers honestly fear the loss of their jobs under communism. That is a completely unwarranted fear (save for incurable reactionaries), as is shown by the fact that even today in the Soviet Union a large proportion of teachers in institutions of higher learning were teachers in the same institutions in Czarist days. No; it is not communism we need to fear in the interests of our jobs, but the inevitable retrenchment that is taking place in education in America today under a declining capitalist rule. And if our efforts do not prevent the coming of Fascist reaction we know full well that educational budgets will be drastically cut, the number of students in our colleges will be diminished by economic pressure or by law (as has happened in Nazi Germany), and all honest and liberal teachers will be thrown out of their jobs. Particularly is this true in public institutions such as ours. We are Communists and we combine our efforts as students and teachers because we know that only a Socialist society will expand educational facilities and provide jobs for an ever increasing number of graduates in all fields of activity.

(Enclosure C-2, the Staff, December 1935.)

Now, that is obviously an appeal to the faculty of Brooklyn College by the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it not a fact, Doctor, that there are more students in the high schools of America than at any time in history?

Professor MARTIN. That is, I think, true.

Mr. Mosier. And is it not true that there are more students in colleges in America than at any other time in history?

Professor MARTIN. That is true.

Mr. Mosier. Is it not true that there are more students in public-supported institutions, such as your college, than at any other time in history?

Professor MARTIN. Yes, sir. I have a statement on that later.

In January 1936 the staff published an article entitled "Communist Teachers." This article which is quoted below, states the position of Communist teachers in public institutions.

The Staff has carried several editorials on teachers as Communists. Two fundamental questions have yet to be discussed. They are concerned with what Communist teachers teach and with the right of teachers to engage in political activity. Both of these questions were answered by I. Amter, organizer of the New York district of the Communist Party, in an open letter to Dr. Harold G. Campbell, chairman of the board of superintendents. In answer to the scurrilous attacks of Hearst on all liberal and progressive elements in our schools, calling them all indiscriminately Communist, and attacking them for teaching communism. Amter insists that Communists do not teach communism in their classes. His letter says, "May I emphatically state that teachers in our public schools who may be members of, or influenced by, the Communist Party, do not teach communism in the public schools. The Communist Party maintains its own instructional staff for the purpose of teaching the principles and objectives of communism to anyone who may be interested." The point has been made that Communist teachers cannot help but interpret their respective subject-matters in Marxist terms. No one can deny the truth of this, but, does not every teacher interpret his subject from some standpoint (in fact he cannot be a good teacher if he does not do so)? As Communists we exercise only the same right exercised consciously or unconsciously, by all teachers, whether Democrat or Republican, Protestant or Catholic. We seek to throw the fullest and best knowledge on whatever comes before us and to present the various points of view to our students for their criticism and analysis.

Now, I take that as an excuse for their interpretation of the subject in Communist terms.

Mr. Mosier. Do you know who is the author of that editorial quoting the letter from Amter?

Professor MARTIN. I do not.

Mr. Mosier. You may state, if you know, where the Communists maintain these school for the teaching of communism.

Professor MARTIN. I do not know that.

Mr. Mosier. Do you know whether or not they maintain such a school to teach the workers on W. P. A. communism?

Professor MARTIN. No; I do not know that.

Continuing the quotation:

As for our independent political activity Amter's letter continues: "We emphatically maintain that teachers, just as other Americans, have the right to choose whatever political affiliation they desire. Moreover, school officials have neither the moral nor the legal right to question teachers as to their political opinion or activity. It is basic in our very concept of American democracy, that political affiliation or activity cannot be the criterion of a teacher's right to teach in our public schools."

Enclosure C-3, the Staff, January 1936, editorial entitled "Communist Teachers."

Also, attention is called to the editorial in the Staff, June 1937, entitled "Commencement" (enclosure C-4, the Staff, June 1937).

I am presenting these copies in evidence.

The above articles are obviously attempts to convert members of the faculty and students to communism. It is my opinion that propadanga of this sort has no place in American educational institutions. While there is no written law against the publication of political propaganda in our schools and colleges, neither of our major American parties have indulged in this method of propaganda to any great extent.

MR. MOSIER. And it is true, Doctor, is it not, that neither of our major political parties advocates the overthrow of the present system of American Government?

PROFESSOR MARTIN. That is true; and I may be wrong, but I do not believe that the Democratic Party or the Republican Party has official publications such as these in any educational institution.

D. ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE LOYALTY TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

In spite of the fact there is ample evidence today to show that any country incapable of defending itself cannot survive, the Communists in the United States carry on propaganda against any program in this country and others, except Soviet Russia, to protect themselves in case of war. The R. O. T. C. has been ridiculed, as well as appropriations for the defense of the United States. The only conclusion that I can draw from this program is that the Communists are not loyal to American institutions and do not consider them worth defending. The columns that appear frequently in the Staff entitled "In the Rocket's Red Glare" and "Bombs Bursting in Air" are obviously attempts to ridicule American patriotism.

