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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

U.S. House of Representatives
BEFORE A
SPECIAL

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE 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 2

SEPTEMBER 15, 16, AND 17, 1938

AT NEW YORK

SEPTEMBER 28, 29, 30, OCTOBER 4, 5, AND 6, 1938

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 11, 12, AND 13, 1938

AT DETROIT, MICH.

OCTOBER 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, AND 22, 1938

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON: 1938

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v 2.

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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
United States Courthouse, 2 Foley Square, New York, N. Y.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman) presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will now come to order. This is a meeting of the subcommittee authorized by the resolution of Congress to investigate some un-American and subversive activities.

At this time we will call to the stand Mr. Edwin P. Banta.

I want to say, for the benefit of the witnesses who will submit testimony here, that we are interested only in adducing facts with reference to un-American and subversive activities. We are not interested in personalities nor in religious or racial questions, nor are we interested in the political fortunes of any individual or any political party, but are purely and simply a fact-finding committee, and we want the testimony confined along those lines.

We care nothing about the individual opinions of any particular witnesses; we merely want facts and we want facts wherever possible to be buttressed by documentary proof.

You will be given every protection of the committee. You are summoned here by the Federal Government, and you are assured you will be given every protection by this committee, insofar as your persons and your positions are concerned. And should any incident arise which is of a threatening nature to you personally, any witness before this committee, or with reference to his position, we ask that that be made known to this committee immediately.

Now, Mr. Banta, you will hold up your right hand and be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF EDWIN P. BANTA, MANHATTAN

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES (continuing). Give us your name and address.

Mr. BANTA. Edwin P. Banta, 215 East Seventeenth Street, Manhattan.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Banta, where were you born?

Mr. BANTA. At Newark, N. J.

Mr. STARNES. When?

Mr. BANTA. June 24, 1872.

Mr. STARNES. How long have your forebears lived in this country?

Mr. BANTA. Since February 12, 1659.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession or vocation?

Mr. BANTA. I am now identified as librarian with the Federal Writers' W. P. A. Project No. 1, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. What was your business, or profession, prior to that time? Give us something of your background.

Mr. BANTA. I had some years of newspaper experience. Beginning with 1913, I was for 12 years with the New York World; following that, in the latter part of 1925, with the New York American, and from 1930 to 1932, on the New York Times.

I began on the New York World as a reporter, but was finally transferred to the business department, where I was placed in charge of travel advertising. Following that, I had 5 years' real estate experience in New Jersey, where I operated my own office, and for the past 4 years and 7 or 8 months, I have been on W. P. A. formerly the C. W. A.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of any particular society, groups, or unions?

Mr. BANTA. I am a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Holland Society of New York, the Workers Alliance, formerly the City Project Council, and of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. When did you become identified with the C. W. A., or the so-called Federal Writers' Project?

Mr. BANTA. Oh, I began with the reporters' unit of the C. W. A. January 23, 1934, stationed at the Welfare Council, 122 East Twenty-second Street, and later on transferred to the Federal Writers when it was organized in October 1935.

Mr. STARNES. You were with that organization, then, the Federal Writers, from its inception?

Mr. BANTA. From its inception; yes.

Mr. STARNES. The charge has been made that there are subversive and un-American influences at work in or controlling certain activities of the Federal Writers' Project. What, if anything, do you know about those charges, or about the facts—I will put it that way; what do you know about the facts?

Mr. BANTA. Well, shortly after becoming identified with the Federal Writers' organization, in October 1935, I found that there were groups in the City Project Council who seemed to be members of the Communist Party, from their activities; so that later on, in 1936, I was finally requested to attend what was announced to me as a lecture, by one Ralph De Sola, also a member of the Federal Writers; I was asked to attend this meeting at the Irving Plaza.

Mr. STARNES. Where is that located?

Mr. BANTA. Fourteenth Street and Irving Place—Fifteenth Street and Irving Place; I beg your pardon.

At this meeting, I was surprised to find that fully 40 percent of the people I was associated with in the Federal Writers was at that meeting, and I also realized, from the fact that the Communist flag was on the stand, that I was at a Communist meeting.

Mr. STARNES. Was this an open meeting of the party?

Mr. BANTA. It was open only to those guests that each person invited there. They were vouched for by the person that invited them.

There are no such things as open meetings of the Communist Party. It was a closed meeting.

Mr. THOMAS. At that time, was De Sola a Communist?

Mr. BANTA. I beg pardon?

Mr. THOMAS. At that time, was De Sola a Communist?

Mr. BANTA. He was.

Mr. STARNES. Did you join the Communist Party on that occasion?

Mr. BANTA. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Or what occurred?

Mr. BANTA. I was handed a card. Each person in the room that was not a member of the party was asked to put their hand up, and to each of them was handed an application. You filled out the application, and if there was anybody there to identify you, they signed your card as vouchers for your right to become a member. I signed such a card, which Ralph De Sola also signed, and one other member whose name I do not now recall, but which is on the original application.

On my way out, I was handed a membership book identifying me with branch No. 1, section 24, which meeting place was at or on East Nineteenth Street, between First Avenue and Avenue A.

Mr. STARNES. Now you became a member then; did you pay dues in the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. Immediately at that time I paid 50 cents—50 cents for admission and 50 cents dues.

Mr. STARNES. And how long did you remain a dues-paying member?

Mr. BANTA. Till the 1st of September 1938.

Mr. STARNES. Is this the book [exhibiting]? I hand you this book, 1938 membership book, No. 25105. I ask you to look at that and identify that book, if you can [handing to witness]?

Mr. BANTA. This is my membership book, showing that I was a member of district 2, section 24, unit 36-S—36-S identifying the members of the Federal Writers.

Mr. STARNES. That is 36-S, instead of "365"?

Mr. BANTA. Yes—"36-S," identifying the unit, the Federal Writers' Unit.

Mr. STARNES. Now, referring to this book, does that show the dues have been paid?

Mr. BANTA. Oh, yes; pardon me.

Mr. STARNES. I want you to set that out.

Mr. BANTA. The membership dues are graduated according to the income. My income brought me within the 50 cents a month dues, and my International Solidarity fee was 50 cents. This is paid every fourth month. This money is sent to Russia, for the purpose of use in propaganda in other countries, or wherever the money may be needed.

Mr. STARNES. What is that? That is the International Solidarity fee?

Mr. BANTA. That is the International Solidarity fee.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me ask right there: How do you know, Mr. Banta, that money is sent to Russia?

Mr. BANTA. It so states in this dues book here, somewhere or other, that this money is collected for international activities.

Mr. THOMAS. But do you absolutely know that the money has been sent and is being sent to Russia?

Mr. BANTA. I never saw any money sent, no; I only know that the statement is that this fee is collected for the purpose of International Solidarity, the meaning of which is that the money is sent to Russia who, in turn, distributes this money in the countries where money is needed for propaganda purposes. And somewhere in this book it so states.

And the dues are graduated according to one's income, up to a monthly fee of \$13 a month, or an income of \$390 to \$400 a month. The person paying \$13 a month dues would also pay \$13 every fourth month International Solidarity fee.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, there is a monthly dues that goes for the purposes of the party?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; regularly.

Mr. STARNES. For the support of the party here in this country?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Then every 4 months there is an International Solidarity fee that is for the Communist Party International? Is that correct?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; for international dues.

Mr. STARNES. We will introduce that book in evidence as Exhibit No. 1.

(The book above referred to was marked "Exhibit Banta NY No. 1" and filed with the committee, being the 1938 membership book No. 25105 issued in the name of Edwin P. Banta.)

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask one question in regard to that International Solidarity fee: Mr. Banta, was it discussed at any meeting you attended that some of this money that was collected for purposes of solidarity went to Spain and to China? Do you recall it being discussed at any meeting?

Mr. BANTA. No. They never designated here where this money went beyond the fact it went to Russia as an International Solidarity fee, and they in turn over there placed it where they wanted to—where they thought it was necessary.

Mr. STARNES. You attended meetings of the party regularly after you became a dues-paying member?

Mr. BANTA. I did; yes.

Mr. STARNES. You were active in the activities of your particular section or unit, or whatever you call it?

Mr. BANTA. The only activity I had in the party was to attend meetings and to secure advertising which appears on the back of Red Pen, which was the local shop paper. I did not care to assume any of the other duties which the Communist Party asked of their members, considering them subversive, and so forth.

Mr. STARNES. What were some of the other duties they asked you to perform?

Mr. BANTA. Well, they wanted you to join picket lines and all kinds of things outside of the Federal Writers', and to stimulate an interest in the party, and to bring in members, and so forth, which in only one case did I ever bring a member into the party in my 2½ years' membership.

Mr. STARNES. At these various meetings which you attended of the Communist Party, did any of the speakers or leaders of your section, or group, or party, discuss the question of raising funds for the support of Loyalist Spain, or the Chinese cause, or for the promotion of recruiting for Loyalist Spain?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; that was one of the discussions there. Members were supposed to take out little cans marked for Spain or China relief, and go on the street and collect funds and turn these cans back in again at the next meeting, or as soon as possible. They maintain a large number of cans in the Communist Party for that express purpose, marked "Spain" and "For Relief of Spain," and "China," and so forth.

Mr. STARNES. What, if anything, was said with reference to recruiting activities of the party for Loyalist Spain?

Mr. BANTA. Recruiting activities have been carried on almost continually; but, specifically, I have in mind an order that came about a year and a half ago, in which all members were instructed to go out and recruit young men. The women particularly were requested to patronize restaurants and dance halls and places where young men congregated. They were not to endeavor to enlist members of the Communist Party, or Young Communist League, but they were to be sure to find out that the person that they discussed going to Spain with was an anti-Fascist. It was their belief that by sending them over that way, they would return to this country Communists, and this last drive for 2,000 members was said to be for the purpose of relieving the men who had been trained on the other side, and to bring them back here with their training, and so forth, in anticipation of the building of a "red" army.

Mr. STARNES. Where?

Mr. BANTA. In America.

Mr. STARNES. At the meeting of the party that you attended at the Irving Plaza, which you have already described, I believe you stated you were surprised to see at least 40 percent—

Mr. BANTA. About 40 percent of the people on the job were present.

Mr. STARNES. About 40 percent were present?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name some of those people?

Mr. BANTA. Well, I could only do so by referring to the book that has been signed there by them. I can say that Dave Reef—

Mr. THOMAS. Let me ask right there: You mean 40 percent of the project?

Mr. BANTA. Of that particular project, the writers' project.

Mr. THOMAS. Forty percent of the writers' project were present at this Communist meeting?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; both men and women; that is, the writers and clerical workers, many of whose names I did not know at that time, but I knew their faces.

Mr. STARNES. When you spoke of the fact that their names were in the book, is it this book that their names are in, or is it some other book that has been brought to the committee [indicating book]?

Mr. BANTA. Well, many of their names are in the People's Front, and many more of them are in the membership book of the Workers

Alliance, for which I was dues collector for somewhat over 2 years.

Mr. STARNES. The charge has been made that the Workers Alliance is a communistic organization, or controlled by the Communist Party: What, if anything, do you know with reference to the facts concerning this charge?

Mr. BANTA. Well, all of the heads of the Workers Alliance of New York, located at 781 Broadway, New York, with the exception of the local president, one Willis Morgan, are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. BANTA. I am. I should say that I was up to September 1, but tendered my resignation as a member of the Workers Alliance, due to the fact that it is communistic-controlled.

Mr. STARNES. I hand you now "Membership book, Greater New York Workers Alliance, No. 38079," and ask you to examine that book [handing to witness]?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; this is my membership book in the Workers Alliance.

Mr. STARNES. Can you identify that book?

Mr. BANTA. I do.

Mr. STARNES. What is it?

Mr. BANTA. It is the membership dues book for 1938 in the Workers Alliance.

Mr. THOMAS. It is your membership dues book?

Mr. BANTA. I beg pardon?

Mr. THOMAS. I say, it is your membership dues book?

Mr. BANTA. It is my membership book, with my dues paid up to August 31, and containing a contribution of \$2 to a fund to maintain a lobby at Washington.

Mr. STARNES. What kind of lobby?

Mr. BANTA. To fight for the things that the Workers Alliance wished to accomplish.

Mr. STARNES. What were those?

Mr. BANTA. Well, to obtain working conditions which they thought ought to exist; to keep the number of working hours down to the minimum and the maximum of pay for the number of hours worked.

Mr. STARNES. For whom?

Mr. BANTA. For the members of the Workers Alliance who were on W. P. A.

Mr. STARNES. You stated a moment ago that you were dues' collector for the Workers Alliance?

Mr. BANTA. I was.

Mr. STARNES. Your membership book is offered in evidence as exhibit No. 2, to your testimony, and I will ask the stenographer to identify it.

(The book above referred to was marked "Exhibit Banta NY No. 2" and filed with the committee, being membership book, in the Greater New York Workers Alliance, No. 38079, in the name of Edwin P. Banta.)

Mr. BANTA. I would like at this point to include my preceding membership book, which showed the time of my transfer from the City Project Council, which was recently taken over by the Workers Alliance, as book No. 87386.

MR. STARNES. You can introduce that as exhibit No. 3. That was the membership book you had as a member of the City Project Council, prior to becoming a member of the Greater New York Workers' Alliance?

MR. BANTA. Yes. It shows the book issued at the time the Workers' Alliance took over the City Project Council.

(The book last introduced in evidence was marked "Exhibit Banta NY No. 3", and filed with the committee, being membership book, in the City Project Council, No. 87386, in the name of Edwin Banta.)

MR. STARNES. I hand you another book which carries a number of names for local 17, Writers' Project—a collection book [handing to witness].

MR. BANTA. A dues-collection book.

MR. STARNES. I will ask you to look at that book and see if you can identify it.

MR. BANTA. Yes. This is the book I used in collecting dues, until relieved of that job something over a year ago.

MR. STARNES. Who kept that book?

MR. BANTA. I did.

MR. STARNES. Who made those entries?

MR. BANTA. I did.

MR. STARNES. Are those names the names by which those parties are known on the Writers' Project?

MR. BANTA. They are.

MR. STARNES. And are the amounts shown to be collected there the amounts collected by you?

MR. BANTA. Yes.

MR. STARNES. And those entries you can certify as being correct?

MR. BANTA. Yes.

MR. STARNES. We introduce that dues-collection book of the Workers' Alliance as exhibit No. 4 to your testimony.

(The book above referred to was marked "Exhibit Banta NY No. 4," and filed with the committee, being a dues-collection book of the Workers' Alliance.)

MR. THOMAS. In regard to that little book, the dues book [exhibit No. 2], on that page there are three different stamps.

MR. BANTA. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. Will you read just what it says on each one of those stamps?

MR. BANTA. The one is the "Fourth annual convention assessment of the Workers' Alliance of America." That is one.

MR. THOMAS. And the amount of that stamp is how much?

MR. BANTA. Beg pardon?

MR. THOMAS. I say, the amount of the stamp is how much?

MR. BANTA. Twenty cents.

MR. THOMAS. And that fourth annual convention was held where?

MR. BANTA. It is to be held this month. It has not been held yet.

MR. THOMAS. I see; it has not been held yet?

MR. BANTA. No.

MR. THOMAS. And the other two stamps?

MR. BANTA. One is dated "May, 1938. I contribute \$2 to fight pay cuts."

Mr. THOMAS. That is the stamp you referred to before in your testimony?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; that is the one which I say was to maintain a lobby.

Mr. THOMAS. To maintain a lobby?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And it is maintained to fight pay cuts?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course that is just a little bit different from what you said before.

Mr. BANTA. Yes. Now the third stamp in here says "Check up, Workers Alliance, July 1, 1938." Every member with his dues paid up to within 60 days was allowed to have this stamp placed in his book, but each member's book was checked at that time to see just where they stood.

Mr. STARNES. Getting back to the charge that there are Communists in charge of the Workers Alliance and in key positions on the Writers' Project, I will ask you if you can and will identify, for the committee and the record, the names of persons working on the Writers' Project who are members of the Workers Alliance and who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. The first name is Abramowitz. He is a member of both the Workers Alliance and of the Communist Party. The Communist Party Federal Writers' Unit 36-S has been broken up within the past 2 months, and the membership scattered around in smaller units throughout the city.

Mr. STARNES. What for?

Mr. BANTA. They claimed it had gotten too big and unwieldy on the job, as a result of which, in the Red Pen, they were taking those who were not members of the party and calling them Trotskyites. The result of it was there was a great deal of dissension on the job, so much so that finally they broke up 36-S and scattered the members throughout smaller units in the city, where they felt the work would be more compact.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed.

Mr. BANTA. In place of that unit they organized the coordinating committee of six persons of the Communist Party, which were to take care of Communist activities on the job.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who those six people are?

Mr. BANTA. I do not; no.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know-

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed.

Mr. BANTA. The next name who is a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party is my own. The next name is Bailey. She had the name of Becky Bailey.

Mr. STARNES. Who is she?

Mr. BANTA. She was on the Federal Writers' job. Do you want to go into detail?

Mr. STARNES. Just some of the outstanding activities.

Mr. BANTA. This woman at the present time has been assigned to a very important position in the Communist Party, at the head of a movement in a Southern State. Now, do you wish to enter that in the record?

Mr. STARNES. Surely. What connection, if any, does that have with the Federal Writers' Project?

Mr. BANTA. She was transferred from the Federal Writers' to the central committee of the Communist Party, to head up, under another name, another movement in a Southern State for the purpose of communistic activities.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know the name of the other movement?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; I do.

Mr. STARNES. What is the name of it?

Mr. BANTA. The International Labor Defense.

Mr. STARNES. And to what State was she assigned?

Mr. BANTA. Florida.

Mr. STARNES. For what particular purpose, if you know?

Mr. BANTA. For the purpose of propagating the Communist Party—building up the Communist Party—taking hold of all questions that the International Labor Defense might be able to take up in furthering the interest of communism.

Mr. STARNES. But you do not state, of course, that was done by the Federal Writers' Project; that was done by the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. She was on the Federal Writers' Project.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed.

Mr. BANTA. The next person is one Beanne, who is a colored fellow and a member of the Communist Party. He was at one time a member of the Workers Alliance, but is not now. I believe he is now a member of the Supervisors' Council; he was retained on the job by the supervisors.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, then, he is a supervisor on the Federal Writers' Project?

Mr. BANTA. He is.

Mr. STARNES. Now, what is the Supervisors' Council on the project?

Mr. BANTA. The Supervisors' Council was one resulting from the desire of those who had gotten into a position of authority to entrench themselves in a firmer position, and it is alleged that they did so upon the advice of Aubrey Williams, so that they might direct the workers on the work at New York.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Mr. BANTA. The next person is a very famous person, Mr. Bodenheim, a poet, who is a member—Max Bodenheim.

Mr. STARNES. Max Bodenheim?

Mr. BANTA. Max is his name in the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. What does he do on the writers' project?

Mr. BANTA. Well, during the 3 years he has been there he has been writing poetry; but, up to the present time, he has not succeeded in having anything published, and that is a very sore spot in the side of Mr. Bodenheim.

Mr. STARNES. All right; proceed.

Mr. BANTA. The next person is a Mr. Canny. Mr. Canny is a senior newspaper man and is a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. As you go along, I wish you would also state, when you call the names of these parties and identify them as members of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party—you have already stated they were members of the writers' project—and I wish you

would identify them with any official or supervisory capacity on the Federal Writers' project, as well as telling their communistic activities.

Mr. BANTA. Yes. The next one is a Mr. Davidson, male, senior newspaper man, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

The next one is Demianoff. Mr. Demianoff is a member of the Supervisors' Council, and a member of the Communist Party.

The next one is a Miss Dickson, a newspaper writer, either junior or senior; I am not sure which; and a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

The next one is Oscar Fuss, who is now vice president of the Workers Alliance. He was formerly employed on the Federal Writers' Project as a newspaperman, and is a member of the Communist Party. I sat in the Federal Writers' Unit meeting with him.

Mr. STARNES. Now, each of these names that you are calling and that you allege to be members of the Communist Party—have you sat in Communist meetings with them, Mr. Banta?

Mr. BANTA. I have.

Mr. STARNES. And you are basing your statements, then, on actual knowledge?

Mr. BANTA. On actual knowledge.

Mr. STARNES. From actually personally meeting them and sitting in meetings with them?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In calling any names, I do not want any names called with whom you have not sat in meetings.

Mr. BANTA. I am confining myself to that.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed.

Mr. BANTA. The next is a man by the name of Gitterman, who was a senior newspaper writer employed on the Federal Writers' Project, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party. He is now over in the Loyalist army—with the Loyalist army in Spain.

The next is a Mr. Gittens, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

The next is a Mr. J. A. Greulich, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party, and the only man that signed that book who raised the question of what use might some day be made of that book.

Mr. STARNES. Greulich was the only one who did?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; Greulich was the only one.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean the book which you are going to bring in later on?

Mr. STARNES. The book you referred to as The People's Front?

Mr. BANTA. The People's Front.

Mr. STARNES. Which was presented to you by the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. Which was presented to me by the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Or members of the Communist Party on the Federal Writers' Project 36-S?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. Mr. Greulich, while engaged in duties as senior newspaperman under the Federal Writers' project, was assigned, so he told me, to a job by the central committee of the Communist Party

to create dissension and otherwise disorganize the utilities organizations of Long Island—the utilities corporations of Long Island.

Now, a person not employed there, you do not want?

Mr. STARNES. What is that?

Mr. BANTA. I say, a person not on the job now, do you want also?

Mr. STARNES. Oh, yes; I want anybody connected with the project, or who at that time was connected with the project.

Mr. BANTA. The next person is a man by the name of Grosmyer, who resigned from the job to conduct his own business. He was a member of the Workers Alliance and of the Communist Party.

The next one is a Mr. Gowen. Mr. Gowen is an ex-newspaperman from Memphis, Tenn. Mr. Gowen was a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

The next is a colored woman, Sadie Hall, who is now identified with the research group on the arts projects. Miss Hall is a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party. It is my belief, from statements that she had made to me, that Miss Hall joined the Communist Party as a job protection.

The next is Louella Henkel, a member of the Supervisors' Council, which, by the way, has been taken over by the C. I. O. under professional workers.

Mr. STARNES. Who is this Louella Henkel; what is her former connection?

Mr. BANTA. Louella Henkel was formerly secretary to Heywood Broun, president of the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. THOMAS. Right along that same line, was she secretary to Heywood Broun right up to the time that she got her job on the Writers' Project?

Mr. BANTA. That I do not know. I only know she came to the job in its early organization, possibly in the latter part of October, or November, of 1935, when she became secretary under Oric John, who was at that time director of the Federal Writers' project in the city of New York.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know whether she was actually unemployed when she applied for a job on the writers' project?

Mr. BANTA. I do not know that.

Mr. THOMAS. How long was she secretary to Heywood Broun?

Mr. BANTA. That I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Mr. BANTA. The next member is a Miss Kates, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

The next is a Mr. Kerstein. Mr. Kerstein was active as representative at the convention of the Workers Alliance in 1937, and grievance chairman for the Workers Alliance on the Federal Writers' project. He was a member of the Communist Party.

The next is Eugene Konecky. He was a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party. Mr. Konecky is alleged to be the husband of a Miss Valda, also employed on the Federal Writers' Project, which is in violation of the Federal work-relief program.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Banta, I do not quite understand your testimony there. Do you mind repeating that, so I can get it?

Mr. BANTA. I called attention to Eugene Konecky, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party, and a Miss Valda,

who was alleged to be his wife. They lived together as man and wife somewhere downtown.

Mr. THOMAS. And they are both on the project?

Mr. BANTA. They are both on the project; yes.