When any normal human being is associated with an organization, or is a citizen of a country going through a difficult period that threatens to destroy its very foundations, the natural response is to resolve differences of opinions and work together to restore it to a healthy condition. This is not the attitude of the Communists in Brooklyn College. Particular attention is invited to the articles in the Staff, dated June 1936 and June 1937, entitled "Commencement." These articles, by taking advantage of the present economic situation, discourage loyalty to the American form of government by such statements as—and I call your particular attention to these statements:

You are entering upon a hostile world, which regards you as so much surplusage, a world that would rather call you a "lost generation" than do something to retrieve you; a world filled with turbulence, alarms, and preparations for wars; a world which, while it has no social use for you, will not hesitate to call you to sacrifice yourselves on the field of battle.—Enclosure D-1, the Staff, June 1936.

Now, this is in regard to the point that you raised a moment ago.

At the time these articles were written, the Federal Government and the city of New York were in the process of spending approximately \$6,000,000 to erect the new Brooklyn College.

That is in connection with the statement that you made a moment ago.

SUMMARY

The activity of the Communists in Brooklyn College has done great damage to the institution. It has lowered the morale of the faculty

and has created a feeling of distrust of one colleague in another. Inasmuch as all publications are anonymous, it is impossible to make any correct estimate of the number of Communists on the faculty and in the student body. The fact that no leaks have occurred through those responsible for these publications indicates that it is a small group on the staff of the college. Furthermore, from my general knowledge of the faculty and of the student body, I am personally convinced that the majority are not Communists.

Now, I want to call the committee's particular attention to that. This is not an attempt on our part to condemn Brooklyn College, but that is exactly what the Communists are going to twist it into. You will see by their literature that will come out after our testimony that that will be their major line of attack.

However, even though the group is in the minority, they are well organized, very articulate, and exert an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

How to combat this propaganda that emanates from foreign isms is a problem that demands careful study. The citizens of the United States have been accustomed to a form of government that is flexible and which permits a great deal of personal freedom. This condition can only exist where the average citizen conforms voluntarily to ethical conduct in cases where no laws cover the situation. It is to be hoped that your investigation may go a long way toward making the average citizen conscious of the danger that exists to American freedom in the spread of these foreign isms, and thereby start a regeneration of American ideals among the people as a whole.

That concludes my formal statement.

I have one other thing to mention here.

I listened to the testimony yesterday, and I was particularly impressed by Mr. Matthews' testimony. It almost seemed to me that Mr. Matthews could have used as his source material the points of view that are set forth in the Staff. Last night, with that thought in mind, I went through these publications and singled out certain articles, and I have listed them here. I do not think it is worth while for me to go through all of them. I have listed about 13 of them, I think, and I call your attention to the first one.

This is an article in the Staff dated June 1, 1935, on a United Youth Day.

NATION'S YOUTH TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

On May 30, the youth of our country march again in mass demonstration against war and fascism, in counter-demonstration to the military parades which have turned Memorial Day into a day of jingoism. The demonstration is called by the continuations committee of the American Youth Congress, representing nearly 2,000,000 working, student, and farm youth in various church, student, and political youth organizations.

Then, later in the article:

The tremendous increase in the numbers of those who will demonstrate this year gives clear indication of the growing realization that imperialist war is completely foreign to the interests of the great masses of youth. These youth pledge themselves not to support our Government in any war that it may conduct.

"But this is disloyalty!" cry the "patriots." If patriotism means loyalty to the best interests of the people of one's country, who are the patriots? Are they the capitalist politicians leading millions of workers to another slaughter, or the militant workers, farmers, students, and teachers who fight for peace in the interests of the majority of the people?

Memorial Day was ostensibly set aside to commemorate our dead. We Communists loved and vividly remember those who died in the last war to protect Morgan's loans, and still more do we love the living. So that no more shall die, we struggle against imperialist war and against fascism which leads inevitably to war. That is why we expose the professional "patriots" who try to use Memorial Day to whip up the war spirit.

I do not know how many you want me to read. I do not think it would be worth while to go through these. I suggest that you take these and go through the Staff and correlate them with the statement of Mr. Matthews, of yesterday. However, if you want me to continue, I shall do so.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think there is any necessity for that. (The statements referred to are as follows:)

ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS FAVORED BY THE BROOKLYN COLLEGE UNIT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

1. United Youth Day. June 1, 1935.
2. C. I. World Congress. October 1, 1935. Communist International Urges United Front Against Fascism.
3. Congress Against War. February 1936.
4. Another Browder Broadcast. April 1936.
5. One Solid Rank of Workers. May 1936.
6. The Coming Election. October 1936. A Vote for Browder and Ford is a Vote for the Peoples Front and Against Fascism.
7. On the Eve of Elections. November 1936.
8. Now a Labor Party. December 1936.
9. Progress versus Reaction. October 1937.
10. For a Common Front Against the War Makers, by Earl Browder. October 1937.
11. Students in Action.
12. World Youth Meet to Discuss Peace. July 1938.
13. Reorganization. Its Promises and Pitfalls. July 1938. page 3.

I suggest that you take these and correlate them.

There is one other point. I just want to call attention to the fact that here is an issue of the Staff, dated August 1938, so the Staff is quite active up to the present time.

Here is an interesting reaction to the reorganization that was mentioned by Professor Fenlon.

This issue of the Staff is dated July 1938, and this is concerning the new reorganization at the college. It says:

The success of democratic organization is not assured merely by the passage of the bylaws. It must be guaranteed by constant effort and vigilance to nurse the system through its infancy. Reactionaries will not surrender readily nor will they refrain from attempts to sabotage and disrupt. Accustomed to the privileges of the past and well versed in the practices of petty politics, they will try through cliques, demagoguery, and promises of patronage to perpetuate the old system under a democratic cloak. Already, evidence of such maneuvers has appeared. In one department, a committee on appointments was elected (to stimulate democracy) and then violated the essential feature of democracy by keeping secret and unreviewable an appointment they had made to the teaching staff. However, it is not only from reactionaries but from ourselves as well that we may expect difficulties. Our past training as students and teachers has never given us the opportunity to exercise our democratic rights and duties. This combination of inexperience and reactionary sabotage will produce minor frictions which must not permit us to be discouraged. In addition, the special problems of the evening and summer session, whose solution is possible only through the extension of the reorganization plan to include these sessions, will make difficult at the present time the full realization of the benefits of democratic organization. Should disappointments, unfulfilled hopes, dissatisfactions occur, let us not fall into the error of placing the blame on the democratic

system, but instead search out and eliminate the saboteurs, the impeters, the cankers and deficiencies, and proceed to a new collegiate life educating the youth of today for the world of tomorrow.

Here is the intention expressed of eliminating the saboteurs; this is the reaction to democracy. They have no intention, once they get in power, and undoubtedly, they will not subscribe to any democratic principles.

I think there is one additional point I might mention.

Not only does the Communist Party circulate this Staff, but they include with it letters sent through the mail, and other Communist tracts.

Here is a letter received by me with the Staff in it, and with this publication and this other literature.

Mr. Mosier. You mean to say that literature is sent through the United States mails?

Professor MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. Mosier. Literature which advocates the overthrow of the American Government.

Professor MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. I believe you testified that a majority of this board of trustees, or board of governors, that control these municipal institutions in New York, have been appointed by the present mayor since he took office.

Professor MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. Mosier. Do you know, or do you have any knowledge, as to whether any of them are members of the Communist Party?

Professor MARTIN. I doubt very much whether any members of the board of higher education are members of the party.

Mr. Mosier. It is true, is it not, that most of them are so-called liberals?

Professor MARTIN. Yes; I think that expresses the point of view. But, of course, you must remember that saying a man is a liberal does not necessarily mean that.

Mr. STARNES. That does not mean anything, anyway.

Professor MARTIN. That is the point. Liberalism has no definition.

The CHAIRMAN. The true origin of liberalism is found among those who favored freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom of assemblage, and free competition in the capitalistic system. That was the orthodox definition and origin of liberalism which has since been perverted so that in many instances those who favor some system of collectivism are destroying the very things that have been heretofore regarded as essential to liberalism.

The Communists, in other words, claim that they are liberals when, as a matter of fact, they destroy every liberal principle as in Russia, for instance, the only country in which they have had an opportunity to demonstrate the practice of communism, as we have learned from these hearings; is not that a fact?

Professor MARTIN. That is right. I cannot see anything that may be called liberalism in any of the philosophies that lead to a totalitarian state.

The CHAIRMAN. What is true in Russia is also true in Germany and in Italy. It is a form of dictatorship as strong or even stronger than fascism and mazi-ism, but they are absolutely silent when it comes to that question.

Professor MARTIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That demonstrates more eloquently than anything else could that there is that close tie-up or link between the Communist movement and these other forces and movements that we have been talking about.

Mr. STARNES. They are self-styled liberals.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

We thank you very much for your statement, Professor. The next witness this morning is Prof. Martin Meyer. Your name is Prof. Martin Meyer?

TESTIMONY OF PROF. MARTIN MEYER, BROOKLYN COLLEGE,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman).

Professor MEYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are also a member of the faculty of Brooklyn College, New York?

Professor MEYER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been on the faculty of Brooklyn College?

Professor MEYER. I joined the faculty of the City College in 1918 and was transferred to the Brooklyn Center of the City College in 1926, and remained there when that Brooklyn Center became the Brooklyn College in 1930, and I have been there ever since. At present I am acting as chairman of the department of chemistry.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here under subpoena, as is true with reference to the other two witnesses we have heard this morning.

Professor MEYER. Yes and no. The subpoena has not been actually served upon me by courtesy of Mr. Birmingham.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement. You have been ill, have you not, Professor?

Professor MEYER. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been confined with illness recently?