The next one is Tommy Mann, who was a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party, and who is now with the Loyalist army in Spain, where he has been for nearly 2 years.

The next is one Irving Nicholson. Mr. Nicholson is employed as a senior newspaperman and has been for about 2 years. In March 1938 he informed me that the central committee of the Communist Party had selected him to go to Jersey City, where he was to bring on a state of revolution by creating Communist activities, and bringing about strikes, and things which led to the affair which has been published by the papers, regarding Hudson County, N. J.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that the affair at which two Members of Congress were scheduled to speak?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; the affair at which two Members of Congress were scheduled to speak; that is it.

Mr. THOMAS. And that Norman Thomas was interested in, which was referred to in the papers?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. The arrangement for those speakers and all that work was all part of the work Nicholson was assigned to do by the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. I cannot see that has any relevancy, unless at the same time he was on the writers' project. Was he receiving pay on the writers' project at that time?

Mr. BANTA. He was.

Mr. STARNES. He was receiving pay on the writers' project at that time?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. When this thing happened, when he advised me he was assigned to this job in Jersey, it had been my privilege to work with and work for John H. Gavin, who was former city editor of the old New York World, and who has known me for 25 years. I felt it a duty to notify Mr. Gavin of what to expect. At first off, he was somewhat inclined to doubt that they could accomplish what they set out to do; but within a few weeks' time I received a telegram from Mr. Gavin requesting that I communicate with him immediately.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you want to give Mr. Gavin's occupation now?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. Mr. Gavin at the present time is surrogate of Hudson County. I went to see Mr. Gavin, and I explained to him exactly what they proposed to do, and he asked me if he sent a detective over to me from Jersey, whether I would identify this man Nicholson, so that they might pick him up over there and cover his activities, which I did, and which is covered in one of a number of letters I received from Mr. Gavin, thanking me for my information and courtesy to his representative.

Mr. THOMAS. I gather from your statements, Mr. Banta, you believe that much of the disorder which took place over in Hudson County, N. J., is directly the result of the activities on the part of the Communists here in New York, and some of them were even employed on the Federal Writers' project here in New York. Is that correct?

Mr. BANTA. They were. And, incidentally, while Mr. Nicholson was working on this Jersey City job, he would report to the project at 9 o'clock in the morning and sign the pay roll as "9 o'clock in and 4 o'clock out," and in the space for "activity," would write "field," which indicated the man was an outside man, or legman.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, he was carrying on communistic activities in New Jersey on Federal time?

Mr. BANTA. That is it; while receiving a salary as a Federal writer, he was working in New Jersey, organizing the Communist Party, and organizing the disturbance which occurred there.

Mr. STARNES. You do not mean to make the statement he was doing that at the time he was supposed to be working on the project?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; I do. Not only that, but that can be verified by the detective who covered him.

Mr. STARNES. How can that be done when he is supposed to be on the job? Do not they keep any time sheet, or records?

Mr. BANTA. No. He is supposed to be a legman—a man who was sent out for outside purposes.

Mr. THOMAS. He is a field man?

Mr. BANTA. He is a field man. And to overcome the necessity of reporting in more than once a day, you signed in at 9 o'clock, or 10 o'clock, or whatever the time may be, and then signed out at the same time, indicating you were a worker in the field. That meant you were exempt from reporting for 24 hours.

Mr. STARNES. You mean they would go in there in the morning and sign in, and sign out at the same time?

Mr. BANTA. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And then go out and do field work of any type they wanted to?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about any of them having time sheets which they would carry around in their pockets, and report once a week to the director of the project?

Mr. BANTA. There was some such arrangement as that for home workers—those supposed to be home workers. I am not familiar with that phase of it.

Mr. STARNES. You are not familiar with that phase of it?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. But you do make the statement that these writers, some of them, those who were classed as miscellaneous writers, came in and registered in the morning and signed the time sheet at 9 or 10 o'clock—say, they came in at 9 or 10—and registered out at 5 or 6 o'clock, at the same time?

Mr. BANTA. Yes—at 4 or 5.

Mr. STARNES. At the same time?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; but they did not return to work until the next morning.

Mr. STARNES. I see. In other words, they came in and registered at 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and then registered out at the same time, and reported back 24 hours later?

Mr. BANTA. Correct.

MR. STARNES. And it is your statement that, during this period of time when they were supposed to be engaged on field work, some of them were actually promoting affairs of the Communist Party?

MR. BANTA. Correct.

MR. STARNES. Go ahead. These letters and telegrams you referred to from Mr. Gavin, we will ask that you identify them, and have the stenographer number them.

MR. BANTA. I identify here two telegrams and nine letters.

(The telegrams and letters above referred to were marked "Exhibit Banta NY No. 5," and filed with the committee.)

MR. STARNES. Now go ahead with your list and proceed as you have been doing.

MR. BANTA. The next member of the Communist Party who was also a member of the Workers Alliance, is one Mr. Pearson, employed as a newspaperman. I do not know whether his rating is "senior" or "junior."

MR. STARNES. All right.

MR. BANTA. The next one is a Miss Poznan, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party. Miss Poznan was off of the job for awhile, but was returned some few months ago.

MR. STARNES. Do you vouch for the names you are reading as being the actual names, or true names, of those parties concerned?

MR. BANTA. I do not.

MR. STARNES. Why?

MR. BANTA. Because the Communist Party, being a secret organization, its membership is allowed to register under one name and work under another. I myself, when I became a member of the party, was asked what "party" name I wanted to use. At that time I told them I would use my own name. On January 1, 1938, there came an order through from the central committee of the Communist Party that all members of the Communist Party must register, from January 1 on, under their own names, but with this proviso "except that it may interfere with your job or your business": so that most of them continued to register under the aliases, because of the protection of their jobs.

MR. STARNES. Now you raised the question a moment ago in your testimony, about Mr. Nicholson. That is entirely fresh testimony in every respect, with reference to the New Jersey affair. Do you know of any other parties whose names appear on that book, or whose names you will call later, who had anything to do with it; or was Mr. Nicholson, so far as you know, the only man on the Writers' Project who was connected with it?

MR. BANTA. So far as I know, he was the only man designated to go to New Jersey. He had plenty of assistance over there. In fact, he invited me to come over there and attend meetings, which I did not do.

MR. STARNES. You mean to come over there when you were supposed to be doing work in the field?

MR. BANTA. No; he asked me to come over there at any time and attend meetings.

MR. STARNES. That is not relevant. Proceed.

MR. BANTA. The next member is one David Rosenberg. Mr. Rosenberg is a member of the Communist Party and a member of the Supervisors' Council—a C. I. O. affiliate.

The next one is a Miss Sachs, who is a member of the Workers Alliance and a member of the Communist Party. To the best of my recollection, Miss Sachs told me that she was on vacation, due to being ill, which excused her from attending the meetings of the Communist Party—something which is not permitted except you have a good excuse, and an excuse from your faction.

The next one is one Eva Shane, a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. How do you spell that name?

Mr. BANTA. S-h-a-n-e—whose name appears in the Browder book, and she is attached to that organization.

Mr. STARNES. She signed "To the revolution; Eva Shane"?

Mr. BANTA. That is her.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same party?

Mr. BANTA. The same party who signed "To the revolution."

Mr. STARNES. Does she hold any sort of advisory or supervisory job?

Mr. BANTA. She is rated as a senior typist and is under the direction and supervision of Louella Henkel.

The next member of the Communist Party is one Silver. Mr. Silver is now in an insane asylum in the State of New Jersey. He was the former partner of Nicholson, mentioned in the information, was a member of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party.

Both Silver and Nicholson were active in the river-front troubles in New York a couple of years ago. This statement was made by both Silver and Nicholson to me.

The next member of the Communist Party is one Stephenson, a colored fellow. Mr. Stephenson is a member of the Workers Alliance and, to my knowledge, is one of the persons who took a course in aviation at the International Workers' School at 11 West Eighteenth Street, a Communist organization, for the purpose of qualifying as an aviator in the proposed "red" army.

Mr. STARNES. Where? What "red" army? In Russia?

Mr. BANTA. In America: in the United States. It is my understanding that following the technical education for aviation at the above-mentioned school, in some manner or other, they complete their course at the Floyd Bennet Field in flying.

The next is one Nicholas Wirth. It is alleged that while Wirth is a member of the Communist Party or of the Supervisor's Council, a C. I. O. affiliate, that the name Wirth is an alias, that his correct name is Moskowitz.

Mr. STARNES. As to this Supervisory Council, you keep referring to that. I am trying to find out if there is any connection between the Supervisory Council in the Workers' Alliance with the directing activities or the control of the work, and so forth and so forth, of the writer's project.

Mr. BANTA. They have an executive committee which I have never attended. I only know that it is understood that the purpose of the council was to protect things, to protect their own jobs. As an illustration there was a sit-in strike in July 1937 on the Federal Writers' project at 231-235 East Forty-second Street in which the Supervisors' Council did not participate. They said they could be of more use to the rank and file of the workers by remaining on the job, and they offered to donate a day's pay which was supposed to go to the relief

of those who served a week and lost a week's pay, but which was never divided among any of the workers.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Banta, what is the duty of a supervisor?

Mr. BANTA. A supervisor was created to advance someone to have charge of a crew of writers or stenographers, whichever it may be, and they would list up the four hundred and ninety-odd employees of the Federal Writers under about 15 or 20 supervisors, all of whom, with the exception of 2 or 3, are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean to say that all of the supervisors on this Federal Writers' project in New York City, with the exception of two or three, are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. Of the Communist Party; yes.

Mr. STARNES. We will take about a 5-minute recess.

(Thereupon a short recess was taken, after which the following occurred:)

(Thereupon Edwin P. Banta, the witness on the stand at the time of taking the recess, testified further as follows:)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings. Mr. Banta, you may proceed with your testimony.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. We were discussing the Supervisors' Council. I would like to ask a couple of questions on the Supervisors' Council before Mr. Banta goes on.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Banta, you made the statement that the large majority of the supervisors were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. BANTA. Communist Party; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I think it would be worth while if you would give the committee the information which you may have relative to the set-up in the Federal Writers' project in this connection. I would like to know how the supervisors head into it.

Mr. BANTA. They are under the direct supervision of the local director.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, the supervisors here in New York City are under the direct supervision of the local director here in New York City?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And who else besides the local director?

Mr. BANTA. There is a subdirector on the job who acts as assistant director, one James McGraw, one Mr. Shaw, and one Donald Thompson.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether any of those three are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. The only one that was a member was James McGraw.

Mr. THOMAS. You know that Mr. McGraw was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. He was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know that he is a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. BANTA. I understand that he is not.

Mr. THOMAS. You understand that he is not?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. They have those three subdirectors at the head to head into the director?

Mr. BANTA. Under Paul Edwards, who is director of the Federal Writers of the City of New York.

Mr. THOMAS. Not only the Federal Theater project, but of the Federal Arts project?

Mr. BANTA. He is director of the arts project, which includes the other arts; writing, and so forth.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all. I just wanted to get the set-up on the record.

Mr. STARNES. Now you may proceed with the other names you have on the book.

Mr. BANTA. The next name on the book, a member of the Workers Alliance of the Communist Party, is one William Wood, who happens to be the only man that I proposed to membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a supervisor?

Mr. BANTA. He is not. He is a senior newspaperman. Now, there is one name which I have which is not in this book. Is it proper at this time to mention it, because he is a brother of a married man on the job and he himself is a married man, and they are both working on the project?

(At this point a brief discussion off the record occurred, after which the following transpired:)

Mr. BANTA. After Mr. Wood I would like to mention Mr. Paul Konecky, who is a brother of Eugene Konecky, also a member of the Federal Writers. Mr. Paul Konecky's wife is employed on the job under the name of Harrison. The name will be found on the last inside cover page of that book.

Mr. STARNES. On this leaf [indicating]?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. You find her initials there, Annabelle Harrison. Mrs. Harrison was transferred from the Federal Writers' Project by an order from the central committee of the Communist Party to go to Jacksonville, Fla., to become assistant to Miss Bailey, whom I have mentioned in my report. After being absent from the job about 3 or 4 months, she returned and reported to Mr. Wirth who arranged for her reinstatement within 48 hours after her return from Florida, in spite of the fact that there are many hundreds of writers waiting to get employment on the Federal Writers' project.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, she went down to Florida on a Communist detail?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And when she got through with that detail there, within 48 hours after coming back, was reinstated on the Federal Theater's project in New York City?

Mr. BANTA. No; the Federal Writers' project.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean the Federal Writers' Project in New York City.

Mr. BANTA. Yes; where she is now employed.

In speaking of Supervisor Nicholas Wirth, I do not recall whether I mentioned that his wife is also employed under the name of Moskowitz on some other of the Federal W. P. A. projects.

Mr. STARNES. Have you completed the list of the names in the dues book of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. BANTA. I have.

Mr. STARNES. Identifying those whom you know personally to be at present or who have been members?

Mr. BANTA. There are many more who did after they consolidated the Federal Writers with the Guide Book. That brought in many more members of the Communist Party and the Workers Alliance, but at this time they assigned a new dues clerk, Mr. Rice, who was not a member of the Communist Party, but a member of the Workers Alliance, but because of his ability he was made dues clerk, and he has held that position up to the 1st of September.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Banta, here is a book, *The People's Front*, by Earl Browder, which carries the following inscription, written on the flyleaf:

Presented to Comrade Edwin Banta by the members of the Federal Writers' Unit No. 36S, Communist Party of the United States of America, in recognition of his devotion to and untiring efforts in behalf of our party and communism. March 2, 1938.

Will you look at this book, identify it, and give us the history of that presentation?

Mr. BANTA. This book was presented to me, as indicated, by the Communist Party allegedly for effective work, and so forth.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not mean "allegedly." You mean for effective work?

Mr. BANTA. For efficient and effective work, as they state it in here. They said "in recognition of efficient and untiring effort in behalf of our party."

Mr. STARNES. When was that presented to you, this year?

Mr. BANTA. March 2, 1938.

Mr. STARNES. That was presented to you by the—

Mr. BANTA (interposing). The Federal Writers' Unit, 36-S of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Now, are all the names which are inscribed on the flyleaf and the pages of that book those members on the Federal Writers' Project?

Mr. BANTA. They are.

Mr. STARNES. And they subscribe themselves as members of the Communist Party on that project?

Mr. BANTA. They do.

Mr. STARNES. All right. We introduced the book for the purpose of identifying it and for the purpose of including these names in the record, not the book itself, but in order to get the names in the record and also, of course, the various statements of the signatories to the book.

Mr. BANTA. Congressman, at this point, I would like to explain what they meant by—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). It says:

In recognition of his devotion and untiring efforts in behalf of our party and communism.

I believe you have already said heretofore that your main work in the Communist Party was obtaining advertisements in one of their publications.

Mr. BANTA. But I do not think that is on record, though.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; that is in the record already. You have testified to that.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, he did not state what publications he got advertising for. He has a list of different ones there, as I understand it.

Mr. BANTA. The presentation was the result of securing advertising in Red Pen, which was the official publication of the W. P. A., Federal Writers of the Communist Party—

Mr. STARNES. The publication you refer to there, the Red Pen, by whom is that published?

Mr. BANTA. It was published by the Federal Writers Unit No. 36 of the Communist Party, employed on the Federal Writers' project, W. P. A.

Mr. STARNES. What is the Red Pen?

Mr. BANTA. Well, it is a publication setting forth communistic activities.

Mr. STARNES. Was it published on the project?

Mr. BANTA. No; but the material was prepared on the project.

Mr. STARNES. The material is prepared on the project by members on the Federal Writers' project?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; the material is prepared on the project by members of the Federal Writers' project.

Mr. STARNES. At times when they are drawing funds from the Federal Government?

Mr. BANTA. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. Or W. P. A.?

Mr. BANTA. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. Now, whom did you solicit for advertising in this publication?

Mr. BANTA. A number of restaurants and hosiery business, and things of that kind in the immediate vicinity of the job.

Mr. STARNES. Who bore the cost of publication?

Mr. BANTA. The Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. The Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; the members.

Mr. STARNES. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Bore that cost?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. As to that part of the cost of publication not covered by advertising, how was that met?

Mr. BANTA. By collection from the members on the job, any amount that they could collect, 10 cents or a quarter, and so forth.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know personally that funds were collected from writers on the project to help to bear the expenses of the publication of the Red Pen?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; I do. I myself at times was assigned to do some collecting.

Mr. STARNES. You personally collected funds at times for that purpose?

Mr. BANTA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. From workers on the project?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In project time?

Mr. BANTA. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. Were there any other publications issued by members on the Writers' Project, or material furnished for publication by members on the Writers' Project, in project time, of a communistic character or nature?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; the pamphlets that were issued from time to time which were directing the activities of the Workers Alliance, but prepared by the Communist members on the Workers Alliance. The material was dictated to typists on the job, who, in turn, typed the matter for them, and then they had a publicity committee who prepared the circulars.

Mr. STARNES. What about the rewrites; do you have anything of that kind, anything of that nature, on the project, of a communistic character?

Mr. BANTA. Well, the only work that I know of that was done on the project called—was the work of the members and the writers who contributed to the publication called American Stuff. While this publication has been contributed to by writers from all over the Nation, it was a W. P. A. product.

Mr. STARNES. By that you mean to say that the material for the book is the product of members of the Federal Writers' Project?

Mr. BANTA. Throughout the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Throughout the United States.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And a portion of the material contributed was written on the job, or rewriting and editing was done on the job?

Mr. BANTA. Correct. I have in mind the names who I have checked inside of the book who are members of the Communist Party who worked on the Federal Writers' project in New York, and you will find there their names checked inside the book, who are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Banta, in regard to the advertising which you solicited, did you solicit advertising for any other papers other than the one that you mentioned there?

Mr. BANTA. No, sir; no, not while employed on the W. P. A.

Mr. STARNES. I am going to read you at random some of the names of those who autographed the book *The People's Front*, presented to you with the inscription which I have already set out in the record, and as I read the names I will ask you to identify them as members of the Communist Party, if they are, and tell us of some of their activities. There is an inscription, "To a real Bolshevik," signed "Sol A. Becker."

Mr. BANTA. Sol Becker is a member of the Communist Party and of the Workers Alliance. Incidentally, Sol Becker is the man who was designated by the Communist Party to conduct a drive for \$500,000 last fall, a fund which was for the purpose of inaugurating two new Communist papers, one in San Francisco and one in Chicago. During the time that Becker was handling that job his picture was published in the *Daily Worker* in its issue of September 4, and the name inscribed under that was that of Carl Bristel, and went on to give his history as having been expelled from the City College of the City of New York, and indicated that Carl Bristel was his right name, but he is working under the name of Sol Becker on the Federal Writers' Project.

Mr. THOMAS. What about Abe Newman?

Mr. BANTA. Abe Newman is a member of the Communist Party. Abe Newman, incidentally, several months ago was designated by the Communist Party to receive the recruits to be sent to Spain. It was his duty to arrange for passports, and so forth, and the transfer of these men to Spain for service in the Loyalist army.

Mr. STARNES. I notice Eugene Konecky expresses himself as one "with highest admiration for your example of working-class devotion."

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And one Bernard Hagan, it seems, says, "For a real missionary?"

Mr. BANTA. Yes; Bernard Hagan at one time was a business manager of Red Pen, and it was with him that I was associated in the obtaining and preparation and the lay-out of the copy in Red Pen.

Mr. STARNES. Julia Beller—is that correct?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Julia Beller?

Mr. BANTA. Julia Beller is a stenographer-typist on the job and a very radical Communist. She has circulated a rumor on the job, went from person to person on the job, since I first appeared before this committee—or, at least, I should say, since the time that the Communist Party published its story in the Daily Worker on September 2 that I had been expelled from the party as a stool pigeon. She made it her business to visit each one of the employees on the Federal Writers' project and inform them that I was an F. B. I., which, of course, is not so.

Mr. THOMAS. Right along that same line you mentioned an article which appeared in the Daily Worker relative to your expulsion?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You were not expelled from the Communist Party until they learned that you had been subpoenaed?

Mr. BANTA. No; that is not so. I was not subpoenaed until the next day, after I had been through this kidnaping.

Mr. THOMAS. But you were not expelled until they learned that you had been called down before this committee?

Mr. BANTA. That is right. I was ordered here for the 31st of August, and on September 2 they published the story that I had been expelled.

Mr. THOMAS. The point I am trying to make is that you were not expelled until they learned that you had been called down here?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the point I was trying to make.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What about Walt Anderson?

Mr. BANTA. I would like to go a little further into the detail of the history of Julia Beller.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. BANTA. Julia Beller was assigned by the Communist Party to join a former stenographer-typist organization for the purpose of creating dissension and bringing all of the stenographers unions into the C. I. O., which she eventually succeeded in doing. That, of course, is her statement to me.

Mr. STARNES. Is there anything further with reference to her activities?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Walt Anderson?

Mr. BANTA. Walt Anderson is a member of the Workers Alliance and of the Communist Party. I sat in at a meeting, which is covered by the report that I made to the Government at the time, in which he stated that he was making regular trips between the United States and Mexico and that the Communist Party was progressing rapidly in Mexico to the extent that every school teacher in the public schools of Mexico is now a member of the Communist Party, and that at the border of the United States that Mexico had a trained army of approximately 100,000 men. It was discussed at that time that activities would be started in Mexico for the purpose of buying up or seizing properties, which finally came to pass. The Mexican Government seized the property of foreigners. He also stated that Cardenas was working in complete accord with the Communist Party in Mexico and, as a result of that, that he had received a loan of \$25,000,000 from Soviet Russia.

Mr. THOMAS. You mentioned a meeting. Do you know the date of that meeting?

Mr. BANTA. I am not able to state the date of that meeting. There is a letter of mine in existence which shows the date of that meeting. I had been associated with an old newspaperman to whom I furnished this material and who has since refused to return it. Then, he further stated also that Mexico was supplying more war equipment and material to Spain than any other country in the world.

Mr. STARNES. At any of these meetings did you hear anything said about the formation of a flying corps in Mexico, or the building of a flying corps in Mexico for service for the Communist Party or for Loyalist Spain?

Mr. BANTA. The only reference that was made to that was in I. N. O.; they were supposed to take a flying course in the I. N. O., but that was more for the building of the "red" army in America.

Mr. STARNES. What about Hyman Epstein?

Mr. BANTA. Hyman Epstein is the secretary of the Newspaper Guild on the Federal Writers' Project, and also a member of the Communist Party and a member of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. STARNES. I believe we have called your attention to the inscription of Eva Shane, "To the Revolution."

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Annabelle Harrison. You find her name inscribed here, and you had something to say with reference to Paul Konecky.

Mr. BANTA. Annabelle Harrison is the wife of Paul Konecky, both of whom were employed on the Federal Writers' Project.

Mr. STARNES. What about her activities?

Mr. BANTA. She is very active in all of the Communist activities, and active in the Spanish drive, and as I stated before, was sent by special assignment of the Communist Party to Florida to work with Margaret Bailey, and she is now one of the driving forces in the power unit. The power unit covers the New York Edison Co.—covers communistic activities in the New York Edison Co.

Mr. STARNES. "To an Inspiring Communist," by Lila Valda. Who is she?

Mr. BANTA. Lila Valda is the alleged wife of Eugene Konecky.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, all the Koneckys are well represented on the project?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I notice you have one here in red ink, "Next the 'Order of Lenin,'" Ronald Shilan.

Mr. BANTA. I think his name is Shuley. I do not know what his correct name is except what is written there. He is a very active Communist and has stated to me that during the strike of the advertising sign men in the subway that he repeatedly torn down as many of these signs as he was able to do without being caught at it.

Mr. STARNES. Here is one inscription here by Dorothy Smith, "In admiration of the sort of a Communist I some day hope to be," and has the initials, "Y. C. L."