Professor MEYER. For the last 6 weeks, and I was unable to tell as late as yesterday whether I would be able to appear before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Professor MEYER. I may say by way of introduction, Mr. Chairman, that I am a chemist and not an expert in political science. I know little about communism or communistic principles except as a target for them at the present time, and what I have to relate is simply a factual statement of what I did in an effort to secure at Brooklyn College an organization which, it seems to me, can hardly be opposed by any intelligent and loyal American citizen.

This is an account of an effort, for some time unsuccessful, to secure an R. O. T. C. unit, a unit of the R. O. T. C. at the Brooklyn College.

The students at Brooklyn College made several attempts to secure a unit of the R. O. T. C., the last in the spring of 1937, through the faculty curriculum committee, and that committee, on November 4, 1937, after consideration of a petition signed by 130 students, "unanimously voted not to recommend the introduction of an R. O. T. C. in the curriculum of Brooklyn College."

That quotation is taken from the minutes of a meeting of the faculty of Brooklyn College.

A group of students approached me in December 1937, and asked me to be their faculty adviser and assist them in their efforts to secure a unit of the R. O. T. C.

I accepted, chiefly because it seemed to me that there was not anyone else ready and willing to accept that responsibility. It also seemed to me that such a commendable effort, especially in these times, on the part of our students, should have the support of a member of the faculty.

Shortly thereafter, on January 17, 1938, the board of higher education amended its bylaws by an article generally known as the McGoldrick resolution, which has been referred to previously, which permitted the establishment of any club not antireligious or military.

The part of that article which especially relates to what I have to say is worth reading, for two reasons: First, it is generally understood that this article was passed by the board of higher education in order to permit the American Student Union to function at the college.

MR. MASON. And will you add, to not permit, if we can express it that way, the R. O. T. C. from being organized—to forbid it, in other words?

PROFESSOR MEYER. With your permission, I should prefer not to add that, because it is my contention that this resolution specifically permits both an R. O. T. C. club, which I favor, and which I have succeeded in obtaining, and also the R. O. T. C., provided only that the board of higher education or the faculty approve it.

MR. MOSIER. Who are the board of higher education; what is the board of higher education?

PROFESSOR MEYER. The board of higher education is the official governing body of the city colleges, of the College of the City of New York, which is its proper corporate name.

MR. MOSIER. Is that the board to which the previous witness referred when he said it was composed of 21 members appointed by the mayor of New York city?

PROFESSOR MEYER. I believe that is correct.

MR. MOSIER. Is this Mr. McGoldrick a member of that board?

PROFESSOR MEYER. Mr. McGoldrick was a member of the board. He has since resigned, I believe.

THE CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

PROFESSOR MEYER. I would like to read now an extract from article VII; "Discipline and Control of Students."

MR. MOSIER. Let me ask you one more question on that. Did the McGoldrick resolution have any connection with his resignation?

PROFESSOR MEYER. Not as far as I know. I am not sure, but I believe his resignation had to do with his election or appointment to another position in the City of New York.

MR. MOSIER. Who made that appointment?

PROFESSOR MEYER. I am not familiar with that.

THE CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

PROFESSOR MEYER. I would like to read from article VII, Discipline and Control of Students, an amendment to the bylaws adopted by

the board of higher education on January 17, 1938, reading as follows: lows:

The faculties shall through their appropriate committees supervise extra-curriculum activities and may charter or otherwise authorize teams and publications. The faculties shall have full power to regulate, suspend or discontinue the extra-curriculum activities of any student or group, in the interests of the effective conduct of the college or school as an institution of higher learning.

This next sentence is especially applicable to what I have to say today:

Any group of students may form an organization, association, club, or chapter by filing with an officer to be designated by the faculty (1) the name and purposes of the organization, association, club or chapter and (2) the names and addresses of its president and secretary or other officers corresponding in function to president and secretary. However, no group with a program against religion in general or against the religion of a particular group or any race shall be permitted to organize. No organization, military or semimilitary in character, not connected with established college courses shall be permitted without the authorization of the proper faculty and the board.

Under the terms of this resolution I conceived the idea of a club, legally established, to work for the establishment ultimately of an R. O. T. C., because I felt that having an unorganized group to work directly for the R. O. T. C. would be futile and a waste of time; whereas, I hoped by establishing a club which I felt could be done automatically under this resolution we could thereby have a permanent nucleus which might grow in size up to the point where sentiment might then compel recognition of the R. O. T. C.

In the course of this process, however, on February 15, 1938, a letter from Mr. Thomas F. Killcourse was presented to the faculty at its regular meeting, asking the faculty to consider the matter of establishing an R. O. T. C. unit.

It might be said that Mr. Killcourse is a member of the Flatlands Post of the American Legion, and both the Kings County and the Flatlands Post and other Brooklyn units of the Legion have for some time been interested in the R. O. T. C. movement, and have been most cooperative in their desire to be of assistance.

In this particular case, however, my opinion had been asked, and I had strongly advised, in fact, even urged, that this letter be not sent to our faculty, because I foresaw the result, and I felt that it might prejudice the thing which I was attempting to do.

However, my advice in this connection was not taken; the letter was written and was presented to the faculty at this particular meeting.

The faculty received this letter. As soon as I heard it read and saw the form which the discussion was taking, I moved that a reply to the letter be tabled, on the ground that time did not permit the discussion of as large a question as that which was presented should have, and it seemed to me it was a chance method.

The motion to table was defeated, and a motion that this faculty go on record as sustaining the action of the curriculum committee, which was a denial of the R. O. T. C., was passed by a vote of 53 to 17, and we faced the first failure in connection with this effort to establish an R. O. T. C. unit.

I made then next an effort before the faculty committee on student affairs to secure recognition of the R. O. T. C. Club. That effort was predicated directly on the McGoldrick resolution, and the personal

request which I made to Acting President Cosenza, as to who the officer might be to whom such a request should be made, under the terms of this resolution.

He directed me to apply to the chairman of the committee on student affairs, which I did, as follows:

"By direction of Acting President M. E. Cosenza"—this letter is addressed to Prof. John Whyte, chairman, faculty committee on student affairs, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.

It says:

By direction of Acting President M. E. Cosenza and in conformance with the amendment to the bylaws adopted by the board of higher education on January 17, 1938, we desire to file with you the following information about our club:

1. Name. The name is "The R. O. T. C. Club."

2. The purposes of our club as set forth in our constitution and ratified by our present membership are—

These are especially interesting. It has always been difficult for me to understand how anyone could oppose the existence of a club which had purposes one might always say as naive as some of these. These were really formulated by the students. While, to be sure, I guided them to some extent, they represent the ideas of this very fine, unstanding group of students, and I take no credit whatever for any part of the authorship of these purposes.

It seemed to me, in view of the fact that we have been singled out as an institution to be investigated here, that this committee should know that there are groups of students who regard the purposes set forth here as being seriously needed. Those purposes are:

a. The study and intellectual appreciation of indigenous American culture, ideas, arts, and institutions.

b. Collection and dissemination of information concerning the R. O. T. C.

c. The establishment of an elective R. O. T. C. unit as part of the Brooklyn College curriculum.

d. To engage in student social activities.

The letter also says:

3. The names and addresses of our present officers are:

President, John Aylward, 3941 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn.

Secretary, John Hennessy, 10599 Union Hall Street, Jamaica, Long Island.

Faculty Advisor, Prof. Martin Meyer, Brooklyn College.

And the letter is signed by "John Hennessy, secretary, R. O. T. C. Club, by direction of the Club."

That letter, in my opinion, conforms with all the requirements of the resolution which we have just read, but I had some doubts in my own mind as to whether it would be so thought of by the committee.

So I had a personal conference with Professor Whyte, the chairman of the committee. The conference was very brief. In substance, his opinion, stated to me, was that the club, nevertheless, was military in nature, despite the specific formulation of its purposes, and he did not feel that it would be approved.

The committee, however, met to consider the matter. I was invited, after some correspondence, to represent the club before the committee. I did, on March 17, and then on March 18, 1938, the secretary of the R. O. T. C. Club received a letter which said:

Mr. JOHN HENNESSY:

I regret to inform you that the faculty committee on student activities has refused to grant the R. O. T. C. Club a charter because of subdivision (c) of your statement of purposes—

and we had our second defeat.

The CHAIRMAN. You finally got it on an appeal to the board of higher education, did you not?

Professor MEYER. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. The point you are making is that you met active opposition to the establishment of an R. O. T. C. Club, which is unquestionably a patriotic organization.

Professor MEYER. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And sponsors national defense and the unholding of our institutions, whereas the American Student Union, which is allegedly a Communist organization, or controlled by the Communists, has no such difficulties: is that the point you are driving home?

Professor MEYER. That is the point, and furthermore, at this meeting of the faculty committee on student affairs, where the R. O. T. C. Club was turned down, the Karl Marx Forum was approved at the same meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you conclude your statement, Professor?

Professor MEYER. I appealed this decision to the faculty of Brooklyn College. On April 14, 1938, the faculty tabled the motion for recognition of the club.

I appealed this decision to the board of higher education where finally, on June 6, 1938, the club was officially recognized, which is its present situation.

The club held a final mass meeting on June 17, 1938, in celebration of its recognition, where an organized effort was made to break it up.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by an organized effort?

Professor MEYER. The meeting was held in a room of the college. At the opening of the meeting there were present in the room, I should say, about 300 people.

We had several invited speakers, a minister, a representative from the American Legion, and others.

The meeting had hardly gotten under way, and one member of the American Legion was speaking, when a young man arose in the audience and objected to a statement that was made and demanded that the meeting be made an open forum, and that the adversaries be permitted to express their views.

The president of the club had already announced that this was not an open forum meeting but merely to hear speakers who had been invited to address the club.