Mr. BANTA. She is a member of the Young Communist League, and I was working in the division directly under Nicholas Wirth at the time that she inscribed that publication.

Mr. STARNES. There are numerous other names on here. Are there any others on there that you care to point out who have been active or outstanding in the Communist Party, who were members of the Federal Writers' Union?

Mr. BANTA. I think I spoke of Maxwell Bodenheim.

Mr. STARNES. You did.

Mr. BANTA. Yes. Then there is Elmer Bendine.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Elmer Bendine?

Mr. BANTA. He is one of the inside men on the Federal Writers' project.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a supervisor?

Mr. BANTA. No; he is rated as a newspaperman. The next is Max Arnold. Max Arnold was a section organizer of section 24 of the Communist Party. While Max Arnold was in office at a meeting about December 27, 1937, he called upon all Communists, and this was a general order that went out from the Communist Party, that every able-bodied American Communist must join the R. O. T. C. and the National Guard for the purpose of getting military education at the expense of the Government, to attend their sessions in the summertime, to direct the organizing of the Communist units in the military branches of the Government, and for the purpose of ascertaining the best point of sabotage of the various arms and equipment that they came in contact with.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, to obtain information as to where they could do effective sabotage work to munitions plants and other vital points in the national defense?

Mr. BANTA. In the military organization; yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, that man is on the Federal Writers' project?

Mr. BANTA. He is. Mr. Abramowitz is one of the oldest members of the Communist Party in New York, having joined it immediately upon his arrival in the United States from Russia, and is very active on committees, on all committees in the Communist Party.

I also have one Elizabeth Politkin, who served 14 months in Russia as a typist-stenographer.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Banta, did any of the supervisors sign that book of yours?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; one; Mr. Wirth. Here is Mr. Nicholas Wirth's signature in here.

Mr. STARNES. How about Abe Newman?

Mr. BANTA. Abe Newman is not a supervisor.

Mr. STARNES. He is not a supervisor?

Mr. BANTA. No; and we have D'Amico and Kingman.

Mr. THOMAS. Did any of those supervisors make special remarks there other than sign their names?

Mr. BANTA. No; they just signed their names. For instance, in here somewheres, take Luella Henkel, she just signed her name without comment.

Mr. THOMAS. Was Luella Henkel a supervisor?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; and we have Lou Gody. Lou Gody is supervisor of the Guide Book. This man entered the service of the W. P. A. as a clerk. He has never been known to write a line for a newspaper, yet he is in a position to criticize and passing upon the writings of alleged newspapermen.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. He is a member of the Communist Party and Supervising Council.

Mr. THOMAS. He is the one that is directing the Great American Guide Book?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. We also have a Mr. Kingman in here. Mr. Kingman is in charge of the foreign-language division, but Mr. Kingman can only speak the English language.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Banta, how do those supervisors get their positions; who selects the supervisors, of which you said that 13 out of 15 were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. When the project was in its formation it was immediately in the hands of the Communist Party. In the origin we had there a member of the Writers Union, which was organized to bring about the Federal Writers' project. At the head of that, or the organizer of that organization, was one Irving Black. Mr. Black was a member of the Communist Party, and all those applying for employment on the job at that time had to pass Mr. Black or Orie John.

Mr. THOMAS. He was the one who picked out the supervisors?

Mr. BANTA. The supervisors were picked by Orie John.

Mr. THOMAS. He was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. No; he was not a member of the Communist Party, although he has been a radical and a member of the Anarchist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. He was the one who picked out the 13 of the 15 who were Communists?

Mr. BANTA. He picked out a number of them, and then later on when he left the job, others were assigned under the direction of Mr. McGraw.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. He is not now; he was.

Mr. THOMAS. He was?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

We next have an important person, Mike Kantor. He writes before his name, "Keep plugging the C. P." Mike Kantor is the al-

leged boy friend of Julia Beller. Mike was assigned to the State of Pennsylvania in the steel district for the same purpose that Communists are assigned to various States for Communist activities. He frequently wrote to the Daily Worker under the name of Mike Kantor, which they have done away with now, but all reports coming in now read "From the Communist Party at Pittsburgh." Mike Kantor is a particularly aggressive radical. A very active newspaperman by the name of Bip Hanson is very active in the Communist Party and very active in the Workers Alliance.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean by a "very active newspaperman?"

Mr. BANTA. He is a good newspaperman. He is a good writer, a good rewrite man, a good legman, and a good all-around newspaperman: one of the very few that are on the Federal Writers' project. There is next signed in here by Lila C. Temple—

Mr. THOMAS. (interposing). What was her name?

Mr. BANTA. Lila C. Temple. "To the grand old man of the American Revolution to come." Lila, unfortunately, has been confined to some sanatorium for the past several weeks through ill health.

Mr. STARNES. What, if anything, do you know about the following mimeographed sheets that I hand you? One of them is notice to union members, and it says the following:

The following list contains the names of the candidates nominated for offices in our union. Study this list carefully—

and so forth, and there follows the names of those proposed for chairman, executive secretary, administrative secretary, and so forth.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And then another one which bears at the top, "Our new board."

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Which gives the names of the chairman, executive secretary, administrative secretary, grievance chairman, recording secretary, and executive board members at large. It has typed at the bottom "Federal Writers' Local 1700, Workers Alliance"?

Mr. BANTA. Correct.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Banta Exhibit NY No. 7," and filed with the committee, being two mimeographed sheets interlined with pen-and-ink notations, and is filed with the committee.)

Mr. STARNES. Examine those two sheets and identify them, if you can, and give us some information about how that was typed, and placed on the bulletin board, or distributed, if it was, and also tell whether or not you have personal knowledge that the names thereon contained are the names of parties known to you personally to be the names of Communists, members of the Communist Party.

Mr. BANTA. The Communist Party usually holds a caucus before there is ever an election to office in the Workers Alliance, and at this caucus they select those who are to be nominated at the Workers Alliance meetings, and to members of the Workers Alliance who are in the Communist Party is delegated the job of nominating the names that appear on this list. The purpose of that list is to make it appear that it is a democratic movement.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean by a "democratic movement"?

Mr. BANTA. That is as if everybody has the right to nominate anybody they want to, and they do occasionally nominate somebody who is not a member of the Communist Party, but that was very seldom, and they would never get elected.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, all the officers of the Workers Alliance in that particular union are usually hand-picked by the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. Correct.

Mr. THOMAS. And anyone else has not any show of being elected to an office in the Workers Alliance in this particular union?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. And the term "democratic" had no allusion to any particular party?

Mr. BANTA. No; to democratic rights.

To name these people, we first have Eva May Wright. Eva is an expelled member from the Communist Party. She was expelled because she refused to be dictated to.

Mr. STARNES. Before you go on with that, you have told of the procedure of the Communist Party in getting together and working out a slate of officers for the Workers Alliance?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. This is the slate for the Workers Alliance there, the officer-directing body of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. The Workers Alliance is a bargaining unit of representatives from the Workers Alliance to deal with the officials of the Federal Writers' project?

Mr. BANTA. They do.

Mr. STARNES. Where do those mimeograph sheets come from?

Mr. BANTA. They do.

Mr. STARNES. Such as wages and hours, and so forth?

Mr. BANTA. Through the grievance committee.

Mr. STARNES. Where do those mimeograph sheets come from?

Mr. BANTA. Those are distributed at the board on the job prior to the election of officers.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, you may go ahead and tell us who those new officers are, what connection they have to the Communist Party.

Mr. BANTA. Those nominated by the nominating committee are Eva May Wright, an active worker in the Spanish organization but expelled from the Communist Party, but they are in hopes of having her return to the party. Those officers are, for chairman, two nominations are suggested, Eva May Wright and Richard Wright. Richard Wright is a colored Communist.

Mr. STARNES. Is he the man who wrote The Ethics of Living "Jim Crow," for the American Stuff?

Mr. BANTA. He is.

Mr. STARNES. He is?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. The next is for executive secretary, Gabriel Zakin. He is a student and brilliant radical Communist.

For administrative secretary there were two nominees, Alfred Russell, who told me that he was an undercover—or, he was doing undercover secret work for the Communist Party. I went no further in that. Hiram K. Smith, a smooth, well-educated radical Communist.

For chairman of the grievance committee, Julius Eisenberg, an educated studious Communist. Next is Sandy Rathbart, a radical Socialist, not a member of the Communist Party, but agrees to all party-line action, and he is related to Rathbart, an attorney for the Civil Liberties Union, prosecuting the case in Jersey City against Mayor Hague.

MR. THOMAS. In other words, that is the second connection, then, that you have made between the Communists and the Federal Writers' project in New York City and the Jersey City Civil Liberties Union?

MR. STARNES. Did you say Rathbart is a member of the Communist Party?

MR. BANTA. He is not a member of the Communist Party. He is a radical Socialist, and he is out for chairmanship of the grievance committee. He agrees to all party-line action. Nobody can hold office designated by the Communists unless they agree to what is known as the party line.

The next is recording secretary, Morris Kirkhoff, who agrees to the party line, but is not a member, and Miriam Meer, affiliated for membership in the Communist Party. The next is five members of the executive board at large. The first is Charles Alexander, a West Indian, colored radical Communist. The next is Abraham Arms, a radical Communist, and Julia Beller.

MR. STARNES. You have already given her.

MR. BANTA. Yes; whose history has already been given.

The next is Robert Cullen, an extreme radical Communist.

The next is Seymour De Koven, a Communist, a colored Communist.

The next is Ralph Ellison, who is O. K.'d by the Communist Party, but not a member.

MR. STARNES. Now, he and Rathbart, as I recall it, are the only two names you have called of those who are not members of the Communist Party.

MR. BANTA. He and one other. The next one there is Edward F. Gahan. He is a very active Irish Communist.

The next is Oakley Johnson, a colored Communist.

MR. THOMAS. What do you mean by an Irish Communist?

MR. BANTA. Well, he speaks of himself as an Irish, as an Irish-American. He speaks of himself as Irish-American.

MR. THOMAS. But he is a citizen of this country?

MR. BANTA. Oh, yes. That was for my own information that I made these notations.

The next is Dorothy Kaufman. Dorothy Kaufman has been a secretary in the Workers Alliance, and is very active in the Communist Party.

The next is Florence Kleinman, an aggressive radical Communist.

The next is Bernard Knauer, a radical, dangerous Communist.

The next is Eugene Konecky, whose record has been given before.

The next is Patrick Quinlan, a very radical member of the Workers Alliance, but not a member of the Communist Party.

The next is Townsend Rice, a member of the Workers Alliance and who was assigned as dues clerk for the Workers Alliance during the past year and a half. His duties were to maintain a desk in the

office for the purpose of collecting dues as the employees came in on the job.

Mr. STARNES. That was done right on the job?

Mr. BANTA. Right on the job.

Mr. STARNES. On project time?

Mr. BANTA. On the Federal time; yes. That sometimes will require from 9 o'clock until after 11; and then for some part of the time after that to make a record of his collections, and fixing up his books, it requires another hour or so, so that he probably puts in an average of one-third of the time of the project collecting dues for the Workers Alliance, which office he has been relieved from since the 1st of September.

The next is Martha Shafran. I might say in connection with Rice—I want to go back to Rice. Incidentally Rice has told me that he was an anti-Communist; that he had no use for the Communist Party, but to hold his job he was willing to play ball with them and to go along and collect dues. Martha Shafran is not a member of the Communist Party.

The next is Ellis Williams, colored, not a member of the party, but he agrees to the party line. That is a list of the officers that were nominated.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, give us those who were actually elected, and just merely identify them.

Mr. BANTA. The next one is "Our new board."

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. BANTA. The chairman of the board is Richard Wright, a Negro radical Communist, the man who is the writer of the item in the American Stuff.

The next is Gabriel Zakin, executive secretary.

Mr. STARNES. He is identified as a Communist?

Mr. BANTA. A Communist.

Mr. STARNES. You have already identified him as a Communist?

Mr. BANTA. Yes, sir.

Administrative secretary, Hiram K. Smith, a Communist.

The next is Sandy Rothbart, not a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. Give the position, name, and whether or not they are Communists.

Mr. BANTA. Sandy Rothbart is not a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. What position did he hold?

Mr. BANTA. Grievance chairman, a radical, and with the connections stated before.

The next is May Swenson, a Communist, recording secretary.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. BANTA. The next are the executive board members at large: Ralph Ellison, a Negro Communist; Francis Gaban, a radical Communist; Oakley Johnson, an extremely radical ex-college professor and stands high with the Communists.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a communist?

Mr. BANTA. No; he is not a Communist. The next is Dorothy Kaufman, a Communist, and Townsend Rice, not a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. All but three of them are Communists?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; they are.

Mr. THOMAS. Out of the 11, 8 of them are Communists?

Mr. BANTA. Correct.

Mr. THOMAS. They are all officers of the Workers Alliance of the Federal Writers' Union?

Mr. BANTA. Correct; as indicated by this sheet.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, to follow that up. Is it necessary that your name be submitted to the director in charge of the project through the Workers Alliance for you to obtain employment on the Federal Writers Project?

Mr. BANTA. It is an understood procedure that a person sent there by the Workers Alliance is taken care of. They are the ones that are receiving employment. In a very few instances people do get by who have a record that is such that it is impossible to turn them down, who are not members of the Workers Alliance. This division of the Workers Alliance is the unemployed division of the Workers Alliance and, immediately they become attached to the writers, they are then transferred into the writers' local.

Mr. STARNES. I want to get the information, because the charge has been made, and I wanted to get the facts.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What has been the product of the workers out there on the Federal Writers' Project? What are some of the books and publications they have put out? It has been in existence I believe you have stated since late 1935?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Since late 1935?

Mr. BANTA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What has been published, if you recall now?

Mr. BANTA. A couple of almanacs.

Mr. THOMAS. It might be interesting to have you go on there to tell how many people are employed on the Writers' Project in New York.

Mr. STARNES. That is, from public funds.

Mr. BANTA. Well, approximately 500 people including mechanical and other workers.

Mr. STARNES. That is one of the publications, the Almanac of 1938?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; the Almanac of 1938.

Mr. STARNES. That is one publication?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who's Who in the Zoo, has also been published?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; it has.

Mr. STARNES. And some other work of a similar nature of which Mr. De Sola was the editor or had supervision of it?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; and he is about to publish a work on trees.

Mr. STARNES. I think Who's Who in the Zoo is a fine publication.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. They are both his work?

Mr. BANTA. Yes; they are both his work.

Mr. STARNES. Now, the American Stuff you have said is a book which is the product of the Federal writers throughout the country?

Mr. BANTA. Contributions were made by Federal writers throughout the country.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask you for the record—we wish to set out in the record certain excerpts from the article by Richard Wright. You do not have to do that now. Proceed.

Mr. BANTA. This book was published under the direction of the W. P. A., which, in turn, was to be sold to the public to reach readers, possibly the youth of the country, and the language in there is unfit for a person to read. It is so vile that it is unfit for youth to read.

Mr. STARNES. Those excerpts have all been carefully marked, and, of course, will be set out in the record?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

(The excerpts from American Stuff referred to are as follows:)

"Well, don't if yuh know what's good for yuh!"

I was puzzled. Maybe he just doesn't want to help me, I thought. I went to Pease.

"Say, are you crazy, you black bastard?" Pease asked me, his gray eyes growing hard (p. 42).

From then on they changed toward me. They said good morning no more. When I was just a bit slow in performing some duty, I was called a lazy black son— of a b—.

Once I thought of reporting all this to the boss. But the mere idea of what would happen to me if Pease and Morrie should learn that I had "snitched" stopped me. After all, the boss was a white man, too. What was the use? (p. 43).

"Didn't yuh call 'im Pease? If yuh say yuh didn't, I'll rip yo' gut string loose with this f— bar, you black granny dodger! Yuh can't call a white man a lie 'n git away with it, you black s— of a b—" (p. 44).

"Aw, leave the bastard alone. He's got enough," said one (p. 47).

"I wanna walk," I said simply.

Maybe it sounded funny. They laughed.

"Well, walk, yuh black s— of a b—!"

When they left they comforted me with: "Nigger, yuh sho better be damn glad it was us yuh talked to tha' way. Yuh're a lucky bastard, 'cause if yuh'd said ths' t' somebody else, yuh might've been a dead nigger now" (p. 47).

My next job was as hallboy in a hotel. Here my Jim Crow education broadened and deepened. When the bellboys were busy, I was often called to assist them. As many of the rooms in the hotel were occupied by prostitutes, I was constantly called to carry them liquor and cigarettes. These women were nude most of the time. They did not bother about clothing even for bellboys. When you went into their rooms, you were supposed to take their nakedness for granted, as though it startled you no more than a blue vase or a red rug. Your presence awoke in them no sense of shame, for you were not regarded as human. If they were alone, you could steal sidelong glimpses at them. But if they were receiving men, not a flicker of your eyelids must show. I remember one incident vividly. A new woman, a huge, snowy-skinned blonde, took a room on my floor. I was sent to wait upon her. She was in bed with a thick-set man; both were nude and uncovered. She said she wanted some liquor, and slid out of bed and waddled across the floor to get her money from a dresser drawer. I watched her.

"Nigger, what in hell you looking at?" the white man asked me, raising himself upon his elbows.

"Nothing," I answered, looking miles deep into the blank wall of the room.

"Keep your eyes where they belong, if you want to be healthy!"

"Yes, sir," I said (pp. 48-48).

One of the bellboys I knew in this hotel was keeping steady company with one of the Negro maids. Out of a clear sky the police descended upon his home and arrested him, accusing him of bastardy. The poor boy swore he had had no intimate relations with the girl. Nevertheless, they forced him to marry her. When the child arrived, it was found to be much lighter in complexion than either of the two supposedly legal parents. The white men around the hotel made a great joke of it. They spread the rumor that some white cow must have scoured the poor girl while she was carrying the baby. If you were in their presence when this explanation was offered, you were supposed to laugh (p. 49).

One of the bellboys was caught in bed with a white prostitute. He was castrated and run out of town. Immediately after this all the bellboys and hallboys were called together and warned. We were given to understand that the boy who had been castrated was a "mighty, mighty lucky bastard." We were impressed with the fact that the next time the management of the hotel would not be responsible for the lives of "trouble-making" niggers (p. 49).

Here my Jim Crow education assumed quite a different form. It was no longer brutally cruel, but subtly cruel. Here I learned to lie, to steal, to dissemble. I learned to play that dual role which every Negro must play if he wants to eat and live (p. 50).

Among the topics they did not like to discuss with Negroes were the following: American white women; the Ku Klux Klan; France, and how Negro soldiers fared while there; French women; Jack Johnson; the entire northern part of the United States; the Civil War; Abraham Lincoln; U. S. Grant; General Sherman; Catholics; the Pope; Jews; the Republican Party; slavery; social equality; communism; socialism; the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution; or any topic calling for positive knowledge or manly self-assertion on the part of the Negro. The most accepted topics were sex and religion (p. 51).

How do Negroes feel about the way they have to live? How do they discuss it when alone among themselves? I think this question can be answered in a single sentence. A friend of mind who ran an elevator once told me: "Lawd, man! Ef it wuzn't for them polices 'n' them ol' lynch mobs, there wouldn't be nothin' but uproar down here!"

MR. STARNES. You have already testified that these works, some of them, were actual productions on Federal time, and others were rewrites or published on project time?

MR. BANTA. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. Right along that same line, Mr. Chairman, what other works did the Federal writers project in New York do, working three and a half years, with 500 people?

MR. BANTA. They turned out a book on the Italians of New York, and they are working on a book for Negroes and a Jewish book.

MR. THOMAS. Are there any other completed works?

MR. BANTA. No; no other completed works that I know of.

MR. STARNES. We introduced these excerpts from the American Stuff, and also placed this book in as an exhibit after you were brought before this committee?

MR. BANTA. What committee?

MR. STARNES. By the investigating staff, or after you were brought in before the investigating staff of this committee.

MR. BANTA. What committee are you talking about?

MR. STARNES. I am talking now about the congressional committee, the Dies committee.

MR. BANTA. Oh, yes.

MR. STARNES. After you were called in and statements were taken from you by the investigating staff of the committee, I will ask you if you were approached by any person or group of persons with an attempt to intimidate you because of the testimony that you had given the investigators, or were supposed to have given the committee?

MR. BANTA. Well, can I state—

MR. STARNES. I do not want a long story.

MR. BANTA. I will make it brief.

MR. STARNES. All right. First, answer whether you were approached or not by any person.

MR. BANTA. I was.

MR. STARNES. When and where?

Mr. BANTA. Prior to the committee session, on August 22, when Sol Becker, who was also known as Karl Bristel, came to the office about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, 231-235 West Forty-second Street; he asked me if I would come down that night, which happened to be a Monday, and see Florence Cook, who was secretary of the Communist Party, at 141 East Twenty-ninth Street, at the chief assembly district headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. The witness says "prior to the committee session," and then he stated that he was approached in the manner which he has just related on August 21. That was not prior to the committee's session.

Mr. BANTA. It was prior to your coming here.

Mr. THOMAS. It was prior to today's hearings. We got in touch with you, and we got in touch with you before August 21.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. So that it was after the committee got in touch with you.

Mr. STARNES. You were asked to come to a meeting?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Where was that meeting?

Mr. BANTA. 141 East Twenty-ninth Street.

Mr. STARNES. Who was present at that meeting?

Mr. BANTA. Well, I met Florence Cook, as I was directed to do.

Mr. STARNES. What is that place?

Mr. BANTA. That is the chief assembly district headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Did you find anyone present when you got there?

Mr. BANTA. There were several people there that I did not know, but the one that I was to meet, Florence Cook, came in shortly after I arrived there. The meeting was called for 7 o'clock. She came in late.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know if anything was said to you about testimony you were supposed to have given before this committee with reference to the activities of the Communist Party; or in other words, if you were supposed to furnish anything with reference to the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. Not at that time; no.

Mr. STARNES. When was anything said to you about it?

Mr. BANTA. Florence Cook came in about a quarter after 7, and she apologized for being late, and asked me if I could defer this meeting until the following Monday, the 29th, at 6 o'clock. So, I agreed to do so and went to the headquarters on East Twenty-ninth Street, and she invited me into a rear room.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, wait. Let us not go too fast on this, because I want to get the thing straight on the record, and also straight in my own mind.

You agreed to meet them a week later: that is the proposition?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And the meeting you are going to describe now did occur 1 week later at this place?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. The object of this meeting, as stated to me by Sol Becker, was to discuss with the committee a plan of instructing the other members in the soliciting of advertising for other Communist publications of various types throughout the city.

Mr. STARNES. That was the pretext, or the reason assigned, for your coming to this headquarters at this address?

Mr. BANTA. It was; yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. BANTA. I arrived there before 6 o'clock, and at 6 o'clock Florence Cook invited me to step in this back room, and with me as I stepped in there came one Sam Brown, who is the New York County organizer of the Communist Party, and a girl carrying with her what developed to be a stenotype machine, and a Negro and two other members of the Communist Party, and they asked me to sit down.

The man who seemed to be chairman of this committee, whose name I do not know, asked me how long I had been a member of the Communist Party. I told him about 2½ years. I noticed the questions they began to ask me did not seem to be relevant to advertising. "Well," I said, "what has that got to do with the subject I was invited here to discuss? I came here to discuss advertising." "Well," they said, "forget it, you s— of a b—; you are all through." They said, "We have got you here because you are a stool pigeon."

Mr. STARNES. All right. Was a photograph made of you on that occasion?

Mr. BANTA. Yes, a few minutes later.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who made the photograph?

Mr. BANTA. I do not.

Mr. STARNES. Could you identify the party?