This young man persisted in asking questions. When the speaker refused to give up the floor, this young man got up and demanded—and the thing was obviously arranged—that all those who thought that to be unfair should leave the room. Whereupon about half of the audience arose and filed out. We were pleased that about half of the audience did remain, and about 150 auditors remained for the balance of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. You may continue your statement.

Professor MEYER. During the course of events previously enumerated, I was subjected to a continuous barrage of material in printed papers and leaflets bearing the imprint of the Communist Party. This committee has a great many before it, because I saw the complete file given to you.

In the meetings of the faculty committees and of the faculty, it was my distinct impression that much of the opposition was at least not upon purely intellectual grounds.

That concludes my formal statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Professor Meyer.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF MISS MARGARET KERR

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kerr, will you turn over to the committee all the material you have; that is, all the material dealing with subversive activities on the west coast?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is material gathered by your federation over a long period of time?

Miss KERR. No, sir; this is mostly current material, which shows the activities of the Comintern on the Pacific coast.

In this file I have noted the contents. Here you will find a photostat press release showing their headquarters throughout the United States. You will find instructions that have been issued on the coast, tying in with the Comintern. You will find minutes of the Communist Party of Los Angeles at their county meeting in May. You will also find in detail the account of the proceedings of the California State convention of the Communist Party. You will also find an account of the proceedings at a meeting in Seattle of the north-west district in this one file.

This file also contains an index of Communist activities. This contains a duplicate file of the introduction of the sit-down strikes into America, when the meeting was held here in Washington, D. C., in 1936. And in that folder you will find names of some of the men who have been prominent in Labor Department activities, and copies of the scripts of the plays which were produced that evening under the auspices of the Brookwood Players. These plays were also scheduled to be staged in 150 cities and towns from Boston to Duluth and to Atlanta the following summer. They are derogatory of the United States Government and are a plea to stop recruiting; attack police authority; and are building sentiment for a sit-down strike in case America should be engaged in any future war.

Mr. STARNES. Who sponsored that play?

Miss KERR. The Brookwood Labor College were the players, and the meeting opened with a chant—

Mr. STARNES. Where is that located—the Brookwood Labor College?

Miss KERR. Katona, N. Y. They opened with a chant as follows:

We come the workers.
Red flag unfurled.
We come to take back
Our world.

That was the theme of the meeting.

Mr. MASON. That was held in Washington?

Miss KERR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. At what place?

Miss KERR. Almas Temple, Washington, D. C. That is at 1315 K Street NW.

Mr. STARNES. You said something about Labor Department officials sponsoring that play or the sit-down strike; did I understand you to say that a moment ago?

Miss KERR. They were sponsoring the Brookwood Players.

Mr. STARNES. They were sponsoring the Brookwood Players?

Miss KERR. David G. Saposs of the National Labor Relations Board was one of them. Others are listed here. You will find also mention of them in the contents of this file.

Mr. STARNES. They took an active part in sponsoring that play or the production of that play in Washington?

Miss KERR. Their names were publicized that night. I have photostatic copies of reference to them.

I also have photostatic copies of the press comment on the plays that were given and on Mr. Saposs' background.

In the front of this folder you will also find a photostatic copy of the Call to Action, which was issued by the left leaders in the United States, of which Roy Hudson, now of the central committee of the Communist Party, was a prominent committeeman.

This conference was held in Cleveland in August 1933. At that time the program of strikes as a preliminary to the Communist revolution in America was launched, and, following that particular conference, strikes out on the Pacific coast occurred in the agricultural and maritime industries in particular.

I have here a comment of the secretary of the Communist International, Dmitroff, on the Communist schools, together with a reproduction of some of the studies of the Communist schools in America.

I hand you at this time a file on the Young Communist League activities. In here you will find the report of their convention of last year. You will also find a copy of the Harvard Communist—that is, of the first two pages of it—published by the Harvard branch of the Young Communist League.

Mr. STARNES. They do not have Communists in Harvard, do they?

Miss KERR. Apparently. This also contains files of the booklets distributed by the young Communists, together with their latest publications which have been circulated out on the Pacific coast.

This file (producing another file) contains data concerning the American League for Peace and Democracy. It is also indexed and contains references which Earl Browder has made in praise of this league. Their proceedings of the fourth national congress are here, as is their program for their third congress.

They have held numerous meetings out on the Pacific coast and, in fact, some of them quite recently, which are recorded here. Anna Louise Strong, who writes for the Moscow Daily News, has spoken under their auspices. Some of the lesser constellation of the motion-picture stars in Hollywood have participated in their meetings. I leave this file for your consideration.

On August 11, 1938, in Washington, D. C., there was held a meeting of the Young Communist League. At this meeting of the Young Communist League in Washington, Mr. Dave Doran, who had been the political commissar of the international brigade in Spain, was honored. He was killed in Spain. I direct the attention of the committee to his record.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you suspend for a moment, Miss Kerr?