Mr. BANTA. I could.

Mr. STARNES. A few days following that, did an article appear in the Daily Worker—

Mr. BANTA. On September 2; yes.

Mr. STARNES. With your picture and a write-up entitled "Workers' Enemies Exposed"?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you if you have a copy of the Daily Worker of September 2 with you, 1938?

Mr. BANTA. I have; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Will you produce that for the committee?

Mr. BANTA. I offer in evidence the entire publication of that date, September 2, containing the story on page 5.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask that that be marked by the stenographer. (The paper above referred to was marked "Exhibit Banta NY No. 9" and filed with the committee, being a copy of the Daily Worker of September 2, 1938.)

Mr. STARNES. That, of course, carries your picture made on that occasion, with the story, and also gave a description of you physically?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were you detained there for a number of hours?

Mr. BANTA. I was—for two and a half hours.

Mr. STARNES. For two hours and a half?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Was the door locked; do you know whether or not the door was locked?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attempt to leave prior to that time?

Mr. BANTA. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Did you remonstrate to these people and protest to these people they were detaining you there against your will?

Mr. BANTA. I did.

Mr. STARNES. After you offered that remonstrance and protest, did they continue to detain you there against your will?

Mr. BANTA. They did.

Mr. STARNES. For about what period of time did they keep you there after you protested?

Mr. BANTA. Well, the protest came 10 minutes after I went in the room.

Mr. STARNES. And you discovered they had lured you there under a pretext?

Mr. BANTA. Under a pretext.

Mr. STARNES. And did they threaten you with physical violence on that occasion?

Mr. BANTA. They did.

Mr. STARNES. Was that because of the fact you were supposed to have given information to this committee, or to other committees interested in exposing un-American and subversive activities in this country?

Mr. BANTA. They charged me with being associated with, and under the direction of, some Fascists whom I did not know. I do not know anything about it.

Mr. STARNES. Was anything said to you there with reference to your testifying before this committee, or furnishing information to this committee?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. Nothing was said in that respect?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. But you were supposed to have been giving out inside information?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. Do you wish to know the manner in which I attempted to get out of there and the physical force directed against me to keep me from leaving that room?

Mr. STARNES. I want to know if they used actual physical force to keep you from leaving the room and if they barred your leaving.

Mr. BANTA. They did. At the point when I told them the questions they were asking me did not seem to be relevant to the subject on which they invited me there, then I was told the reason I was there, in my remarks of a moment ago, saying I was a stool pigeon, etc., and they had got my number and my friends had turned me down—turned me in. I said, "Well, if that is what you have me here on, I assume you intend to prefer charges against me; is that the idea?" They said, "Yes." "All right," I said, "then there is a proper procedure; that is to make your charges to the branch of which I am a member and bring me on trial, produce your evidence against me, and permit me to defend myself." At this point I got up from my chair and said, "I am going to leave."

Mr. STARNES. Now, at this time, you were a dues-paying member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BANTA. I was.

Mr. STARNES. A member in good standing, and no question had been raised up to this point with reference to your loyalty to the party and its principles?

Mr. BANTA. None whatever.

Mr. STARNES. When you arose to leave, did anyone bar the entrance of the door to you?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How many did?

Mr. BANTA. Two.

Mr. STARNES. Who were they, if you know?

Mr. BANTA. That is, two covered the door; the rest of them closed in on me and two covered the door. One was Florence Cook and the other was Sam Brown, county organizer, and the rest of them closed in on me, and one fellow there, who seemed to be overanxious to do something, he put his hands to my face and said, "Sit down, you s— of a b—. You have got yours coming to you." I said, then, "Your conduct in here seems to carry out what the newspapers say about the Communists being gangsters," and I stepped behind the chair in an effort to protect myself, if I could, if they advanced any closer.

Mr. STARNES. Did they attempt to remove any documents from your person?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Or request you to furnish them with any documents which you might have on your person?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. They then demanded that I take everything out of my pockets that I had and put everything on the table. Well, at first I thought it would be all right to do that—

Mr. STARNES. Did you do it?

Mr. BANTA. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. You refused to do it?

Mr. BANTA. I absolutely refused to do it.

Mr. STARNES. Did they threaten you at this point?

Mr. BANTA. They came toward me to take them away forcibly, and closed in. I backed away and said, "Don't put your hands on me; don't you touch my person."

Mr. STARNES. At what time did they take the photograph of you in that room?

Mr. BANTA. I should say possibly after I had been in there an hour and a half.

Mr. STARNES. Did they back you up against the wall?

Mr. BANTA. Well, they stood around me and at that time I was pleading to get out of the room and telling them just what I thought about them, and they called the photographer and snapped two pictures of me.

Mr. STARNES. And this picture appears in the Daily Worker of September 2, in this article?

Mr. BANTA. It does.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Banta, did they threaten you with any harm after you would leave this building?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. They said—well, when I was leaving they said, "You are going to get yours; yours is coming to you: on your job, there will be hell to pay for you from now on, and you will get

yours on the street, where you least expect it." That statement was made just about the time I was leaving the place and after I had been photographed.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you noticed anything which has taken place on the job since then that would bear that out?

Mr. BANTA. Yes. There have been statements made, as I reported before, to Julia Beller and others on the job that I was an F. B. I. man and threatening everybody that they must have nothing to do with me. Several people have come to me, who were very friendly to me before, and asked me, for their sakes, and the protection of their jobs, not to talk to them. I asked them what was the reason. They said, "Well, we were threatened, that was all, and told to leave you alone and keep away from you."

Mr. THOMAS. Have any subsequently spoken to you, since you have been back on the job?

Mr. BANTA. No; except Nick Wirth, senior supervisor. On my way out a few days ago, one of the women on the job with whom I had been friendly, and who is not a member of the Communist Party, asked me for the loan of my paper during the day. I loaned it to her and asked if she would give it back to me before I went home; so, at 10 minutes to 4, I went to the washroom to wash up, and on the way back I stopped and asked her to give it to me. At that point, Nick walked up to me and, in a loud tone of voice that could be heard all over the room—a room about 40 by 50—said: "Banta, you have been running all over this building all day today, discussing things with people and annoying people on the job. Now, you get on your job and stay there."

When he got through, I said: "Mr. Wirth, when you speak to me, speak to me in a modulated voice. You do not have to holler at me."

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, Mr. Banta, your life on that project, from now on, would be very disagreeable?

Mr. BANTA. Not only very disagreeable, but dangerous.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. I was handed, on Friday, an advance copy of a German publication that is called the Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, in which you were supposed to have been engaged to speak at a Nazi meeting in a short time.

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you authorize the publication of that?

Mr. BANTA. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Had you any such engagement?

Mr. BANTA. No.

Mr. STARNES. And have you demanded, in writing, a retraction of that publication?

Mr. BANTA. I have.

Mr. STARNES. And is this a copy of the letter which you forwarded [handing to witness]?

Mr. BANTA. A carbon copy of the letter which I sent; yes.

Mr. STARNES. After it was called to your attention?

Mr. BANTA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And this is a copy of the registry receipt [indicating]?

Mr. BANTA. It is.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you to examine it, and, after you have done so, certify that is a correct copy, carbon copy, of the letter, to be introduced in the record with the appropriate exhibit number.

Mr. BANTA. This is my letter, directed to one J. Hill, in care of this paper. I knew nothing about this publication and knew nothing about the subject being published until it was called to my attention.

(The copy of letter and registry receipt above referred to were marked "Exhibit Banta NY No. 10" and filed with the committee, being a carbon copy of a letter dated September 14, 1938, addressed to J. Hill by Edwin P. Banta.)

(At this point the subcommittee took a recess until 2:15 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The subcommittee reconvened pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman) presiding.

Mr. STARNES. I call Mr. John Joseph Fitzpatrick to the stand.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN JOSEPH FITZPATRICK

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your name and address, please.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. John Joseph Fitzpatrick: 11-527 One Hundred and Ninety-seventh Street, St. Albans.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Fitzpatrick, what is your present vocation or profession?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Timekeeper, Federal Project No. 1.

Mr. THOMAS. Federal Writers' Project No. 1?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Federal Writers' Project No. 1.

Mr. STARNES. Is the Federal Writers' Project No. 1 the project on which one Edwin P. Banta is engaged at the present time?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What are your duties as timekeeper on that project?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. To obtain the signature of each and every worker and to verify that signature for pay-roll purposes.

Mr. STARNES. The pay rolls are made up from these time sheets; is that correct?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I hand you herewith two pages of what purport to be a daily time report of the Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No. 1, of New York City, dated September 12, 1938. These were brought before the committee when you first came under a subpoena duces tecum. Will you examine those and identify them, if you can [handing to witness]?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I can so identify them.

Mr. STARNES. Are those the original time sheets of that project out there—project No. 1?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. They are.

Mr. STARNES. They are kept under your supervision?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. You will note there that the names are typed in and then the names are written over the typed name. Who puts in the typed name?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The clerical force.

Mr. STARNES. Now, the written signature?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is put in by the workers themselves.

Mr. STARNES. Now, in the column showing the time in and out and the remarks there, who registers the time in and out on these sheets?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The workers.

Mr. STARNES. The workers themselves?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The workers themselves.

Mr. STARNES. I notice there that some of them are registered in at 9 a. m. and some at 10 a. m., and registered out then, respectively, at 4 p. m. and 5 p. m.; is that correct?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Testimony has been offered here by one who did not keep the records that the writer signs in and out at the same time. Is that correct?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is correct. That is on account of going into the field, doing field work, consisting of research, and so forth.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, assuming John Doe is on the Federal Writers' Project out there and he comes in in the morning at 9 o'clock and he is going to be assigned to field work, he comes in and signs in at 9 o'clock and, at the same time, signs out at 4 o'clock, we will say, and writes opposite "field work"?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. With no executive verifying it concerning the reason?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. When does he come back?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. He does not come back that day unless he is called back by the supervisor.

Mr. STARNES. Unless he is called back by the supervisor, he does not return to the project again until 24 hours later?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. During the period of time that he goes away 24 hours, do you know what, if any, supervision is had over his work?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, so far as you know, he is entirely at liberty to go and come when he pleases?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Under the direction of his immediate supervisor.

Mr. STARNES. The point I want to bring out—that is, if you know—is whether or not this man is at liberty to go and come as he pleases. In other words, there is no supervisor to keep check of them on the job?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The supervisor should have them under his thumb, in other words, and know where they go for research.

Mr. THOMAS. But actually, does he?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No; I cannot say that.

Mr. STARNES. How many supervisors are there on the job?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. About 30.

Mr. STARNES. And how many writers are there on the job?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Four hundred and forty; along there now.

Mr. STARNES. Therefore, it would be physically impossible, of course, for the 30 supervisors to be actually present with those people engaged in field work throughout the day?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No; I cannot answer that question, whether it would be physically impossible or not; because some of the supervisors go out in the field. Where they go, I do not know. That does not come under my jurisdiction.

Mr. STARNES. You brought with you the other day three time sheets which the committee permitted you to retain, due to the fact the pay roll had to be made up today.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You identified on those the names of all the workers at the present time on the writers' project?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Abe Newman?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. As a worker; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You know him as a worker, and his name appears on the time sheet?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. It does.

Mr. STARNES. Hyman Epstein; do you know him as a worker?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Also as a worker.

Mr. STARNES. And his name appears?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And in the pages which, for your information, you carried back to the project the other day, after they were submitted, appeared the names of all the writers?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Of all the writers.

(The time sheets above referred to were marked "Exhibit Fitzpatrick NY No. 11" and filed with the committee, being two time sheets of September 12, 1938.)

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you to examine the signatures and names of those people in that book *The People's Front* [handing to witness].

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Just on these two pages?

Mr. STARNES. On all the pages there.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Abe Newman—I can identify that. Jay Greulich. I cannot pronounce this first name I-r-j-a, Koski; I can identify that. Elmer Bendine; Paul H. Konecky; Dorothy Kaufman; Max Arnold; Hon. Maxwell Bodenheim; William Wood; Harry Davis.

You had better let that "honorable" go off the record.

Mr. STARNES. That is all right.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Of course, I heard the newspapermen snicker before, so I assume he is not so well regarded by the newspapermen, although he is by himself.

John F. Conny, Leo Minnioff, Florence Kleiman, Paul London, Lillian Scribner, Esther Booklan, Julia Beller, Dorothy Smith.

Mr. STARNES. What about Annabelle Harrison?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I have not come to that.

Mr. STARNES. I think you will find it at the top of the page somewhere, in the upper right hand.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Morris Kirstan.

Mr. STARNES. Eva Shane—do you know her?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes; I know her.

Mr. STARNES. She works on the project?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. She does. Eugene Konecky.

Mr. STARNES. Of those names you have been able to decipher there, or read, have you been able to decipher or read any that you do not recall, that are not on the project, or have not been on the project?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. This Fred Rolland—I do not believe has been on the project. He may have been before my time.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been on the project?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. A year ago last July.

Mr. STARNES. A year ago last July?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes. Abraham Armband, Friedor Eger, Bip Hanson, Richard Winans, Hyman Smith—spelled “H-i”—Lila C. Temple, are no longer on the project.

Mr. STARNES. How about Annabelle Harrison?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes; Annabelle Harrison; Lila Valda; Gody—no; he is an administrator.

Mr. STARNES. You do not verify the administrator’s pay roll?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No.

Mr. STARNES. You gave Julia Beller, I believe.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And Walt Anderson?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Now you spoke of the fact that you did not keep the time sheets of the administrative personnel. How is that kept; is that kept under a different system?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. It is kept in the same building by a different department, the administrative department. They are paid semi-monthly; our workers are paid weekly.

Mr. THOMAS. That includes supervisors?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The supervisors come under “administrative.”

Mr. STARNES. Now these supervisors, you say, come under the administrative pay roll?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The administrative pay roll.

Mr. STARNES. What type of time sheet do they have?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. The same type of sheet, but stamped “Administrative”.

Mr. STARNES. Is it what you call a “2A” time sheet?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What is that so-called 2A time sheet?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. 2A is a time sheet kept by 16 people, on what is known as self-supervision, on their own, to do writing at their home for the project, on project time.

Mr. STARNES. They do not sign in as the workers on the project do who are paid weekly, nor do they sign in as those do who are on the administrative force?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No, sir; they don’t.

Mr. STARNES. The total of 16 who keep their own books and own records—

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Did I mention they are known as creative writers?

Mr. STARNES. They are known as creative writers?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. As creative writers.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know what that is?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No, sir; I don’t know. In other words, they may go and create a book of their own; I don’t know.

Mr. STARNES. Have they created any particular work up to date that you know of?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That don't come under my supervision; that goes to the supervisor or director.

Mr. STARNES. But they have no time sheets at all?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes; they have this 2A that I just mentioned.

Mr. STARNES. How often do they send in the 2A?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Once a week they have to appear in person, on Thursdays.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You may be excused; today; you are excused from attending the committee further, but bring us back the time sheets.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. I believe we will next take Mr. Ralph De Sola.

TESTIMONY OF RALPH DE SOLA, NEW YORK, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your full name and address to the stenographer.

Mr. DE SOLA. Ralph De Sola; 312 East Sixty-sixth Street, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. De Sola, are you a native of New York State or city?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes; I was born here.

Mr. STARNES. You were born here?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession?

Mr. DE SOLA. I am a naturalist.

Mr. STARNES. Will you please give to the committee the benefit of your experience and background in a professional way? First give us your collegiate training and then your professional experience after you finished your training.

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes. On leaving high school in this city, I took special courses in zoology and oceanology at Swarthmore College and Columbia University. I had my first position as interpreter and collector on the New York Zoological Society Expedition of 1928.

Mr. STARNES. Where did that expedition go?

Mr. DE SOLA. We went from New York to Galapagos Island off the west coast of South America, where we collected 180 rare reptiles, mostly gigantic reptiles.

Following that I worked as a research worker for the Wyanosky Zoological Station of the New York Zoological Society in New Jersey.

In 1929 I organized my own expedition to Cuba for the New York Zoological Society and American Museum of Natural History. There I collected crocodiles and lizards.

In the following 2 or 3 years I wrote up some of my findings and technical papers in the Bulletin of the New York Zoological Society, and in a technical magazine called Copena. I made summer trips

after that to Okefenokee swamp in southeastern Georgia for the New York Aquarium and the University of Michigan.

I later, toward the beginning of 1933, opened, in company with another person, a zoological garden at Miami, Fla. After this failed, due to the depression, I came back to New York and subsequently became a member of the Federal Writers' project.

On the Federal Writers' Project, I proposed a plan to write and present to the public a series of popular natural histories. The first two books of this series, *Who's Who in the Zoo*, a natural history of animals, the second, *Birds of the World*, an illustrated natural history, have been published. The latter work was published this morning by Whitman & Co. of Chicago. I have also planned and completed, with my staff, a third work now in the process of publication, to be entitled "Reptiles and Amphibians"; and, with my staff, I am now engaged in the production of a fourth work, a natural history of the United States.

MR. STARNES. Do you have any of your publications with you today?

MR. DE SOLA. No; I do not.

MR. STARNES. Will you furnish for the committee the copies you have referred to that are already published, and any others as they come out?

MR. DE SOLA. I will ask the supervisor of the project to send that.

MR. STARNES. I want to say the committee examined them and found them to be works of merit.

MR. DE SOLA. Yes; I was here the other day, and gentlemen of the committee, and representatives, looked at the works.

MR. THOMAS. Who is the supervisor of your project?

MR. DE SOLA. I am my own supervisor, and I am directly responsible to the front office.

MR. STARNES. That completes your background and your experience?

MR. DE SOLA. Yes.

MR. STARNES. When did you become connected with the so-called Writers' Project?

MR. DE SOLA. At the inception of the guidebook section, the New York City Guidebook section, of the project, and I believe it was October 28, or the latter part of the month of October 1935, as clearly as I recall.

MR. STARNES. And you have been with them since that time?

MR. DE SOLA. Yes.

MR. STARNES. In what capacity, will you please state to the committee?

MR. DE SOLA. When I first joined the project, I was hired as editor. I was later promoted to assistant project supervisor; I was later demoted to editor; I was later promoted to master writer, to assistant project supervisor, and to my present position of project supervisor.

MR. STARNES. In your position, you supervise your own work and your own time; is that correct?

MR. DE SOLA. Yes. That I have only done, however, since July 1936, when the zoological series started. That has only been going on about the past 2 years.

Mr. STARNES. How many of the personnel on the project do you have there under your supervision or direction insofar as production is concerned?

Mr. DE SOLA. At the present time, about 10 people. I never have had more than 12.

Mr. STARNES. Are any of them under you? I mean, are there any of the people on the project for whom you are responsible in an administrative way?

Mr. DE SOLA. Well, only the people who are directly on my own staff.

Mr. STARNES. You keep no records, however, like time sheets, pay rolls, or anything of that sort?

Mr. DE SOLA. Oh, no; only records of their work.

Mr. STARNES. Are you now, or have you at any time been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes; I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join, Mr. De Sola?

Mr. DE SOLA. I joined in 1933.

Mr. STARNES: In 1933?

Mr. DE SOLA. No; excuse me; that is not the date. You had me confused with the date of the opening of my zoological garden. I joined the Communist Party probably about the latter part of September or October 1934. I do not recall my previous testimony on that, but I think it was something like that.

Mr. STARNES. What induced you to join the party?

Mr. DE SOLA. The fact that the depression had hit me in my cherished enterprise in a very personal way; the fact I believed at the time the country was in a very bad state of crisis, economic and social, and that the Communist Party at the time was the only party on the scene that had a realistic program for bringing things to a better pass.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you remain a member of the party?

Mr. DE SOLA. I remained a member of the Communist Party up to about a year and a half ago.

Mr. STARNES. What induced you to leave the party, or what reason impelled you to sever your connection with that party?

Mr. DE SOLA. A variety of reasons; chiefly the fact, I would say, that through my work in the party and my study of foreign affairs as they were discussed in the party, and my studies of the Marx classics, I became convinced that while the Communist Party was demanding democratic rights, civil liberties, and all that sort of thing for people in democratic countries, it was denying those rights to people in what they call the "workers' paradise"—the Soviet Union.

I also discovered the idealistic reasons that led me to join the Communist Party—helping the workers of the world—had never been taken very seriously even in Marx's day. He meant by that phrase only, apparently, workers under his control—certain groups in France and Germany; he did not mean Slavish workers; he did not mean Bohemian workers, and Czechs, and many other workers of different countries whom he considered inferior people.

I also discovered the Moscow trials, which upset so many people, because they seemed so fantastic, were not new in the Communist

deal. Marx also treated people in business as sort of informers on the police, and so on, in his own time.

I also found what was kind of opposite and claimed to be opposition groups to the Communist Party—people such as Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, and so forth—when they had had official power, they acted exactly as the party now in power.

I also discovered what I had believed and had been taught was the crowning achievement of Marxism—economic interpretation of history—that this also was not original, in a sense, with Marx, but only something he had applied to the European scene in his own time; that it was something known and can be found in papers of Presidents of our own country. Madison, in his remarks on the Constitution, gives every evidence he knew about such theories and pleaded for a liberal interpretation of the history of this country in early days.

MR. STARNES. Did you also discover that their profession of freedom of speech, and of press, and of conscience were mere hollow shells, and they denied, as you so aptly stated a moment ago, those very rights to the opposition, when the opposition was in the minority and the Communists were in control?

MR. DE SOLA. Yes. I found that to be true in every case; not only in the immediate present, in my own contact with it here; but, from what the public press told us about Russia, from what I learned in the so-called liberal capitalistic press, it was going on in the Soviet Union, and that it was good practice even in the days of Marx.

MR. STARNES. In other words, when they seized power or got in control, they brooked no interference with their policies?

MR. DE SOLA. That is absolutely right.

MR. STARNES. And did you discover they were willing to go the absolute limit and use every manner of physical force when one interfered with the edicts of the party?

MR. DE SOLA. I think everything I have seen in the papers would indicate it.

MR. STARNES. Did you find their own teachings to the party in this country, as you went further into the counsels of the party and their philosophy, led in that direction?

MR. DE SOLA. Yes; I found them to be very dogmatic or doctrinarian at times; certainly not what one would term "human liberalism," or "libertarian," as you would hope to find in such a group.

MR. STARNES. Very finely stated. Do you know anything of the plans or efforts to control certain key organizations, or utilities, in this country?

MR. DE SOLA. Why yes. It was always vaguely rumored in the party that all one had to do was to take over the radio stations and powerhouses, and the country would fold up. I do not think party members well informed very seriously believed that, because they knew their forces were too inept and too weak.

MR. STARNES. Did their teachings here lead you to believe, or did you discover from their teachings and practices, that they went further and further to the left, and at the last the ultimate appeal or resort was not to reason, but to force?

MR. DE SOLA. Well, that was true, but I think it corresponded more or less to the immediate foreign situation that confronted the Soviet

Union. I firmly believe if you follow the history of the various turns of the Communist Party from ultraright to ultraleft, and back again to ultraright, as you see today, you will find it very clearly reflects the needs of the foreign office of the Soviet Union; and that any turn was, indeed, in the inception, nothing more than the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Mr. STARNES. You attended party meetings regularly?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You paid dues?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You sat in on their counsels and deliberations?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. Edwin P. Banta?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes; I know him. I recruited him.

Mr. STARNES. You anticipated my question. You recruited him for the Communist Party?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes. I thought he was an excellent element.

Mr. STARNES. He was a man of intelligence?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes; a man who had a good trade-union record; a man who was the kind I felt we wanted in the party.

Mr. STARNES. And when, do you recall, did you recruit him?

Mr. DE SOLA. I cannot recall the date.