Miss KERR. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, in view of the limited funds that this committee has to operate with, and the limited personnel, I move you, sir, that the chairman be instructed to send to the President of the United States a letter which the chairman has placed before the committee this morning, requesting his active cooperation, by directing the various departments of the Federal Government, authorized under the resolution setting up this committee, to furnish us with assistance in the form of a legal staff, extra stenographers, and investigators.

Mr. MASON. I second the motion.

(The motion was agreed to.)

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

Continue, Miss Kerr.

Miss KERR. Mr. Dave Doran, according to the record of the Young Communist League, carried on an activity through the South and through the North and Middle West in behalf of the Communists before he left for Spain. His work, therefore, receives considerable recognition from them.

Reference to the world youth congress at Vassar College and other activities were noted that evening. The circulars distributed give the 21 or more districts of the Young Communist League throughout the United States. Other publications include pamphlets; Lenin Speaks to the Youth, and others are listed there for your information. This [producing file] is a file of a meeting of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which met in Los Angeles College in California on July 27. On that occasion special homage was paid by the Communists to eight of their comrades in California who have been killed in Spain.

I leave with you the Communist literature which was sold in front of the building, and the other data which were distributed at the meeting.

The International Labor Defense, the Communist legal defense, that evening sold tickets in the aisles of the Country Bride, which is an Akimo release from the Soviet Union which was showing downtown.

-I have here a miscellaneous assortment of data concerning the Spanish volunteers.

Here is a letter which I will leave, if you wish, which I received yesterday, addressed in care of the committee, which tells of the impossible situation that a mother of one of the boys encountered when she could get no information regarding her son.

Published as sponsors of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Rehabilitation Fund, Incorporated, of New York City, you will find Congressman John T. Bernard, James Cagney, Congressman John M. Coffey, and many other names.

In April I wrote the State Department asking regarding the status of men who go to Spain. It seems that unless the volunteers subscribe to an oath renouncing the United States, they do not lose their citizenship.

I have here a tabulation of the press release of May 25, 1938, showing the contributions of the various groups to the Loyalists in Spain. This is a release of the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing the amount of money that has been sent to Spain?

Miss KERR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the total figure is?

Miss KERR. It is on the last page.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this the correct figure?

Miss KERR. That is an exact copy of the release.

The CHAIRMAN. According to this, contributions received amounted to \$1,188,526.48.

Expenditures for relief in Spain, \$868,301.81.

Funds spent for administration, publicity, affairs, campaigns, etc., \$254,501.08.

Unexpended balance as of April 30, \$113,285.09.

You received this from the State Department?

Miss KERR. Yes.

Now, here is a miscellaneous assortment of literature concerning propaganda in behalf of loyalist Spain, distributed at various meetings in Los Angeles, including a special number of the International Press correspondence, the Communist editorial publication.

Mr. STARNES. I noticed in that list of contributions, the name of the American League for Peace and Democracy of New York City having made a contribution of \$4,183.12 for the aid of Loyalist Spain.

Miss KERR. Those are the figures of the State Department.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same League for Peace and Democracy that that paragon of peace and exemplar of the truth, Heywood Brown, favors?

Miss KERR. I have every reason to believe so.

I have some memoranda here as to a number of meetings which have been held under joint auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy on various occasions, and the United Youth Committee to aid Spanish Democracy; the Motion Picture Artists' Committee; the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, and others.

I recall at the meeting sponsoring Andre Malraux, who has been active in Spain and prominent in leftist activities in France, that when he stepped forward he received an ovation from the audience and responded with the Communist salute of upraised clenched fist, and many in the audience also responded to that salute.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that meeting?

Miss KERR. That was held in the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles, Calif., March 23, 1937. Donald Ogden Stewart presided; Ernest Toller was also introduced that evening.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next file?

Miss KERR. This is a file which contains literature of the Communist International distributed on the west coast. I would suggest that it be listed in the record because such activities in our opinion constitute an evasion, if not a direct violation, of the treaty with Soviet Russia.

This is a file of a Communist meeting which was held in Los Angeles, Calif., last March. At that time the oath was issued to 48 recruits who took the pledge to study the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin and Stalin, to work for peace and democracy, and, above all, to be loyal to the Communist Party.

This file also contains their political position and other information concerning their activities on the Pacific coast.

Gentlemen, here are a number of copies of the Midwest Daily Record, which is the Communist organ published in Chicago, and on the left-hand side, front page, you will notice a daily column conducted by Heywood Broun.

Here is a file of the Communist International Labor Defense containing—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). What is this Daily Record, a Communist publication, or not?

Miss KERR. That is the twin of the People's World, of San Francisco. The Midwest Daily Record is the Communist paper for the Middle West and the Daily Worker is, of course, supreme from New York City.

Mr. MOSIER. That copy you have there is under what date?

Mr. STARNES. July 23, 1938.

Miss KERR. And July 21.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Heywood Broun writes for those papers; and he is the man who testified here yesterday, is he not, Miss Kerr?