Mr. STARNES. To refresh your recollection, you met him sometime in 1935 or 1936—one of those years?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes; because that was about the time of the opening of this project, and I believe I met Mr. Banta about that time, and watched his work in the office and watched his work in the trade-union. I would say that was about the time.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, he was on the project at that time?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you recruited him from the project? What I mean is, you were both experienced; therefore, you recruited him for the party?

Mr. DE SOLA. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. There were, of course, a number of active Communists on the project personally known to you and who sat in the councils?

Mr. DE SOLA. I suppose you have that information.

Mr. THOMAS. At that time, what was your position?

Mr. DE SOLA. At that time I was fraction secretary of the party on the job. I was responsible for party activities in the shop.

Mr. THOMAS. What was your position in the Writers' Project?

Mr. DE SOLA. In the Writers' Project, at the time you speak of, when I recruited this man?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. DE SOLA. At that time I was master writer.

Mr. THOMAS. Master writer?

Mr. DE SOLA. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. During the time you were supervisor, did you recruit any other people in the Communist Party?

Mr. DE SOLA. No. I made it a point not to recruit people when I was supervisor, because I thought it would be taking an unfair advantage of my job.

Mr. STARNES. All right; you may go.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Banta, will you resume the stand?

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF EDWIN P. BANTA

Mr. STARNES. Since being subpoenaed as a witness you received threats against your personal safety and your life?

Mr. BANTA. I have.

Mr. STARNES. It has been necessary that police protection be assigned to you during the past week or 10 days?

Mr. BANTA. It has.

Mr. STARNES. That protection has been availed of in going to and from your home to the project?

Mr. BANTA. To the project, at lunch hour, in between hours, and in the vicinity.

Mr. STARNES. I wish to state to you, Mr. Banta, that we are going to excuse you at this time. You are still under subpoena and still under the protection of this committee. I want to assure you of that. That is all.

All right; we will call Mr. John M. Sweeney to come to the stand.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN M. SWEENEY, NEW YORK CITY

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your name and address, please.

Mr. SWEENEY. John M. Sweeney, 234 East One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Street, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Sweeney, where were you born?

Mr. SWEENEY. I was born in New York City.

Mr. STARNES. When?

Mr. SWEENEY. 1914, May 28.

Mr. STARNES. Your parents were native-born also?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What is your family background?

Mr. SWEENEY. My father is a lieutenant commander in the United States Navy, retired.

Mr. STARNES. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SWEENEY. W. P. A. worker, laborer.

Mr. STARNES. What did you do prior to that time?

Mr. SWEENEY. I worked with the National Maritime Union, going to sea.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join?

Mr. SWEENEY. I joined in August 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Where?

Mr. SWEENEY. At Houston, Tex.

Mr. STARNES. What induced you to join?

Mr. SWEENEY. I was on a seamen's strike down there, and the agent approached me and asked me to come up to their hall. I went up to their hall and joined their party.

Mr. STARNES. You mean the seamen's strike?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member of a seamen's union of any character?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What?

Mr. SWEENEY. The National Maritime Union, C. I. O.

Mr. STARNES. Who approached you with reference to joining the party?

Mr. SWEENEY. A man by the name of T. R. Pait, from Harrisburg, Houston, Tex., Harrisburg post-office branch.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have your membership book here?

Mr. SWEENEY. I had a membership book, but the book was taken away from me, and in its place I received a traveler's club card.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you to examine this traveler's club card No. 120-155. The name is John M. Sweeney. Identify that and call attention to any payments or statements, and so forth, and so forth, on that card.

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; that is the card.

Mr. STARNES. Who gave you that card?

Mr. SWEENEY. I received it from Homer Brooks, the man in charge of the Communist Party at Houston, Tex., in charge of the whole area of Texas.

Mr. STARNES. When did you receive it?

Mr. SWEENEY. When they took my membership book away.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. SWEENEY. I was to go to Mexico from Houston.

Mr. STARNES. Did you make any payments to the Communist Party?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What did you pay?

Mr. SWEENEY. Twenty cents.

Mr. STARNES. Was that based on your income, or what?

Mr. SWEENEY. That was based on seamen being on a strike.

Mr. STARNES. It was based on being on a strike?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; unemployed.

(The traveler's card referred to was marked "Exhibit Sweeney NY No. 12." and filed with the committee, being 1938 membership card No. 20-155, issued in the name of John M. Sweeney.)

Mr. STARNES. Did you hold a strike card at the time you joined the party?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. We are going to identify that card in your testimony and introduce it. Examine this strike card. Who issued that card?

Mr. SWEENEY. That was issued by H. J. Johnson. He was in charge of the inland boatmen's strike at Houston, Tex.

Mr. STARNES. We will introduce that.

(The strike card referred to was marked "Exhibit Sweeney NY No. 13" and filed with the committee, being a strike card of the Inland Boatmen's Division, National Maritime Union, Book No. 11.)

Mr. STARNES. Was that one of your chief passports?

Mr. SWEENEY. To Mexico?

Mr. STARNES. To Mexico?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Into the Communist Party?

Mr. SWEENEY. That was my union book.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not hear the answer.

Mr. SWEENEY. That was my union book, and there is some in there from Mexico, Union of Mexico, C. T. M., which is the same as Communist union.

Mr. THOMAS. C. M. T. in Mexico?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; communistically controlled.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the organization that had a convention in Mexico the other day at which John L. Lewis was the chief speaker?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; one of their fellows was up here, the leader of it, Alberto Toledo. He was up here in giving lectures.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see other members of the C. I. O. or any branch to which you belonged, or other branches, with a traveler's card such as you have there?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; several had them at sea, members of the N. M. U. They were sailing at sea.

Mr. STARNES. You had met them at sea while you were with the United Fruit Co.?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; I have seen the cards.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you go to from Houston, and why?

Mr. SWEENEY. Well, this agent that I told you about that recruited me for the party, this T. R. Pait, he took me to Homer Brooks, and I had a long talk with Homer Brooks, and we went to several of the Communist meetings, and finally this Homer Brooks asked me if I would like to go to Spain, and I told him I would, but I told him, "I do not know how to get there, as I do not have any money," and he gave me \$20, and I applied for a passport.

Mr. STARNES. To where?

Mr. SWEENEY. To go to Spain, and the Spanish passport was refused.

Mr. STARNES. You applied at Houston?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; I applied at Houston, and you have a remittance there on that.

Mr. STARNES. Did you apply in your own name?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; I applied in my own name.

Mr. STARNES. Did you join the Communist Party under your own name?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you refunded any money, then, after you failed to gain your passport?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir; \$9.

Mr. STARNES. Examine this memorandum, public voucher for refund from Department of State, Passport Division, to John Matthew Sweeney, general delivery, Harrisburg Station, Houston, Tex.; and you meant Harrisburg Station, Houston, Tex.; when you referred to it awhile ago?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. This is a refund of deposit, \$9 that was paid when you applied for a passport?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is that correct?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. We will introduce that in evidence.

(The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit Sweeney, NY No. 14," and filed with the committee, being a memorandum voucher of the Department of State.)

Mr. STARNES. This is the refund of \$9 which you received of the money you advanced?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You say Homer Brooks furnished you that money?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You were to be recruited for service in the Loyalist forces in Spain?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Failing to get a passport in Houston, what action did Brooks take, or members of the Communist group there, take to get you to Spain?

Mr. SWEENEY. Brooks wrote me a letter. I was to go to Laredo to this agent there, a fellow by the name of Frank Martinez.

Mr. STARNES. To Frank Martinez?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; at 1608 St. George Street, Laredo, Tex.

Mr. STARNES. What were you told to do when you reported to this agent?

Mr. SWEENEY. I had a letter of introduction to him and the letter was written in Spanish, and the general idea of the letter was that I was a friend, and he was to get me across the border.

Mr. STARNES. Did you get across the border?

Mr. SWEENEY. I got across the border with this agent, and I met another agent on the other side of the border, who took me to his home, Salman Amanza.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a Mexican agent or a Communist agent?

Mr. SWEENEY. A Communist agent.

Mr. STARNES. When you reported at Laredo with your letter of introduction he carried you across the border?

Mr. SWEENEY. Across the border in a car.

Mr. STARNES. Across the border in a car?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you reported there to another agent?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; that is his name.

Mr. STARNES. His name you have just given us?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; Salman Amanza.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have his address?

Mr. SWEENEY. I haven't it here; no.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have it somewhere?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You say you went across the border in a car?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that car stopped on the way across by the United States Government officials?

Mr. SWEENEY. No: I had instructions that, if it was stopped by the Mexican immigration officials, I was to say nothing.

Mr. THOMAS. So far as you know, is it not customary for the Government officials to stop cars as they go across the border?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. But they did not stop this car?

Mr. SWEENEY. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you see any immigration officials there?

Mr. SWEENEY. The immigration officials I saw, but they did not stop the car. The United States immigration officials stop them coming out of Mexico into the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. But the Mexican officials did not make any attempt to stop you at all?

Mr. SWEENEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You were stopped by the customs officials when you came back, and you had trouble gaining admission into this country?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, I did; and, in fact, they told me I was a Mexican.

Mr. THOMAS. But the American officials finally let you come in?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. After you showed them what paper?

Mr. SWEENEY. I showed them that paper with the seaman's fingerprint on it. He took me into a room and checked the fingerprints and he finally let me come back in.

Mr. THOMAS. The only written identification you had was that seaman's paper?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. He did not ask you for any other written identification?

Mr. SWEENEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you in Mexico?

Mr. SWEENEY. I was in Mexico about a month and a half.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you go while there?

Mr. SWEENEY. I went to Monterey. I went back in a train from Nuevo Laredo to Monterey in Nuevo Leon.

Mr. STARNES. To whom did you report at that point?

Mr. SWEENEY. I reported to Percilana Almergera.

Mr. STARNES. Give his name and address there.

Mr. SWEENEY. 344 Arteaga Calle, headquarters of the Communist Party. Salman Amanza's address is Victoria Street, Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

Mr. STARNES. Why did you go to Mexico?

Mr. SWEENEY. I was supposed to go through to Mexico City, and I was to go through to go to Spain, but something happened down there and the Communist Party stopped sending the men through Mexico and I was held there in Monterey.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you to take the boat?

Mr. SWEENEY. From Mexico City; I was supposed to go from Mexico City to Veracruz, to take the boat from Veracruz.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you were being routed through Mexico City on to Veracruz to get the boat?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who recruited you for that Mexico service?

Mr. SWEENEY. Who recruited me?

Mr. STARNES. For the Spanish service.

Mr. SWEENEY. Homer Brooks.

Mr. STARNES. Homer Brooks?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. After you failed to obtain a passport, and you failed to obtain passage when you were in Mexico, then what did you do?

Mr. SWEENEY. I came back from Mexico, went back, and Homer Brooks found it would be impossible to get me through Mexico, and he told me he would send me up to New York, and I could leave from New York as they were sending men out of New York without passports. So I left Houston to go on to New York.

Mr. STARNES. Now, were you given a route to travel from Houston to New York with instructions from Brooks?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; en route places I was supposed to stop.

Mr. STARNES. Places you were supposed to stop?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right; do you know the names of those places?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you first stop after leaving Houston?

Mr. SWEENEY. I went to Galveston. I was told to go to Galveston.

Mr. STARNES. By whom?

Mr. SWEENEY. By Homer Brooks.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. SWEENEY. At Galveston I was to contact the N. M. U. agent and to find out if he had a boat about to leave or depart, going to New York, and, if not, to come back to Houston, to leave Houston and to proceed to New Orleans.

Mr. STARNES. Were you able to get passage at Galveston?

Mr. SWEENEY. No; I was not.

Mr. STARNES. What did you do then?

Mr. SWEENEY. I came back to Houston and left for New Orleans with the address of Jack Bernstein, 507 Decatur Street, New Orleans, La.

Mr. STARNES. What was this man Bernstein's business or profession or contact?

Mr. SWEENEY. He is a furrier. He buys furs. He comes back and forth up here to New York two or three times a year buying furs in the fur market. He is in the fur business.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you in New Orleans, approximately?

Mr. SWEENEY. About 3 days.

Mr. STARNES. From there where did you go?

Mr. SWEENEY. From there I went to Mobile.

Mr. STARNES. Was that still under instructions?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir; still under instructions; Miss J. C. Yeiker, 700 St. Immanuel Street, Mobile.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed with your route and speak louder.

Mr. SWEENEY. From Mobile I went to Birmingham.

Mr. STARNES. You proceeded from Mobile to Birmingham?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. To whom did you report at Birmingham?

Mr. SWEENEY. Jane Speed's book store.

Mr. STARNES. Where is that located?

Mr. SWEENEY. At Birmingham, Ala. I do not know the street, but it is known all over Alabama. It is the Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. STARNES. The Communist Party headquarters in Birmingham?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And, after leaving Birmingham, where did you go?

Mr. SWEENEY. I stayed there at Mr. Robert Hall's, at 230 in the Clark Building, and leaving there I proceeded to Chattanooga, Tenn., with the address of a Ted Wellman, who is the district organizer of district 33. His office is in the Milton Building, the top floor, which is also the headquarters of a C. I. O. union. His address is 327 Cherry Street, Chattanooga.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you in Chattanooga?

Mr. SWEENEY. I stayed there 2 days.

Mr. STARNES. All right; to what point did you proceed from Chattanooga?

Mr. SWEENEY. I went to Norfolk, Va. At Norfolk, Va., I went again to the National Maritime Union, at 422 East Main Street, and the fellow in charge was a man by the name of R. Graham, and another agent by the name of David Jenkins. From Norfolk I went to Richmond. At Richmond I had the address of the People's book store at 301 West First Street, and there I met the man in charge, a fellow by the name of Don Burke. I stayed at his home for 2 days there at 3A West Grace, Apartment 2, at Richmond, Va.

From Richmond, Va., I went to Washington, At Washington, D. C., I had the address of the party headquarters at 602 F Street, on the second floor. The office number is 210; that is, the Communist Party headquarters. The fellow there in charge was a man by the name of Martin. From Washington I came up here to New York. Here I had the address of a David Mankoff, at 15 West Eighth Street. I had Mankoff's address from Texas. I had met Mankoff in Texas previously when I was down there, and also the address where I was to apply for the passport.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand it, you were still trying to find a place where you could make arrangements to go abroad?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. That was the purpose in going to all of these various cities, in order to aid you to get to Spain?

Mr. SWEENEY. To get to Spain; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Let us get that clear. My understanding was that he was sending you back to New York, and this was the route that you were to travel to get back to New York?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is true, but I was supposed to come up here to get to Spain.

Mr. THOMAS. He was still trying to get to Spain.

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; but this other is just to show there was a connecting link and an organization for the purpose of furthering the cause or recruiting for Loyalist Spain, and you got your instructions at Houston, Tex., to proceed to these various names and addresses at the cities on your way to New York trying to get a passport to proceed abroad?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. You stopped, for one thing, to get money to back you up?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Now, you came to New York?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; I came to New York, and I stopped at Dave Mankoff's address that I got at Houston, Tex., to go to see Frank

at 236 West Fortieth Street, just an envelope. You have that envelope.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the envelope he gave you [indicating]?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. If you got that address in Houston, Tex., how is it you stopped at all of these other places on the way up?

Mr. SWEENEY. I was told to do that.

Mr. STARNES. All right; identify that. Is that the memorandum you were given at Houston, Tex., of the places you were to report to in New York City?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you report?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right; go ahead.

(The paper referred to was marked "Sweeney Exhibit NY No. 15" and filed with the committee, being a small piece of envelope, typewritten, bearing the notation "To Frank 236 West 40th Street New York, New York.")

Mr. SWEENEY. That is the first address. The second address, I was sent from there to the downtown district of the Communist Party at 189 Second Avenue; and from that address I was sent to a fellow by the name of Allen, on Bleeker Street, directly across from the Mills Hotel; and the fourth place I went was to a fellow by the name of Manning, at 191 Canal Street. The fifth and last place, this fellow Allen moved into a building on 141 East Twenty-ninth Street.

Mr. STARNES. What did you find there?

Mr. SWEENEY. I found a book store there with offices upstairs on the third floor, and that is where the recruits for Spain were assembled with their instructions.

Mr. STARNES. And do you know whether or not that is headquarters of the Communist Party also?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is headquarters for the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Now, you followed this circuitous route all the way from Houston to New York under the directions of this man Homer Brooks?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did he furnish you money for passage and expenses?

Mr. SWEENEY. He furnished me money from Houston to New Orleans, and from New Orleans I received money from Bernstein, and from each place I received money from the agent in charge there.

Mr. STARNES. In each place where you reported you received money to go to the next place?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not the people you reported to were Communists?

Mr. SWEENEY. They were Communists.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see the cards or membership books of any of them?

Mr. SWEENEY. Well, the ones that I met except one—the one here in New York, the fellow by the name of Mankoff, Dave Mankoff, I did not see his book, but he told me that he did not have a book.

He was a traveler, and he traveled back and forth to Mexico, but his wife had a green Communist Party book—that is, the 1938 issue—and I seen that.

Mr. STARNES. You saw that?

Mr. SWEENEY. I saw that.

Mr. STARNES. All these others that you reported to, did they require you to show your fellow traveler's card?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; I showed my traveler's card.

Mr. STARNES. Your traveler's card?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That was their identification?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have with you any letters of identification other than your card?

Mr. SWEENEY. Just that letter to Frank, just saying I was a friend from Texas, and to do all he could for me.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, what did you find here in New York City?

Mr. SWEENEY. I stayed at Mankoff's. I met several people there. I met Sigmund Miller, another man by the name of Herman Bayer, and another fellow by the name of Lary Garber, and these men were up at Mankoff's practically every night. I was up there too; I stayed there, slept there.

Mr. STARNES. Were you able to get a passport while you were here?

Mr. SWEENEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. Did you make an application?

Mr. SWEENEY. Did I make an application?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. SWEENEY. I made an application, and they started to get me a Spanish passport. My picture was taken and everything, and I turned it over to Allen at 141 East Twenty-ninth Street, and we were told to go over to the Abraham Lincoln Hall, which is down near Houston Street. There the fellows met the night before the boat sailed from New York, and also the fellows were all supposed to leave on the *George Washington*, and I was amongst the fellows down there, and this fellow Mankoff had the passports and expense money and the tickets, and the tickets were secured through the Worlds Tours, Inc. That is a Russian travel agency. And they also supplied me with a card in the Grand Hotel to get a room there before sailing. That was to give it a smooth-over finish, so that if anybody was following they would not know where we came from.

Mr. STARNES. You did not get your passport?

Mr. SWEENEY. No; I did not get my passport. There was something that turned up that three or four of us did not receive passports, but the rest of them received passports, because I seen them. They were Spanish passports. They were a red back with black lettering in Spanish. They received instructions as to how to use them. Most of the fellows were American boys, and this fellow told them if an American agent, immigration agent, should come up to them and ask to see the passport, he said: "Open the passport up, and step back three paces, like this [indicating], and they cannot take the passport away from you unless they have a warrant for you."

Mr. STARNES. Did you report this matter later to the State Department and the Federal authorities?

Mr. SWEENEY. I reported it to the Federal authorities.

Mr. THOMAS. How long after that was it that you reported it to the Federal authorities?

Mr. SWEENEY. While I was at Mankoff's I contacted the Government here.

Mr. STARNES. At approximately what date was that?

Mr. SWEENEY. That was in January; I could not say exactly.

Mr. THOMAS. January 1938?

Mr. SWEENEY. 1938.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you report it in writing?

Mr. SWEENEY. No; I went in person. I had kept in contact with the United States Government from the time I had come back across Mexico. I had stolen some papers and turned them over to the proper authorities here.

Mr. THOMAS. When you reported it, you reported it in person, you say?

Mr. SWEENEY. I reported it in person.

Mr. THOMAS. Here in New York City?

Mr. SWEENEY. Here in New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. What became of it?

Mr. SWEENEY. Well, they had put investigators on following these men who were handling the passports, and I went with them.

Mr. THOMAS. Some of those investigators interviewed you?

Mr. SWEENEY. No; I was with them, and they interviewed men.

Mr. THOMAS. They interviewed them?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is it, and then the investigators went out with me to place these men in their homes. They wanted to find out where they lived.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether the same thing is going on now, or whether it has been stopped?

Mr. SWEENEY. I could not say.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know whether it has been stopped?

Mr. SWEENEY. I do not know whether it has been stopped or not.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever get any correspondence from the State Department in relation to this?

Mr. SWEENEY. No. I went up to this fellow Mankoff's house, and I overheard Mankoff mention the *Rubens Passport case*, and he told me, he said, "Some very dear friends of mine will be involved if the truth of this case was known," and he mentioned it up there at his home. So I immediately went up to the State Department and told them what I had overheard there, what Mankoff said about friends of his, and so the State Department wanted to know who his friends were, and so I told them this Sigmund Miller, Garber, and Herman Bayer, and they wanted to get a description of what these men had done, and I told them that Sigmund Miller had something to do in Martinello's office.

Mr. THOMAS. In Martinello's office?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; he was the one that had the passports put through.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he still working there?

Mr. SWEENEY. No; he was fired while I was up there at Mankoff's.

Mr. THOMAS. But you do not know definitely whether he was fired or just walked out?

Mr. SWEENEY. I think he was fired.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you guessing at that?

Mr. SWEENEY. I am pretty sure he was fired, or was pushed out in a way that was covered up. He did not walk out. He was pushed out, I am pretty sure, and then there was Herman Bayer, and he was a Reserve Army Officer.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you meet Herman Bayer?

Mr. SWEENEY. I met him at David Mankoff's.

Mr. STARNES. At David Mankoff's?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes; at David Mankoff's, and he had a conversation with me and asked me about how things were in Mexico. Then he approached me and said, "How would you like to stay here rather than go to Spain?" He said he would like to have me join the Army here. I told him it was impossible, because I was already going to Spain, had made arrangements to go to Spain. He said that could be arranged here and work for the cause here.

Mr. THOMAS. You mentioned a man by the name of Garber.

Mr. SWEENEY. Garber.

Mr. THOMAS. How do you spell it?

Mr. SWEENEY. G-a-r-b-e-r, Lary Garber.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what his first name was?

Mr. SWEENEY. Lary Garber.

Mr. THOMAS. Lary Garber?

Mr. SWEENEY. Lary Garber; that is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he work in Martinello's office?

Mr. SWEENEY. I do not know. He worked around cameras, or something, because he made photographs, or with instruments, or something like that. I could never figure out what he done. I tried to find out, but I could not.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever hear—I am not certain of the first name, but something like Lloyd or Osop Garber?

Mr. SWEENEY. I have heard of him, but that is not the same one.

Mr. STARNES. You are positive it is not the same one?

Mr. SWEENEY. Not the same one; no.

Mr. STARNES. That is all. Leave the things that you identified there.

Did you ever join the German-American Bund?

Mr. SWEENEY. I did.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join?

Mr. SWEENEY. I believe it was in May sometime; I am not sure of the dates.

Mr. THOMAS. May of this year?

Mr. SWEENEY. May of this year.

Mr. STARNES. Examine this membership card No. 18056, New York City, New York Unit of the German-American Bund, of John M. Sweeney, with the address given there. You identify it?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Is that your membership card in the bund?

Mr. SWEENEY. It is.

Mr. STARNES. How much money did it cost you to join the bund?

Mr. SWEENEY. It cost me \$1.75.

Mr. STARNES. How much dues have you paid, if any?

Mr. SWEENEY. None.

Mr. STARNES. That was just your membership card?

Mr. SWEENEY. Just the membership.

Mr. STARNES. Will you introduce that for the purpose of an exhibit?

(The card referred to was marked "Sweeney NY Exhibit No. 16" and filed with the committee, being the membership card of John M. Sweeney, No. 18056, in the German-American Bund.)

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever attend any meetings of the bund?

Mr. SWEENEY. I have attended meetings.

Mr. STARNES. How many meetings of the bund have you attended?

Mr. SWEENEY. About two.

Mr. THOMAS. Then, you are a fellow traveler of the Communists as well as a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. SWEENEY. Right; both of them are no good.

Mr. STARNES. Both of them are no good?

Mr. SWEENEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. What sort of a pledge or oath of allegiance did you have to take to get into that bund?

Mr. SWEENEY. I did not take any.

Mr. STARNES. You did not take any?

Mr. SWEENEY. Not at all.

Mr. STARNES. It was not necessary for you to take any oath to get into the German-American Bund?

Mr. SWEENEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. Were you in there a sufficient length of time to enable you to get any of their doctrines, objects, and so forth?

Mr. SWEENEY. No; I did not pay much attention to that; I went up there mostly to see if I could locate some people.

Mr. STARNES. To see if you could locate some people?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What sort of activities do they carry on?

Mr. SWEENEY. Well, they are the usual line; they have a meeting, and they get up and bellow about the Jews and running them out. The first part of the meeting is in English, and the second part is in German.

Mr. STARNES. They did this at the two you attended?

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, you did not stay in there a sufficient length of time to become a storm trooper or any of that sort of thing?

Mr. SWEENEY. No; I have not yet.

Mr. STARNES. And you obtained no uniform, cap, or anything of that sort?

Mr. SWEENEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. The committee stands adjourned until 10.30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 3.30 p. m. the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 16, 1938, at 10.30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
United States Courthouse, New York, N. Y.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman) presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order. The first witness we will call this morning is Mr. John J. Murphy.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. MURPHY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. The Chair wishes to state that charges have been made to the committee that the Communist Party has been the leading agency in organizing the transport workers' union in New York City, as well as being interested in becoming allied in organization activities in directing the policies of certain other vital transportation agencies and utility agencies in this area.

Mr. MURPHY, will you give your full name and address to the committee?

Mr. MURPHY. John J. Murphy, 343 Concord Avenue, the Bronx, New York.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Murphy, are you a native of New York?

Mr. MURPHY. No; I was born in Ireland, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You are a naturalized citizen?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been in this country?

Mr. MURPHY. Since 1926.

Mr. STARNES. What is your occupation?

Mr. MURPHY. Railroad station agent.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been engaged in this type of work, or how long were you engaged in transportation work?

Mr. MURPHY. From 1927, January, to May 1934.

Mr. STARNES. The charge has been made to this committee that the Communist Party has been active in organizing the transport workers' union, and the charge has further been made that the Communist Party in practice and in reality controls the policies of the union. Are you a member of the Communist Party or have you been a member of the party?

Mr. MURPHY. I am not a member of the Communist Party at the present time.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been a member of the party?

Mr. MURPHY. I did join the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. When?

Mr. MURPHY. In March 1934.

Mr. STARNES. What induced you to join?

Mr. MURPHY. In 1934, at the time that I became a member of the Communist Party, the question of trade unions in the transport industry in New York City was a prominent issue. I suppose I would not have joined the Communist Party if the American Federation of Labor had been on the job. We were working 7 days a week, 12 and 14 hours a day, and the American Federation of Labor did not come to our rescue, but the Communist Party came to our aid and they acquired the membership of several individuals. I was included in among the first two to join the Communist Party. There is a photostatic copy of my book.

Mr. STARNES. Where is the original book at the present time?

Mr. MURPHY. It is on our attorney's brief in a lawsuit in court against the leadership of the unions for discrimination against the men who have left the Communist Party, and the union leadership are discriminating against them because of that.

Mr. STARNES. That is a true photostatic copy of your original membership book which is in the possession of your attorney?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And now a part of a court record?

Mr. MURPHY. Right, sir.

Mr. STARNES. We will introduce that as exhibit 17.

(The photostat above referred to was marked "Exhibit Murphy, NY No. 17," and filed with the committee, being a photostatic copy of membership book No. 12317 for John Murphy.)

Mr. STARNES. Will you furnish for the committee, then, the original membership book?

Mr. MURPHY. As soon as it is released.

Mr. STARNES. As soon as it is released?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right; so that it will become a part of the record of this committee.

It might be said, then, that you joined the Communist Party because of certain promises which they made to the transport workers and promises held out to them?

Mr. MURPHY. Trade unionism was involved, too. Of course, the policy of the party is to build the party first, and build the unions afterward. As a result of that policy there is a union today, a political party which had as its object the building of the party first and the union afterward.

Mr. STARNES. What, if anything, do you know about the plan of the party to organize the transport workers in this city?

Mr. MURPHY. Well, I only know that from what I witnessed myself. I do know the theory has been to concentrate on the heavy industry with the ultimate idea of controlling it through trade unionism wherein, of course, political trade unionism would be involved with the intent and purpose of controlling industries with

the hope, I presume, of recruiting for the party No. 1, and No. 2, the acquisition of schools, and so forth and so forth.

Mr. STARNES. How many meetings of the Communist Party did you attend?

Mr. MURPHY. Now, here at this point—

Mr. STARNES. (interposing). Can you answer that question?

Mr. MURPHY. I had a statement here that I should like to make.

Mr. STARNES. First, can you answer that question? Do you remember how many meetings of the party you attended?

Mr. MURPHY. From 1934 to 1935, when I was transferred from the union by the party, I might say that I covered an average of one membership meeting a week. That is, an average on it, unit membership meetings, and leading fractions involved, which is also a party membership meeting.

Mr. STARNES. Leading fractions?

Mr. MURPHY. A leading fraction of the party.

Mr. STARNES. What do you mean by the term "leading fraction of the party"; just briefly?

Mr. MURPHY. In a given industry, after the units have been organized, there is the appointment of certain comrades, and from the units a leading fraction evolves or is formed. The leading fraction's policy is to map out the policy of the Communist Party in the trade union, to issue literature to certain or given shops, to bring the face of the party before the workers in the industry, and its main function is to name men for all the offices in the union at the organizing time, or any future offices, which may arise.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member of the leading fraction while you were in the party?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. To what fraction did you belong?

Mr. MURPHY. The leading fraction in the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, tell us briefly what you know with reference to the concentration of the party's activities in the field of transportation. Were there any particular fields that they were interested in here in New York City?

Mr. MURPHY. From the leading fraction in the transport workers' union began the concentration on the transport industry, the subways, the elevated, the busses, and trolley cars, and all things on wheels, with the exception of steam, I presume. Taxis, of course, are not to be excluded.

Mr. STARNES. Now, that is one angle. Was there any other transportation field in which they were interested?

Mr. MURPHY. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. What was that?

Mr. MURPHY. Marine transport.

Mr. STARNES. Marine transport?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were they interested in any other particular field in this area?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes: in New York in the public utilities.

Mr. STARNES. The public utilities?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Those three?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Those were discussed in all the meetings of your leading fraction which you attended?

Mr. MURPHY. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. I should like to inquire if you took part in the organization activities of the party at that time?

Mr. MURPHY. Outside of the leading fraction for the union or for the other industries?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes; every man had an assignment to see what he could do to help out the other industries such as recruiting for the party in the other industries or acquiring membership in the party, even though you were in this union cooperation, as it is called.

Mr. STARNES. So you were not only helping to organize in this field but you gave assistance and cooperation in the other two fields?

Mr. MURPHY. Always on the move.

Mr. STARNES. Always on the move?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you active in organization activities as an organizer of the party?

Mr. MURPHY. From 1934 until March 1935—from 1934, to be specific, after I was discharged from the industry for union agitation and, of course, radicalism, I remained with the union full time.

Mr. THOMAS. Just a minute. Will the witness please repeat why he was discharged?

Mr. MURPHY. At 3:40 on May 30, 1934, I was released from duty on an I. R. T. subway station by the Interborough secret service and told to go home; and from that day until then I never had the privilege of having an interview from even a petty official of said company. The files of the New York press, the Post and Telegram of September 1934 and December 1934, will show the reasons for my discharge from the industry.

Mr. STARNES. That was because of the union activities; radical ideas, I believe you expressed it a moment ago.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes. Now, to finish the answer on the question of being full time in the field: I remained with the union from 1934 until March 1935, full time with the transport workers' union. I have several exhibits covering the question if they want to be accepted.

Mr. STARNES. Will you identify them and introduce them as exhibits to your testimony? What was the purpose of those exhibits at the time with reference to your activities?

Mr. MURPHY. With reference to Communist activities. If you want to have that as exhibit 18, that one gives my membership in the delegates' council in the transport workers' union.

(The letter above referred to was marked "Exhibit Murphy NY No. 18," and filed with the committee, being a letter dated May 28, 1935, on the letterhead of the transport workers' union.)

Mr. MURPHY. This shows a continuation as a full-time organizer in the field.

(The newspaper clipping above referred to was marked "Exhibit Murphy NY No. 19" and was filed with the committee.)

(A statement handed to the reporter, headed "John J. Murphy, 343 Concord Avenue, Bronx," was marked "Exhibit Murphy NY No. 20" and filed with the committee.)

Mr. MURPHY. In March 1935 I was transferred from the union by the Communist Party to organize the unemployed.

Mr. STARNES. Into what organization?

Mr. MURPHY. The Unemployment Council of America.

Mr. STARNES. Does that have any official connection at all with the Workers Alliance?

Mr. MURPHY. It made it a united front with the United Workers, somewhat. It has had a united front fused with the Workers Alliance. It is absorbed now.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you engaged in organization activities after your discharge?

Mr. MURPHY. Altogether?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. Within the union and outside the union?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. Two years and a half full time in the field.

Mr. STARNES. Full time in the field?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How much of that time was outside the union?

Mr. MURPHY. A year and a half.

Mr. STARNES. A year and a half?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. The main policy, then, of the party was to organize, first, for the party and, second, for the union; was that the idea?

Mr. MURPHY. Right, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In reference, or with reference, to the charge that the party controlled the transport workers' union, what, if anything, do you know about that? Can you name some of the key figures? Or I will ask you this question: Did any of the members of the party in key positions direct the policies and activities, and so forth, and so forth, in the transport workers' union; and if so, will you be good enough to give the committee the names?

Mr. MURPHY. Right, sir. On the members of the Communist Party who controlled the policy of the transport workers' union, I can go back to 1934 and cover practically all of the officers, and when I say "officers" I do not necessarily mean the men who are in the executive boards and have an office.

Mr. STARNES. I understand.

Mr. MURPHY. The structure of our union, of course, is strange in that sense. Every man does not have an office who is in the executive board because it would not be very interesting, of course, if a man had to give out a statement and not be a party member. So, then, I go back to that first unit of the party which was organized within the transport workers' union to cover the leading figures and present rank.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I want you to do.

Mr. MURPHY. By the time March 1934 came, when I took out membership in the Communist Party, the party already had spent some time concentrating in the transit industry of the city. They sent in

a few men to do that job who had never worked in the industry. I will name those first, because they are all officers today of the transport workers' union, New York local, and the Transport Workers' International Union of America. The first on that list, all of whom sat in the unit 19-S, then section 2, afterward changed to section 24 of the Communist Party district of New York City, was John Santo, an assumed name, now secretary-treasurer of the Transport Workers' International Union of America.

The next is Austin Hogan, alias Gustav Dilloughry, now president of local 100, New York City; Michael Forge, an assumed name, now editor of the Transport Workers' International Bulletin, and also editor of local 100 bulletin, which is the official journal of the union; and Walter Case, alias Chester Casey, executive member of local 100 and in charge of the Third Avenue railroads, trolley cars, in New York City. These four men were the four outsiders that were sent in to concentrate on the transit industry, but they never worked in the industry. The job of those men was to form the first unit of the Communist Party in the transport industry in the city, which was mainly on the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. lines. So, a new unit was produced for this, and as I chanced to be the second man to join the Communist Party in the transit industry in the city, I was in it from its origination. As I said, it is unit 19-S. In this unit of the Communist Party was Michael Quill, international president of the Transport Workers' Union of America, and now city councilman from the Bronx.

Mr. THOMAS. Just a minute. In regard to Mr. Quill, do you mean to say that Mr. Quill is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What proof do you have that he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MURPHY. I sat in unit 19-S meetings of the Communist Party with Mr. Michael Quill, and knew him for years before as station agent on the lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co.

Mr. THOMAS. But you sat right in Communist meetings with Mr. Quill?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes; in the same unit of the Communist Party, 19-S.

Mr. THOMAS. Was he using his own name there, using his own name?

Mr. MURPHY. I understand Mr. Quill has not used his own name on the party book. However, my name is on the party book, but it is not the policy to have members to use their own names.

Mr. THOMAS. You sat right in Communist meetings with him?

Mr. MURPHY. In unit meetings, to be specific.

Mr. THOMAS. Communist unit meetings?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall Mr. Garrison's name?

Mr. MURPHY. J. D. Garrison, the first secretary to the delegates' council of the transport workers' union, independent, now executive board member of local No. 100. Also Herbert Homstrong, the first treasurer of the transport workers' union, independent. That covers the unit as it stands, with the exception of Thomas Smythe, not a union officer, a member of the unit.

Now, to cover the other party members we have to go back again to the leading fraction where some of those carried membership but

had already been recruited to the other units of the party which were being founded at the time. So, we go back to the leading fraction again. The leading fraction comprised the four original men I have first named, who did not work in the industry; and next to them came myself as a member of the leading fraction of the union in the industry: William Zuidema, a B. M. T. conductor, first original vice president in this local transport workers' union, now executive board member of local 100; Douglas MacMahon, now international vice president of the Transport Workers' Union of America; Patrick Rawley, an I. R. T. motorman, and at the present with the Philadelphia organizing committee of the transport workers' union; and Victor Bloswick, an I. R. T. shop worker in the One hundred and forty-eighth Street shop, and chairman of his section of the union.

Mr. STARNES. Now, those are the names of known Communists to you, that you sat in meetings with in the leading fraction which you gave the number and description of a moment ago?

Mr. MURPHY. Between the leading fraction and units, I sat with each of those members.

Mr. STARNES. And they held key positions as officials and members of the union?

Mr. MURPHY. Both in this local 100 and the Transport Workers' International; both.

Mr. STARNES. So, it reaches not only the local situation but reaches the international organization within that particular field?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do those international officials have control of the policy, or are they in key positions where they can control the methods and the policies of the transport workers' union?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir; I could explain that in a few words.

Mr. STARNES. I wish you would.

Mr. MURPHY. The Transport Workers' International executive board has only three officers in the sense of being officers, the president, the vice president, and the secretary-treasurer. The others are just sitting there to fill the chairs around the table. By that I mean that none of them can speak for the union, and none of them are officers in the sense of holding a specific office. Here is where the transport workers' union leadership differs from the established standard trade-union, following the union principle where each executive board member is an officer; and therefore the controlling policy is, in other words, in two or three people.

Mr. STARNES. Three people?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Those you have named?

Mr. MURPHY. But as members of the Communist Party we may sit in the leading fraction and in the unit meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the size of the executive board, and how many members are there on the executive board?

Mr. MURPHY. About 12, I think. I am not so sure.

Mr. THOMAS. About 12?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And of the 12 members, how many of those do you know are members of the Communist Party?

MR. MURPHY. Quill, MacMahon, Santo, Hogan, and Forge; four, I believe I sat with, are members of the Communist Party.

MR. THOMAS. I think you mentioned five.

MR. MURPHY. Well, I did not cover the board before. I am just getting down to the board now. I did cover the New York board first, mentioning five, the New York executive board, which would be local 100, but the international has 12.

MR. THOMAS. There are 12 on the New York board?

MR. MURPHY. No; on the international board.

MR. THOMAS. On the international board?

MR. MURPHY. Yes.

MR. THOMAS. And the members on the New York board are different from the members on the international board?

MR. MURPHY. Not necessarily. The likes of Walter Case is on the New York board, but, of course, not on the international board.

MR. THOMAS. Well, how many are there on the New York board?

MR. MURPHY. I think about a dozen, too.

MR. THOMAS. About a dozen?

MR. MURPHY. Yes; something like that.

MR. THOMAS. Do you know that those are members of the Communist Party?

MR. MURPHY. Yes; the New York board carries the men I have already stated, Zuidema, MacMahon, Garrison, Hogan, and there is a fifth whom I did skip on the list, Clarence King, a New York executive board member.

MR. THOMAS. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

MR. MURPHY. Yes; he is a member of the Communist Party. I have only Communist Party members there. I sat with him in unit 19-S, now section 24, New York district.

MR. THOMAS. So that you are positive that at least 5 of the 12 on the New York board are members of the Communist Party?

MR. MURPHY. Yes, sir; which covers the officers of the New York board as well as the officers of the international board.

MR. STARNES. Are there three officers on the New York board or New York section?

MR. MURPHY. I have covered five on the New York board.

MR. STARNES. Yes; but how many officers are there on the New York board?

MR. MURPHY. About a dozen members on the board. Those are board members, and there is also a president—

MR. STARNES. You named those.

MR. MURPHY. On the New York board; I know six party members on the New York board.

MR. STARNES. But what I am trying to find out is the officers in New York, not the executive board members.

MR. MURPHY. The officers in New York are Hogan, Michael Lynch—well, he does not operate; he went to Ireland for a vacation, and he forgot to come back. The other officer is the secretary-treasurer, Faber. I did not sit with him as a party member, Faber; but Hogan, president of the local, I sat with him in meetings of the Communist Party.

MR. STARNES. Why did you leave the Communist Party?

MR. MURPHY. Well, we can go back to answer that to the beginning 5 or 6 or 7 or 10 years ago, and I would like to come down to

the present to answer it, too, because today I classify the Communist Party as reactionary, in the sense that it does not practice what it preaches. It used to talk about democracy, but it does not practice it. But it is not leaving the Communist Party but the men who join the Communist Party. There is where the crux comes in, because 3 or 4 years ago you could either go to the right or the left. Today there is a middle-of-the-road policy. Ten years ago if we talked about unemployment insurance, or old-age security, we were not being respectable. I left because I disagreed with their policy in organizing the unemployed, as I had disagreed with them on the set-up within the transport workers' union, because I did not believe that any man would have to join the Communist Party to acquire what he joined the organization for. When I was transferred out to organize the unemployed in the Bronx I must say this on that: Whenever a man came into our organization of which Mr. Barron was here as our chairman, we never asked the members to become members of the Communist Party; to recruit first and relegate everything else to the background. That, of course, we refused to do. I had basic disagreements with them on that. Today in the transport workers' union no man is going to be paid attention to unless he joins the Communist Party; and if he leaves it, may God help him; and if he refuses to join it, it is still worse. That is the set-up that we have to disagree with, of politics first, and idealism afterward, if there is such an animal as that.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Murphy, how many members are there in the transport workers' union?

Mr. MURPHY. Membership in the union?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. Well, Mr. Quill has said at times that the membership in New York City is 60,000 dues-paying members, but it is a little exaggerated, I believe, because the leadership has through their own negligence and policy lost a few more groups in New York City, such as the taxis and a few of the bus lines. Outside of New York they claim 25,000.

Mr. THOMAS. But they claim 60,000 in New York?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What is your estimate as to the number of Communists in the 60,000?

Mr. MURPHY. I would not make a statement on that, because I want to stick to what I know, but I will say this—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Yes; let us have the facts.

Mr. MURPHY. I will say that I can refer to their own statements where party recruiting has been a failure amongst the transport workers in New York City mainly because they are dealing with a type of worker whom they have never met before, and are unable to give him the type of propaganda which would ultimately result in membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. But you do know that they are trying very hard to increase the membership among the transport workers?

Mr. MURPHY. They themselves, their own statements, admit, in the Party Organizer, that recruiting has come to a standstill actually in the transport field, that what we say, we who have left the Communist Party, is it has come to a standstill mainly because men in the transport industry in New York City are asking the question

as to why nobody stays in the Communist Party in New York City in the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. Was Santo a member of the Communist Party when you joined, Mr. Murphy?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who recruited you for membership in the party, if you recall?

Mr. MURPHY. I can recall the individual, but I would not say that I could remember his name.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the procedure at the present time, how they attempt to recruit workers in the transport union into the party?

Mr. MURPHY. I could not answer that at present.

Mr. STARNES. Is there anyone present among the witnesses whom we have subpoenaed who can answer that question, to your knowledge?

Mr. MURPHY. There is a man here, and the system of recruiting them, if we may take that to be the present system or system peculiar to their approach, has been applied to him, but I think he could answer your question on that score.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Murphy, how long ago did you see Mr. Quill?

Mr. MURPHY. The last time I saw Mr. Quill was about a week previous to the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. signing a contract with the transport workers' union.

Mr. THOMAS. At that meeting was anything said by Mr. Quill relative to communism or your activities in relation to the Communist Party?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What was said then?

Mr. MURPHY. That was in May 1937; and to answer that fully, I will have to go back to September 1936, when I presented my resignation to the Communist Party. From September 1936 until May 1937 I was apart from, or, we will say, after stepping aside from it, I was out of the public eye. So, when the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. was about to sign a contract with the transport workers' union, I sought and had an interview with Mr. Quill at his office, 153 West Sixty-fourth Street, with the possibility of going back to work in the industry because the one trump card I had was wherein they had admitted that I was a victim for union activity. Mr. Quill gave me an interview and, after the door was closed to his office, the first salute that Mr. Quill made to me was, "Well, Murphy, what happened between you and the Communist Party?" I said, "Mike, you are a bad Communist if you do not know all about that." From then on the conversation hinged on the other men who had been discharged by the company as a result of union organization, and later we again came down to my own case. From then on Mr. Quill told me in no sparse words that if I wanted to return to the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. service I would have to rejoin the Communist Party, and I do not need to say that I refused to do that. About a week later I sought another interview with him to find out if he still had the same frame of mind, but I was not granted that interview. I wrote a letter to him, which the press did not publish at that time because Mr. Quill was riding the high light at that time. That is the gist of my interview.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have anything further?

Mr. MURPHY. I think that is all.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you.

Mr. Harmon is the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM HARMON, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your full name and address to the stenographer.

Mr. HARMON. William Harmon, 3163 Fulton Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Harmon, are you a member of the transit workers' union?

Mr. HARMON. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever been a member?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is New York City or New York State your native State?

Mr. HARMON. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What is your native state?

Mr. HARMON. North Carolina.

Mr. STARNES. From what section?

Mr. HARMON. Well, the southwestern section; Gastonia.

Mr. STARNES. Gastonia?

Mr. HARMON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join?

Mr. HARMON. About July 12, 1937.

Mr. STARNES. What induced you to join?

Mr. HARMON. Well, Douglas L. MacMahon and the other leaders of the union came to me and asked me to join the party. They told me that the Communist Party was controlling the union, and that they wanted members, wanted to get men and educate them to be leaders in the union, but they would have to belong to the party before they could get anywhere in the union.

Mr. STARNES. You had to do that before you could get into a position of leadership?

Mr. HARMON. Any kind of leadership; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Had you been a member of any other union prior to the time you joined the transport workers' union?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What union had you belonged to?

Mr. HARMON. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers?

Mr. STARNES. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been engaged in transportation work?

Mr. HARMON. Since 1922.

Mr. STARNES. Since 1922?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In what capacities?

Mr. HARMON. As a motorman on the trolley cars until about 1928, and then from that time as a motorman in the subway for the B. M. T.

Mr. STARNES. That was in New York, of course.

Mr. HARMON. Yes.

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

Mr. HARMON. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have your party book with you?

Mr. HARMON. No, sir; they got that away from me.

Mr. STARNES. They got that away from you?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you got a card or any other documentary evidence?

Mr. HARMON. No; I have no documentary evidence of membership in the party.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you stay in the party?