Miss KERR. I was not here in the afternoon, but, according to the press, I believe that is true.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, the record will speak for itself.

Miss KERR. Los Angeles has had its share of the Federal Theater attractions. But I believe you can go into that more thoroughly when you come to the coast, perhaps.

Activity in behalf of China has been publicized on the coast. I leave this propaganda, which is under the sponsorship of the Comintern, here with you.

I also bring to your attention the publications which are sold, and some of the details concerning the Fourth International, the Trotskyite movement, which is also functioning on the west coast.

The Communist Party of the United States at its convention, as you know, adopted a new constitution and bylaws, or rather a revision. That constitution and bylaws has been receiving the attention of the units on the Pacific coast for ratification. It, of course, gives allegiance to the Communist International and the editors of the Communist papers are supposed to be reliable members of the Communist Party. Whether Mr. Heywood Broun comes in that category or not, I could not personally say.

Mr. STARNES. I notice that he advocates in his column here that at the New York World's Fair there should be a melting-pot parade and that Thomas Mann should lead that parade. Thomas Mann is one of the world's most noted Communists, is he not?

Miss KERR. He has that reputation.

Then I have other data, if you wish it, gentlemen, and I have much more material on the Communist Party on the coast which will be presented at a later date, if you prefer.

The CHAIRMAN. Referring to this letter which you handed us a few moments ago, is this an authentic letter: did you get this letter?

Miss KERR. I received that yesterday. Mr. Stripling handed it to me. It was addressed to your office. I can bring you the envelope that it came in, if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Miss Kerr.

The committee wishes to restate that we desire to accord every organization or individual an opportunity to appear and refute any charge or attack that has been made upon that individual or organi-

zation. We desire to hear from all sides, for the purpose of ascertaining the facts.

This will conclude our hearings in the city of Washington for the time being. We will resume hearings at other points. This meeting stands adjourned.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned.)

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., August 30, 1938.

Hon. MARTIN DIES,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DIES: I am enclosing copies of two letters which I have sent to two individuals whom I named in the list of those who were members of the Communist Party while I was testifying before your committee.

As I cannot strike out the names of these two men from my testimony without raising questions, I am complying with Mr. Stribling's suggestion and forwarding the copies so that they may be incorporated in connection with the printed record of the hearing.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN P. FREY,
President, Metal Trades Department.

[Air Mail]

AUGUST 30, 1938.

Mr. WM. T. BONSOR,

*Secretary, Office Employees Association 13188,
American Federation of Labor
166 Kenwood Way, San Francisco, Calif.*

DEAR MR. BONSOR: Since writing to you on August 19, my chief investigator has been making a thorough recheck of all data relative to your trade-union and other activities.

I have just received a complete report which fails to indicate that you are now, or have been, a member of the Communist Party.

In all fairness to you I am filing a copy of this letter with Congressman Martin Dies.

I want to express my sincere regret in having named you as a Communist while before the Dies committee. I did so because of my confidence in the honesty of my chief investigator, a man whom I have known for many years.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN P. FREY,
President, Metal Trades Department.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., August 24, 1938.

Mr. PAUL M. PETERSON,

*President, Utah State Federation of Labor,
915 Southwest Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Since my last communication I have had my chief investigator go thoroughly into his records. There is nothing in these records to indicate that you are a member of the Communist Party at this time or that you have been in recent months. The principal items in the record indicate that when you arrived in Atlantic City, N. J., as a delegate to the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor, you were immediately in contact with the known Communists who were present, some as delegates from Federal labor unions and central labor councils, some being present as observers.

Briefly summarizing some of the matter contained in the report which is before me as I dictate this letter, indicates that you contacted Mary Allen, a well-known member of the Communist Party, at that time doing some work with Francis Gorman of the textile workers; that with them you took part in launching the movement for a labor party, which was a definite part of the Communist Party program, as determined by the central committee of the Communist Party a few months previous.

Among the items is a report that Miss Allen informed certain Communists in Atlantic City, one attending the convention as a press representative, that you were a part comrade, and o. k. in every respect. This important admission considered in the light of other incidents indicated to my chief investigator that you were affiliated with the Communist Party. For instance, at the 1935 convention the delegates who were known to be Communists fostered a resolution, which was known to all well-informed persons to emanate from, and was sponsored by, the recognized groups. Your name as well as that of every known Communist delegate present was attached to this resolution. The resolution referred to is No. 231, which you will find on page 296, proceedings of the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The foregoing being the important incidents pertaining to you in the investigation made concerning the Communist activities in the United States, I refrain from setting forth other corroborating incidents indicating a tie-up between the various activities reported to me. However, no one is more ready than I am to acknowledge the truth of facts when presented to me. Therefore, I am willing to state that a recheck of the investigation made concerning you does not indicate that you were officially affiliated as a member of the Communist Party.

A copy of this letter is being handed to President Green today.

Yours fraternally,

*President, Metal Trades Department,
American Federation of Labor.*



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