Mr. HARMON. Until about November 8, 1937.

Mr. STARNES. To what unit or faction did you belong?

Mr. HARMON. I belonged to what was known as industrial unit of the B. M. T., section 7 of the Communist Party. Those industrial units were a recent thing and the party in the convention in 1937 adopted a resolution to create industrial units. Due to the activity of the party they have trade-union organizations. An industrial unit is where they cannot have a shop unit. They operate on the idea of having a shop unit in each shop or department or similarity of work in an industry, but if they have only one man in a shop, or two men, they cannot quite give them a unit there. There must be three men or more to have a unit. That is, they take and bring all these men together in what is known as an industrial unit. Then when they get three or more men from one shop they break them off from the industrial unit and form a shop unit. The unit I belonged to had no number, but it belongs to section 11.

Mr. STARNES. What, if anything, do you know about the charges that have been made that the Communist Party has been very active and taken a controlling part in the organization activities and in the framing of policies in the transport workers' union and of other union activities in this area?

Mr. HARMON. I know that the entire leadership of the union—practically the entire leadership are Communists, and that the Communist Party controls the union through their delegates to the unions, and through organization, that is, through the letters every week issued to the union from the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen those letters?

Mr. HARMON. Yes; I have had them in my hands. They are not signed by anybody. They are just typed letters and they are given out by each section organizer to each unit organizer.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection can you name some of the leading members in the transport union, or, I will put it this way: Do you know any leaders in the transport workers' union who are members of the Communist Party? Now, I want your knowledge, your actual personal knowledge. In other words, have you sat in Communist Party meetings with them, or have you seen their membership cards, and so forth? I do not want opinions or hearsay; I want to know what you know personally about them.

MR. HARMON. I was asked to join the Communist Party by a man by the name of Carl Mann. He is office manager of the Brooklyn Transport Co. workers' union offices in Brooklyn; Douglas L. MacMahon, international vice president of the union; and Joseph Fody, organizer of the union and later an international executive board member, signed me up in the Communist Party.

MR. STARNES. How did they proceed with that recruiting campaign, so far as you were concerned? Were you asked to go to a meeting, were you approached personally, or how?

MR. HARMON. I was approached in the union offices first.

MR. STARNES. You were approached in the union offices first?

MR. HARMON. Yes. And then they invited me to attend a meeting which I think was held on July 15, 1937. I was not yet a member of the party. They explained the meeting as being a strike strategy meeting to be addressed by William Z. Foster. At that time we were negotiating a contract with the B. M. T.

MR. STARNES. What occurred at that meeting?

MR. HARMON. Well, first, Mr. MacMahon—Douglas L. MacMahon—told me to take off that day and that they would pay me for my time.

MR. STARNES. Who would pay you for your time?

MR. HARMON. The union would.

MR. STARNES. The union would?

MR. HARMON. Yes. The meeting was held in Central Hall on the corner of Court and State Streets. The president of the meeting and the principal speaker was Harrison George, editorial writer on the Daily Worker, and Peter V. Cacchione, chairman of Kings County Communist Party. Edward Pallak, T. W. organizer in Brooklyn, was chairman of the meeting. I went to the meeting and present, in addition to Edward Pallak and Cacchione and Harrison George, was Michael Butler, a paid full-time organizer of the union in Brooklyn at that time, and now local executive board member of Local 100, New York; James McClurg, counsel of the union in Brooklyn; Carl Mann, office manager in Brooklyn; William Zuidema at that time vice president of the union, and now local executive board member; Edward Murphy, a section chairman; Nicholas Barri, a section chairman; William Bracken, a section chairman; George Rogers, a section chairman; Charles Fried. He was on the section committee. I am not sure whether he was chairman or not. Joseph Strikov, George Lemily, Charles Wilson, and myself, and there were three others there. I do not know their names, and I never did learn their names. Heller and Wilson, and I think one or two others, were not yet members of the Communist Party. A couple of them did sign up that night in the party after being asked by Harrison George. Wilson joined the next day. Heller did not join for about 2 months, until they finally gave his wife a job in the union office in Brooklyn, and then they both joined the party. Do you want me to give any testimony on what took place at the meeting?

MR. STARNES. This is a Communist meeting you are speaking of?

MR. HARMON. Yes; this is a Communist meeting.

MR. STARNES. What was said at that meeting with reference to union activities and Communist organization movements? That is the only thing we are interested in, as you can understand.

MR. HARMON. Harrison George spoke. He went back to Marx, to Engels, to Lenin, to Trotsky, and Stalin, and laid down the doctrine of the Communist Party, and explained it, and so forth. Then he came to trade-unions as to their state today in America, and explained that, in order to bring about the proletarian revolution, the workers must be organized, and he mentioned a general strike. I cannot put it just the way he put it, but the general strike would be the onset of the proletarian revolution. He mentioned there specifically three industries in this country that must be controlled by the Communist Party if this is to be brought about.

MR. STARNES. What were those three industries?

MR. HARMON. First was the maritime industry, considered by the party as the most important in time of war or in a general strike, to tie up the docks, and so forth.

The next was the transportation industry; and he admitted that they would have a hard job of getting control of transportation nationally because of the old-established brotherhoods. He said that they would not tie up to any organization, and in the cities he could render the national organizations more or less helpless because their goods would pile up and not move in case of a general strike.

Then, next, the utilities industry; and he explained that the capitalistic system hinged on utilities, such as gas, electric light, and telephone to operate, and if we could tie those up we could tie up the capitalistic system. He did not refer very much to the revolutionary part of it. He kind of appeared to me to try to skim around that.

MR. STARNES. He had a lot of would-be recruits there?

MR. HARMON. Yes. It was not an open meeting. The men who had just been asked, had been spoken to on what bears on the party, but still he appeared to be kind of reluctant to bring out very much about the revolutionary phase of it, but he did come back to it later.

Then Peter Cacchione spoke. Cacchione took credit for the Flint sit-down strike, and he took credit for the Communist Party filtering in on the automobile workers. Of course, he said the Flint sit-down strike was the only successful sit-down strike of the automobile workers, because there was a strong Communist corps within the shops. According to him, in the other shops, where there was no strong Communist group, they were not so successful. He explained about the B. M. T. sit-down strike in January 1937. He claimed the Communist Party had organized that strike and laid out the strategy to carry it out to a successful conclusion, and that the Communist Party was today building up the union in the B. M. T., and that union men should support the Communist Party, and he thought they—well, I can't remember everything he said, but he just came out to a certain extent the same as Harrison George.

MR. STARNES. Now, this was at a closed meeting of the Communist Party at which there were party members and people who had been invited there for the purpose of recruiting their membership?

MR. HARMON. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Do you recall any other speakers on that occasion?

MR. HARMON. There were no other speakers. Those were Harrison George and Peter Cacchione.

MR. STARNES. We will take a short recess.

(Thereupon a short recess was taken, after which the following occurred:)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearing and Mr. Harmon will take the stand, please.

You attended other meetings of the Communist Party after the meeting you have just described?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You say you became a member at that meeting. Did you sign up at that meeting?

Mr. HARMON. No; I had signed up about 2 or 3 days, about a week, before. I had not been assigned to the unit yet.

Mr. STARNES. I see. You paid your dues?

Mr. HARMON. Yes; I paid 50 cents initiation fee.

Mr. STARNES. What were your monthly dues?

Mr. HARMON. \$1 a month.

Mr. STARNES. That was based on your income, of course?

Mr. HARMON. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Then you left the party in November?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you told us why you left it?

Mr. HARMON. I became disgusted with it, with the union. It was not a union; it was the Communist Party—a political party.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it was not what it professed to be?

Mr. HARMON. No.

Mr. STARNES. At the subsequent meetings which you attended, did you note the presence there, as members or otherwise, of any persons who held responsible positions in the transport workers' union?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Name them.

Mr. HARMON. First I have a couple of exhibits here I would like to introduce in evidence in regards to that first meeting.

Mr. STARNES. What are they?

Mr. HARMON. One is an article by Peter Cacchione, describing that meeting I described before, of October 1937, by Cacchione. Shall I read the article?

Mr. STARNES. That would be a little bit lengthy?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir; it would.

Mr. STARNES. Well, you can introduce that as an exhibit.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Exhibit Harmon NY No. 21," and filed with the committee, being a pamphlet entitled "Party Organizer" of date October 1937.)

Mr. HARMON. Then there is another article by a party organizer by a man who signs himself "R. E." in May 1936, explaining the party when they started to build the union.

Mr. STARNES. You want to introduce that?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Exhibit Harmon NY No. 22," and filed with the committee, being a copy of Traction News.)

Mr. STARNES. Of course, that has no particular reference to that meeting, but just simply describes the party methods?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir. I was assigned to this industrial unit of section 11 and, in September of 1937, I was elected to the unit bureau position of secretary and treasurer of the unit bureau.

Mr. STARNES. They made you secretary-treasurer of the unit bureau?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir. The members of that unit were the following: Most of them I named at the first meeting, so I will skip those and name those who were not at the first meeting, or name the entire unit.

Mr. STARNES. I suspect it would be better to name the entire unit meeting.

Mr. HARMON. Douglas L. McMahon, Edward Murphy, Mike Butler, James McChurg, Jerry O'Carroll. This is a man who was an organizer in Brooklyn, sent there by the central committee. He had connections with the various Catholic organizations in this city; he was a member of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and worked for the Paulist Fathers and, I understand, was working for them at that time and living with them. He was a member of the Holy Name Society and the Knights of Columbus. He was brought to Brooklyn for the express purpose of beating down Communist propaganda in Brooklyn. He stayed in the union office and when somebody would come in that some agent on the road he could reach, or any one could reach on the road, being informed they were Communists, this man would be sent up to talk to them. He was introduced to the meeting as a man who had studied to be a priest, lived with the Paulist Fathers, and so forth, and he was sent up to talk to them; he would show them his different religious organization books, to any that were Communists. However, he was transferred out of Brooklyn shortly after that. I exposed him to the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and they canned him. He denied it, but he never showed up again in any meeting. I understand he was expelled from various organizations he belonged to.

William Zuidema, William Bracken, Julian or Julius Cohen—I am not sure of the first name; he was on the committee of Kearney depot.

Ned Curran—I am not sure about that first name—from Kearney depot.

George Lemily, Barney Cohen—he was a section officer. Barney Cohen's party name was White. By the way, Lemily's party name was George Rowlan.

Nicholas or Nick Barri; George Rogers; Charles Fried; a man named Hassett—I do not know his first name; Joseph Strikov, whose party name was Joe Scoff; William Heller; William Manning, chairman of the Negro porters' section; another Negro named Simpson—I do not know his first name; and a man named Brown. I think "Brown" was his party name. Simpson's party name was Crockett.

John Burns, a ticket agent; another man named Gleckman, a ticket agent; and Wiseberger. I do not know either of the first names of Gleckman and Wiseberger. Charles Wilson.

The following four men's or five men's names were added to unit membership rolls, but did not attend unit meetings because they were being sent to classes. We had a class the first 6 weeks I was a member of the unit, with an outside Communist instructor. This man, Michael O'Connor, was a local executive board member and was not

chairman of the section then. He is vice chairman, I think, now of the section committee.

Jerry McCarthy, who was being groomed to replace Bracken. They had begun to distrust Bracken.

Allen Cumberbacher: John Cumberbacher—I am not sure whether the names are spelled correctly or not—and a man named Stevens.

The unit bureau consisted of Edward Murphy, organizer; Michael Butler, educational director; James McClurg, membership director; William Zuidema, a delegate to the section committee; myself, as secretary-treasurer, William Harmon.

The following men were members of section 17. That is the powerhouse shop section unit. I sat in meetings frequently with them—not unit, but fraction:

Robert Flint, chairman of the section and local executive board members; Gus Ekroth, who is also on the section committee; Edward Pallak; Joseph Fody; another man whose first name is Chester, and who was nicknamed "Bim"—I was introduced to him but did not get his name well enough to include it in here—and Chuck Connors.

I know 17 or 19 men on this unit; I know several more by sight, but not by name. Carl Mann was a member of the shop unit of Avenue X shop, the Coney Island shop of the B. M. T. I don't know any more members of that unit. They had seven members, Carl Mann told me. I don't know any of them.

I have also sat in Communist fraction meetings with the following men from other companies belonging to the unit:

James Fizzimon, recording secretary of local 100, New York; Philip A. Bray, chairman of the section of I. R. T., motorman section; Warren G. Horie, international executive board member; Morris Forge, editor of the Bulletin; Michael Clune, international executive board member; and James Gahagan, international executive board member.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, can you give us the names of other prominent members of the transport workers' union with whom you have sat in Communist Party meetings?

Mr. HARMON. Well, I cannot say I have sat in Communist Party meetings with them, unless you consider fraction meetings, but you have to consider fraction meetings. They have fraction meetings 24 hours a day. If two or more Communists get together, they have a meeting; if they are alone, whether in a restaurant, a saloon, or wherever they may be, they talk party and think party. If those could be considered Communist meetings, I have sat in with practically the entire international executive board and many others, but I cannot name them as actual party members.

Now, I have here an exhibit—

Mr. THOMAS. Right there, in regard to that, following up that testimony: Have you ever sat in a Communist meeting with Mr. Quill?

Mr. HARMON. No; he is one man I always missed, but I know Quill is a Communist. They all told me he is a Communist.

Mr. THOMAS. How do you know?

Mr. HARMON. They all told me—MacMahon and everybody told me of his Communist Party membership and knew of his Communist Party membership.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever sat in a fraction meeting of the Communist Party with Mr. Quill?

Mr. HARMON. If you consider fraction meetings, before the convention—I was a delegate to the convention—it was discussed there who would be elected as officers; every party member knew, before the convention convened, who would be nominated by the nominating committee, which, by the way, was overwhelmingly Communist—we discussed them and knew who they would be, and at this meeting, one meeting in the New York office of the union, Quill was present. He did not talk as a Communist, but all of the men present knew he was a Communist, as we all knew each other.

Mr. THOMAS. That was a fraction meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. One of the fraction meetings of the Communist Party; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. At which he was present?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

When I went to my first unit meeting, the section organizer there was a man named Jacob Sheiniuk. At the first meeting I attended they were raising money for a testimonial to the foreman who was being transferred by the party from the central committee to a trade-union some place else—they did not say where. We were asked to take space in the journal program for this banquet, and to take tickets for the banquet. I chipped in—we chipped in and took a half a page. It was \$10, I think. I have here a copy of the testimonial, showing the ad taken by my unit, reading:

Greetings—Jacob Sheiniuk, from the comrades of the B. M. T. section of the transport workers' union, ninth assembly district.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Exhibit Harmon NY No. 23" and filed with the committee, being a pamphlet entitled "Eighteenth Anniversary C. P. U. S. A., Testimonial to Jacob Shienik, Saturday, September 18, 1937.")

Mr. HARMON. I have here another Party Organizer, wherein a person by the name of "J," of New York, made a report to the party at the builders' congress in 1937, in New York, here, where he admitted that the Communists are in the front rank of the building construction workers' union. This is a very short article, and I can read it.

Mr. THOMAS. Who was that by?

Mr. HARMON. They only sign the name as "J"; they don't sign the full name.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who that was?

Mr. HARMON. No; I don't know who it was.

Mr. STARNES. Does that fit in with the testimony here, or is it simply a part of the party program?

Mr. HARMON. I am bringing that in where they admit themselves they are in control of the party workers' union, helped to build it and were workers in it, and he said this in a report made to the party builders' congress.

Mr. STARNES. You may introduce it, but that, of course, has doubtful value in my mind, because you do not know the name of the author. But you know that is from the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. HARMON. Yes; by the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. It is put out by the central committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. Yes.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Exhibit Harmon NY No. 24", and filed with the committee being a pamphlet entitled "Party Organizer," April 1938.)

Mr. STARNES. By the way, do you have in your possession the minutes of the meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. The Communist Party keep no minutes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any type of record of the proceedings of some group in which the Communist Party was in control of the meetings?

Mr. HARMON. No; they are very careful not to have any documentary evidence.

Mr. STARNES. Have you the minutes, then, of any union meeting?

Mr. HARMON. I have the minutes of the transport workers' union convention.

Mr. STARNES. You have those minutes?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir; that is, of Thursday afternoon. Friday it was given up to accepting party members.

Mr. STARNES. Of what year?

Mr. HARMON. 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Are those minutes official?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How did you come in possession of them?

Mr. HARMON. By being a delegate to the convention.

Mr. STARNES. You were furnished with a copy of them?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. At that convention of the union, were there any known members of the Communist Party there; that is, known to you to be party members?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who were they?

Mr. HARMON. I will have to think back quite awhile. A man by the name of MacMahon was there; Hallett was there; Fody was there; Butler, McClurg.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have those minutes with you?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. We would like you to turn to those minutes, and can you state, of your own knowledge, whether or not at this convention the resolutions committee was controlled by members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who was on that resolutions committee?

Mr. HARMON. Douglas L. MacMahon was chairman; Warren G. Horie was there.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a Communist?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir. Philip A. Bray.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a Communist?

Mr. HARMON. A Communist. Myself, a Communist; another man not a Communist, but a sympathizer, who carried the party line

throughout the convention, named Buford; and one other delegate named Smith, of Akron, Ohio, who was an honest delegate.

Mr. STARNES. He was what you deem, then, an honest delegate?

Mr. HARMON. Yes. What I mean by "honest" is, he was not a Communist.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the resolutions committee of the transport workers' union there at the convention was what we call a "stacked" committee?

Mr. HARMON. Yes; they were all stacked, every one of them.

Mr. STARNES. You mean to say that all the committees were stacked?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You mean to say that all the committees were stacked?

Mr. HARMON. Every committee was stacked.

Mr. STARNES (continuing). Or that the majority of the committees were stacked with members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. All of the important committees.

Mr. STARNES. Name some of the committees of those you know to be what we call "stacked" with Communist members.

While you are looking up those, let me ask—there were six members of the resolutions committee?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Four of the members belonged to the Communist Party, one was a Communist sympathizer, and the other one was what you deemed an honest delegate, or not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir. The first committee was the committee on credentials, Delegate Faber, Gustave Faber, chairman. He is now treasurer of local 100, New York. He was a Communist.

Delegate Stevens, from Flint. I don't know about him.

Delegate Bracken, from the B. M. T., a Communist.

Delegate Childs—I don't know about Delegate Childs, but I do know these committees were all picked 2 weeks before the convention opened. I knew I was going to be on that committee before it opened, and so did everybody else.

Mr. THOMAS. They were picked by the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. Picked by the leadership. Of course, the appointing of committees was given in the minutes as the first order of business, and we were asked to submit recommendations to the executive board delegates about those committees, which we did. There were no questions raised, but we were picked before the convention opened, and the committees were all packed. I cannot name them all as Communists, but I know they were all packed.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have a resolution come before your resolutions committee condemning nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Was that adopted?

Mr. HARMON. Well, yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have a resolution that came before the committee which condemned all "isms"; in other words, including communism as well as nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What happened to that resolution?

Mr. HARMON. That one "got the works."

Mr. STARNES. What do you mean by that?

Mr. HARMON. It was voted down.

Mr. STARNES. It was voted down? You make the statement, then, as a member of the resolutions committee and, of course, a delegate to the convention, that a resolution condemning these other "isms" was adopted without a dissenting vote?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. But a resolution which included all of these "isms," nazi-ism, fascism, and communism, got what you describe as "the works"?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it was voted down?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, did you have any other resolutions before your resolutions committee, Mr. Harmon, dealing with war—the subject of war or peace—in which the interests of communistic governments were involved in any way; and if so, tell how they were received and how they were disposed of.

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir. In the beginning, the union called for resolutions, about a month before the convention opened. A few were presented, a very few, and sent to the convention; but during the convention, resolutions were brought up there. The resolutions committee of the convention, on Tuesday, at the first session, and all of the committees of the convention, were ordered to go in session from 1 p. m. to 5 p. m., and the convention recessed for that purpose, so that all of the committees could go in session.

However, Douglas L. MacMahon, of the negotiating committee, negotiating the B. M. T. strike at that time—the records bear this out—Douglas L. MacMahon had a meeting with the mayor's fact-finding commission and the B. M. T. officials in the negotiations, so MacMahon was not present at the meetings. So, of course, not being present, and being the chairman and all, nothing was done. We were told, in fact, in the meeting, by Santo, not to do anything; just hold on to anything.

Mr. STARNES. Is that this John Santo, who has been identified as a leading Communist of this city?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same Santo?

Mr. HARMON. Mr. Santo is secretary-treasurer of the international union; but, further back of 1932, he seems to be a mysterious figure, and nobody knows him before he came in there in that year. It has been said he was a Communist organizer in the Bronx. I cannot say on that. Anyway, when those resolutions were brought in to us in the convention, we took them in. We got quite a few there, but only four—about four—that dealt with our committee. Those four resolutions that were presented to us by delegates were every one disapproved of by the committee and voted down by the convention.

Mr. STARNES. What were those four resolutions?

Mr. HARMON. I would like, first, to explain the set-up here.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Mr. HARMON. Delegate Faber brought into the committee room a handful of resolutions, all typewritten on the same kind of paper, unsigned, and asked for Horie. Horie was not present. He went

out. Well, to top it off, he gave them to me in the hall and said, "Don't offer them until Douglas comes back." I took them and none of them were signed by anybody, but those resolutions were the resolutions passed by the convention; no other resolution was passed, and every resolution followed the Communist Party line. By that, I mean some of them you could not object to; they were not objectionable to us as union men, but they did not put the boots to us as the Communist Party, you see, and the Communist Party agreed with all of them.

Now, as to these minutes. First, these minutes have been doctored; they are not honest minutes. One resolution was presented there; a man sitting alongside of me at the table handed a resolution to me in the convention, which was brought to the floor and voted down. That does not appear in the minutes—neither the resolution nor any debate about it appears in the minutes. This resolution was very short and to the point. The main part of it read that the T. W. A. go on record as against any change in our present form of government except by due process of law. They could not let that pass; it would be against party line. They could not oppose it. This was what was decided in committee by MacMahon and other Communists—that they could not oppose it unless they came out flat footed in favor of overthrow by revolution, because the resolution said "to go on record as being opposed to any change in our form of government except by due process of law." So MacMahon wrote down the two words "and order," to make it read "except by due process of law and order." Then MacMahon based objection to the resolution on the words "and order," which should be in the minutes, but is not here. He said: "We agree with the first part of the resolution, but we do not agree to the second part. We could not, in case of a strike, conduct ourselves in accordance with law and order, in the opinion of some people." He said: "For instance, if that was put in the constitution, we would be immediately told we were going against our own constitution." Anyway, it was voted down.

A man sitting alongside of me at the convention protested to me it was not the way he presented it. I asked him to get up and protest. He would not do it. He said, "I have no copy of it," and let it go.

Mr. THOMAS. I just want to refresh my memory on a couple of points. What was the date of this convention?

Mr. HARMON. The first day we had a meeting in Madison Square Garden was October 6.

Mr. THOMAS. Of what year?

Mr. HARMON. 1937.

Mr. THOMAS. October 6, 1937.

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. This man who introduced the resolution there, that you just referred to, did he mention to you what he had in mind in introducing that resolution?

Mr. HARMON. Yes. He told me: "That is not the way I put it in; that has been changed."

Mr. THOMAS. No; I mean did he tell you his reason for drawing up the resolution?

Mr. HARMON. No, sir; he did not. But he had discussed with us he thought the leadership was too radical and there had been charges

made last July against Tim O'Shay as an avowed Communist leader, and naming Santo as well, as a Communist, and John Frey.

Mr. THOMAS. The resolution had to do with the Government, did it not?

Mr. HARMON. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. So he was not just referring to the union; he was referring to the Government of the United States?

Mr. STARNES. The point you are making is that they refused to accept or to adopt a resolution which would have placed the union on record as being opposed to a change in the form of our Government—

Mr. HARMON. Except by due process of law.

Mr. STARNES. Except by due process of law; and that was voted down?

Mr. HARMON. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You further state, then, that all reference to that resolution, and the debate with reference thereto, has been deleted from the minutes of the convention?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. But what I am trying to find out is who is advocating this change in the form of government that he had in mind.

Mr. HARMON. Well, I would not know what the man had in mind; but I think he introduced the resolution to put the union on record as being not communistic.

Mr. THOMAS. I see.

Mr. HARMON. And they refused to go on record to that extent, which they admitted they could not do. These minutes here were presented to me by the convention. They go from page 1 right on through; there are no pages missing, and I cannot find the resolution in here.

Mr. STARNES. What is the other resolution?

Mr. HARMON. There are 20 resolutions here. I do not think you want them all.

Mr. STARNES. Oh, no; we only want the four bearing on communism.

Mr. HARMON. There is resolution No. 2 here, "Affiliation with the International Federation of Transport Workers." It calls for affiliation with the transport workers of England. All I want to put in the record is the second paragraph of this resolution:

Whereas it has been clearly demonstrated that working class solidarity is the essential keynote for the successful completion of any and all progressive actions.

Mr. STARNES. Those words have a familiar ring; is that the idea?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir; they are along Communist Party line.

Resolution No. 3, on the subject of Manager Michael Quill, New York City councilman, reads:

Whereas it has been clearly demonstrated to the workers of America that industrial democracy cannot survive without political democracy and organized labor throughout the Nation is moving rapidly toward political action independent of any capitalistic or self-seeking group—

and so forth—endorsing Michael Quill as city councilman.

In signing the name to the resolution, MacMahon signed the name of a delegate from Akron, Ohio, to this resolution, who was not at

the convention, but it was not noticed. He afterward admitted it was a "boner," but said, "It does not mean very much."

Mr. STARNES. Now, the fourth one.

Mr. HARMON. The subject of this resolution is "Independent political action." This is introduced by Horie; his name is signed to it. It reads:

Whereas the need for unity of the working class in the political field is sorely needed, as can be seen by the control of the police and military powers, the courts, and the lawmaking bodies, by the banking and manufacturing interests through these old parties,

It goes on to ask affiliation with Labor's Non-Partisan League:

Resolved, That this convention calls upon all the locals affiliated with our organization to support movements for the formation of labor parties in their cities and States, to join the same when such are formed, and to work for their affiliation with Labor's Non-Partisan League.

It puts the union right into politics and also uses communistic verbiage and condemned bankers, and all that—this stuff about making men class-conscious.

Mr. THOMAS. What happened to that resolution?

Mr. HARMON. It passed. That was one of their own resolutions. Every resolution they presented down there was passed. There were only four put in by non-party workers, and they were voted down. They all dealt with communism. Of course, the union had been worried about having charges made and never denied them. Fuller never denied the charges until a couple of weeks ago.

Mr. STARNES. Have you found the other resolution?

Mr. HARMON. There is another one here about Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings. Of course, we could not object to that, and it went on through. There are 20 resolutions. I may say in the record here at this particular point where Michael Quill, when a man asked to amend a resolution, said, "You cannot amend a resolution. As delegate MacMahon explained, it must be passed or voted down as is." I want to refer to that later on.

There is another resolution here endorsing the Social Youth legislation. That was by Carl Mann. That is another resolution which you cannot object to very much, but it followed the party line. My intention here is to show that no resolution was passed here that does not follow the party line.

Here is one, "W. P. A. and more and more W. P. A." and so forth. Here is the first one, Resolution No. 13:

To the First National Convention of the Transport Workers' Union of America:

This union has made big gains in membership in the past year due to its rank and file owned and controlled democratic organization, therefore in order to keep and to gain more members:

Be it resolved, That no person who does not believe in our democratic form of government, shall be permitted to hold an office in this democratic Transport Workers' Union of America.

That was presented by James Gold and C. Ferreri. MacMahon and the committee, of course, recommended nonconcurrence.

Mr. STARNES. On what ground?

Mr. HARMON. Here is MacMahon's statement:

We had considerable discussion in the committee on this resolution. The committee recommends a nonconcurrence. We recommend it because of the fact that here we believe the resolution is against the spirit, to a large extent

of the letter and to some extent of the constitution adopted by the Transport Workers' Union of America.

They had already debated, in the different resolutions that came up, a section of the constitution which dealt with that. I can read that, or state from memory, it only says there shall be no discrimination against anybody, but they will allow membership without regard to sex, color, creed, political affiliation or belief.

Delegate MacMahon continued:

* * * We believe here that a resolution of this sort would start a witch hunt in this union as to who believed and who didn't believe in the democratic form of government.

We would also like to ask the delegates who introduced the resolution, what do they mean by a democratic form of government in the sense that we have today, as existing, a democratic form of government and nobody disputes it. But let us suppose that in the future, sometime in the near future, or sometime in the far distant future, another form of government took place. Let us suppose, for example, the Labor Party form of government took place. Suppose the Labor Party was successful, as it probably is your hope it will be, and we have this form of government, would that then in our opinion be a democratic form of government? Of course it would. There is no question about it. But I can assure you that there are some people, perhaps, not in this room, but some people who aren't in the room, who wouldn't believe it.

That resolution was voted down. What MacMahon meant, by another form of government of the Labor Party I do not know. I have my own ideas.

Mr. STARNES. That man MacMahon is a Communist?

Mr. HARMON. Absolutely. He signed me up in the Communist Party, and I sat in many meetings with MacMahon.

Mr. THOMAS. By the way, was this union ever used as a vehicle to drum up support for any political party or any political candidate running for office here in New York City, or in Brooklyn?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir. They devoted most of their time, and do even today, to the Labor Party. That is all they do. The unions formed by MacMahon and these men elected since that time have not taken up grievances very much.

Mr. THOMAS. You refer to the American Labor Party?

Mr. HARMON. Yes. The companies are gradually taking away all they have given them, and these fellows are playing politics.

Mr. THOMAS. They also played politics for the purpose of drumming up support for Quill's own candidacy?

Mr. HARMON. Absolutely.

Mr. STARNES. Of course the Chair feels constrained to make the statement that the unions, as well as individuals, have a right to support any political party, or any political candidate, they desire. Certainly there is nothing un-American or subversive in that.

Mr. HARMON. No.

Mr. THOMAS. I make an exception in this regard, that is, that certain individuals, some of those who have already been mentioned, are known Communists, and, at the same time, have been running for and are holding political office here in New York City. I do not think it is right to use any labor union to drum up support for such candidates, who are known Communists.

Mr. STARNES. Let me ask you, then, Mr. Harmon, if you can set out those excerpts in the record?

Mr. HARMON. Have you finished with the minutes? I have not come to the real parts of them yet. There are two here against

fascism and Fascist nations, which were passed unanimously by the convention. The committee agreed with them and the convention passed them. Do you want them read?

Mr. STARNES. No. They can be set out in the record.

Mr. HARMON. Finally they came down to one which condemned not only fascism and nazi-ism, but also communism.

Mr. STARNES. All right; what happened?

Mr. HARMON. Then the fun began. You never saw men change color so fast in all your life. I would like to read you the testimony and the speeches made by these leaders against this resolution.

Mr. STARNES. What became of that resolution?

Mr. HARMON. It was voted down.

Mr. STARNES. It was voted down?

Mr. HARMON. They took about 3 hours, and these fraternal delegates all got up there and talked for several hours, known Communists, and talked it to death. Of course they twisted it around and said the resolution was against the already-adopted constitution, which it was not. The resolution read—

Mr. STARNES. If that is the sum and substance of it, I am going to suggest that you mark and set out for the purpose of the record, Mr. HARMON, the pertinent portions.

Mr. HARMON. I have it here. It is a short resolution.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. HARMON (reading):

In answer to criticism of opponents of labor who hope to confuse the real ideals of organized labor and with the realization that a progressive labor movement would be impossible under any other form of government except a democracy:

"Therefore be it resolved, That the Transport Workers' Union of America be placed on record as opposed to communism, fascism, nazi-ism, or any other 'ism' except Americanism."

Delegate MacMahon recommended nonconcurrence and made a speech and laid down the basis of the argument against it, to the effect that it would start a witch hunt in the organization. And all of the speakers made speeches against it. The president asked for a second of the motion, and MacMahon seconded the motion.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. MacMahon is the international vice president?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And he has been identified here as a Communist?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And you said you sat in Communist meetings with him?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same MacMahon that Mr. Murphy referred to?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir. Michael Butler got up there and made a regular terror speech against this resolution. They all made the same kind of speeches, and all contained in the minutes here, and they all condemned it as being intolerant and all that, but the same men had not ever raised their voice against the Fascist resolution before; every one of them voted for the Fascist resolution, but voted against this, because it contained the word "communism."

Mr. STARNES. It contained the word "communism," and also "any other 'ism' except Americanism"?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And they found that to be highly objectionable, and it was voted down?

Mr. HARMON. It was voted down.

(The copy of the minutes above referred to at length by Mr. Harmon was marked as "Exhibit Harmon NY No. 25" and filed with the committee.)

Mr. HARMON (continuing). In regard to the election of the international officers there, they were also elected in the very same manner as Stalin was elected in Russia. I would like to explain that a little. By the way, as to those resolutions here, the Daily Worker, the following day, came out and supported them and wrote a very good article on the whole convention.

Mr. STARNES. Will you include that for the record?

Mr. HARMON. Yes; I will.

(The article appearing in the Daily Worker above referred to was marked as "Exhibit Harmon NY No. 25A," being entitled "Independent Political Action, Unity of Labor Urged at Transport Convention.")

Mr. STARNES. Now, what other statement was it that you wanted to call to the committee's attention, because I want to complete this and go on with other testimony.

Mr. HARMON. On the election of officers, of course, the nominations committee was communistic-controlled. Of the six, four were Communists.

Mr. STARNES. That is the nominating committee?

Mr. HARMON. The nominating committee. They brought up, at the opening of the convention, the rules on nomination—the one rule, rule 6, which read that any committee nominee must first be voted down before you could nominate anybody else. You can nominate from the floor, but only after you have voted down the nominee of the committee. So the committee brought up a slate of one man, no opponent; and the convention was forced to vote just like they elected Stalin—either vote for or against, but could not nominate anybody else. And the entire board was elected the same way—one man placed in nomination—and they went on through from 1 o'clock to 7 in the evening, with no questions raised, and long speeches by the leaders building up a great enthusiasm for them. Then after they all got through talking from the floor, they were all elected. The Daily Worker carried a full account of that.

Now, here is what I want to put in the record. Before nominations started, when the committee came into the hall with the nominations, Quill ordered the gallery cleared of all spectators (those spectators were all union members), but the Daily Worker reporter was allowed to remain at the front of the hall during the nominations and was not excluded from the hall and wrote a complete account of what occurred.

Mr. STARNES. Were other newspaper reporters excluded?

Mr. HARMON. I don't know. There were only three there—one girl and two men. I don't know whether the other reporters were excluded or not, but I know the Daily Worker covered the convention from end to end.

I have some other evidence here to show that the unions used union halls for communistic purposes.

Mr. STARNES. You have documentary proof of that fact?

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. We will just ask you to identify those documents and hand them to the stenographer and he can mark them.

(The papers submitted for the record by Mr. Harmon were marked "Exhibit Harmon NY No. 26" and filed with the committee, being a number of miscellaneous newspaper articles and other papers.)

Mr. STARNES. What other statement have you got to make?

Mr. HARMON. I think that is all.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Thank you.

Mr. THOMAS. I just want to ask one question. The statement has been made here today that Michael Quill is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HARMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know what his party name is?

Mr. HARMON. I don't, no; except—

Mr. THOMAS. Have you heard from anyone what his party name is?

Mr. STARNES. I do not think that would be relevant. He has stated he could not say the man was a member of the party.

Mr. HARMON. Other than what I was told.

Mr. STARNES. Other than what he was told.

Mr. THOMAS. He was told that.

Mr. STARNES. That is purely hearsay, of course, and I think would be valueless. I do not think we ought to use anybody's name in that connection, unless we know.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me put the question in another way. Do you know his party name is John Phillips?

Mr. HARMON. Well, no; I don't know that. I was told to attend a meeting in New York at one time and I was shown an ad by Douglas L. MacMahon and I was sent over as a representative of our unit to come back and make a report of the meeting, and on this ad of the meetings was a leaflet of one of the speakers, John Phillips, and MacMahon told me that was Quill. That is all I know about Quill.

Mr. THOMAS. That answers it.

Mr. STARNES. In the interest of fairness, you have already stated you cannot say that he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HARMON. No; I cannot say that.

Mr. STARNES. And you further said you never sat in a Communist Party meeting with him?

Mr. HARMON. Not a real Communist Party meeting; no.

Mr. STARNES. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES MARTIN, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. What is your full name and your address?

Mr. MARTIN. Charles Martin, 249 Sixtieth Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a resident of New York?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been a resident of New York?

Mr. MARTIN. Since 1926.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a native of New York?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you born?

Mr. MARTIN. Scotland.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Since when?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, about 5 years; since about 1931, I guess.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession or business?

Mr. MARTIN. Subway conductor.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been engaged in that work?

Mr. MARTIN. Since 1926.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of the transport workers' union?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. When did you become a member?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, in 1934—June.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of the Communist Party, or have you been?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever been approached by any member of the transport workers' union to join the Communist Party?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. By whom?

Mr. MARTIN. Michael Butler and Joe Kerrigan, and Edward Murphy and William Zuidema.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Michael Butler?

Mr. MARTIN. He is an organizer for the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. He is an organizer for the transport workers' union?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Does he hold any other position in the transport workers' union at the present time?

Mr. MARTIN. He is on the executive board, I believe.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Joe Kerrigan?

Mr. MARTIN. He belongs to the painters' union.

Mr. STARNES. He belongs to the painters' union?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And who is the Murphy you refer to?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, he is a watchman, and also a member of the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. And William Zuidema is a member of the transport workers' union?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. He is on the executive board.

Mr. STARNES. On the executive board?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What did they offer you in the way of inducement; what was held out to you as an inducement or reason for joining the Communist Party?

Mr. MARTIN. They said we would have a prominent position in the union if we joined it.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, membership in the Communist Party would lead to the advancement of the workers in the transport workers' union; is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did they present you with any propaganda, or an application for membership?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; leaflets and booklets.

Mr. STARNES. They did that?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You have those with you?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Will you turn those over to the committee?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

(The papers above referred to were marked "Exhibit Martin NY No. 27," being a number of miscellaneous leaflets and booklets, and the same were filed with the committee.)

Mr. STARNES. Did they leave a card with you for membership?

Mr. MARTIN. They put a card down in front of me, but I refused to sign.

Mr. STARNES. You never did become a member?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD MAGUIRE, THE BRONX, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your full name and address to the stenographer, please.

Mr. MAGUIRE. Edward Maguire, 343 East One Hundred and Forty-Second Street, Bronx, N. Y.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you lived at that address?

Mr. MAGUIRE. About 3 years.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a native citizen of the United States?

Mr. MAGUIRE. No. I was born in Ireland.

Mr. STARNES. Are you now a naturalized citizen?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What is your business or profession?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Station agent in the I. R. T. Co., New York.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been in the transportation business?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Since the autumn of 1927.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of the transport workers' union?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been a member?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Since 1934.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever join the Communist Party?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Around the month of March 1934.

Mr. STARNES. Did you hold any sort of position in that party?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes. I was treasurer of unit 19-S, section 24, of the Communist Party of New York.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, do you have your membership book?

Mr. MAGUIRE. I have a photostatic copy.

Mr. STARNES. Where is the original?

Mr. MAGUIRE. In the hands of the lawyer who is handling an injunction case in the court against the leadership of the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. Will you introduce the photostatic copy?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Will you swear that is a true and correct photostat?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Will you further bring to the committee, as soon as the original membership book has served its purpose in the court proceeding—will you bring the book?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. We will ask you to do that.

(The photostat above referred to was marked "Exhibit Maguire NY No. 28" and filed with the committee, being a photostat of 1936 membership book No. 1358 in the name of Edward Maguire.)

Mr. STARNES. To what section, unit, or fraction did you belong?

Mr. MAGUIRE. It was known as unit 19-S, section 24, of the Communist Party of New York.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name any other members of the transport workers' union who were members of that union?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Michael J. Quill, now international president of the Transport Workers' Union International of America.

Mr. STARNES. Any others?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Michael Clune, now a New York board member, and former treasurer of the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. Any others?

Mr. MAGUIRE. J. D. Garrison, now New York executive board member and first secretary to the delegates' council of the transport workers' union.

Clarence King, now a New York executive board member.

John Allen, now chairman of section No. 2 of the transport workers' union in the I. R. T. division.

Thomas Smyth, station agent in the I. R. T. division, elevated.

John Nolan, station agent in the I. R. T. division.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know John Santo?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, the names you have called here—have you sat in Communist Party meetings with them?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you collected dues from all of those you have called here?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were they members of your unit?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir; of the unit known as 19-S.

Mr. THOMAS. Then do I understand you collected dues from Michael J. Quill?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You say you were secretary-treasurer of that unit?

Mr. MAGUIRE. The unit known as 19-S.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know what the dues were that were collected from those various members?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How do you collect those; on what basis are they collected?

Mr. MAGUIRE. You collect them by the week, a quarter a week.

Mr. STARNES. That depends on their income, too, does it not?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes. Well, we all had more or less the same income, and we were all levied at the same rate, except those outside on unemployment, who had a special rate of 10 cents a week while unemployed; otherwise it was a quarter a week dues.

Mr. STARNES. I see. What did you do with the money you collected?

Mr. MAGUIRE. I turned it in to the section, for which I have some receipts here in hand.

Mr. STARNES. Will you introduce those?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

(The papers above referred to were marked "Exhibit Maguire NY No. 28" and filed with the committee, being several receipts.)

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other documentary proof in reference to dues collected?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes. When I was appointed as treasurer for said unit 19-S, in this capacity I collected the dues of these members for the Communist Party section and stamped their books. I knew each and every one of these men to be members of the Communist Party in good standing that are shown on this exhibit, which I have marked "Exhibit C." which I had to make out of the dues payments, an attendance record of section 19-S.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Exhibit Maguire NY No. 29" and filed with the committee, being headed "Dues payments and attendance record.")

Mr. STARNES. What, if anything, do you know about the charge that the Communist Party has been working in the transport union in an effort to control its activities and its policies?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Well, in the union meetings of 19-S, on many occasions John Santo spoke relative to being good union men, and it was necessary, he claimed, to be a Communist; that the best union men were made from those who were Communists. He always pointed out the fact that in the control of the transport industry of New York City it was essential that all the keymen within the industry should be members of the Communist Party. And sometime in the summer of 1935 I was addressing unit 19-S, and in doing this I digressed on union policy, whereupon I was interrupted by John Santo and reminded that, "we are not building the transport workers' union; we are out to build the Communist Party." This remark left me dumb-founded, as the agitation of these men when standing before the workers was all for the union and nothing for anything else. So, strictly, in that unit 19-S, it was not a transport workers' union; it was there for the purpose, not of building the transport workers' union but to build the Communist Party by establishing the key positions in the hands of Communists.

Mr. STARNES. That was their policy?

Mr. MAGUIRE. That was their policy.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know, of your own knowledge, as a member of the transport workers' union, and having been affiliated with them since 1934 and having worked in the system here for 10 or 12 years

and knowing the active members of the Communist Party in the city, whether it is a fact that they do have members of the Communist Party in key positions in the transport workers' union?

Mr. MAGUIRE. That is a basic, fundamental principle of the party.

Mr. STARNES. I ask you, is it a fact that they do?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes; they have.

Mr. STARNES. Who are those members, and what positions do they hold?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Well, John Santo is now international secretary-treasurer of the Transport Workers' Union International.

Mr. STARNES. Name another one.

Mr. MAGUIRE. He is a man who never worked in the transport industry, by the way.

Mr. STARNES. He never did work in the transport industry?

Mr. MAGUIRE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you known him?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Since around March of 1935.

Mr. STARNES. Any other?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Michael Forge, now editor of the Transport Workers' Bulletin, the official journal of the international and locals of the union.

Another outsider who never worked in the transport industry was Austin Hogan, alias Gustav Dilloughry, now president of local 100 of New York City. He never worked in the transport industry. These three men hold top positions in the Transport Workers' Union of Greater New York and the Transport Workers' International, and are men who never had any record of working in the transport industry at any time.

Mr. STARNES. What position does Quill hold in the transport workers' union?

Mr. MAGUIRE. He is international president of the Transport Workers of America.

Mr. STARNES. He, however, is or has been engaged in the transport business?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes; he worked in New York City prior to becoming president of the union.

Mr. STARNES. You called these other names for the purpose of stressing the fact they hold top positions in the international organization of the transport union, yet at the same time have never been known as transport workers?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes; and, above all, to me known to be Communists.

Mr. THOMAS. In regard to Mr. Quill, on what date did you collect dues, these Communist dues, from Michael J. Quill?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Well, to be specific, I could not give exact dates; but, as treasurer of unit 19-S, from approximately March 1935 to January 1936. On an average, we held a meeting once a week.

Mr. STARNES. Did he attend most of those meetings?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes; he attended most of those meetings; and he, just the same as every other member of the unit, paid his dues to me as treasurer of the unit.

Mr. STARNES. And you have sat in meetings with them?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes.

(Witness excused.)

(The subcommittee thereupon took a recess until 2:30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The hearing was resumed at 2:30 p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings.

Mr. BARRON, take the stand, please.

**TESTIMONY OF LAURENCE BARRON, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK,
N. Y.**

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your full name and address to the reporter.

Mr. BARRON. Laurence Barron, 54 Vrymle, Manhattan.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Barron, how long have you lived in New York?

Mr. BARRON. I was born and raised in New York.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever been a member of the transport workers' union?

Mr. BARRON. I have never been a member of the transport workers' union; no.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARRON. I have.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join?

Mr. BARRON. May 1932.

Mr. STARNES. Where?

Mr. BARRON. Section 15, the Bronx, N. Y.

Mr. STARNES. Are you at the present time a member of the party?

Mr. BARRON. I am not. I have not been since August 7, 1934.

Mr. STARNES. What induced you to join in 1932?

Mr. BARRON. Well, in 1932 I joined the Communist Party because I felt they were forward in social ideas, that it would be of value to the average workingman and a change of the conditions at that time which were bad, and they did at that time put forth ideas which today we have accepted. I mean by that, public works and home relief have been accepted.

Mr. STARNES. Why did you leave the party?

Mr. BARRON. I left it on disagreements in principles with them: first, because I do not believe that the organizations which were primarily economic organizations and were built for the purpose of bettering conditions of the men on the job should be used for political activities for anybody. In other words, I believed, and still believe, in the economic trade-union as against the political trade-union.

Mr. STARNES. When did you first get into disagreement with them?

Mr. BARRON. Well, I have never been—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Let us put it this way, and it will be more logical, probably: What ideas do they advance with reference to communism and to politics in trade-unions along a broad and comprehensive front, say, and when did they develop that policy?

Mr. BARRON. The Communist Party always had the policy of the political trade-union. In fact, that is the basis of, and is their outstanding basis of, organization.

Mr. STARNES. Who was the leader in that movement when you joined it?

Mr. BARRON. When I joined the section, the section organizer was one Joe Lustig, who is now head of the United Electrical Workers of the C. I. O.

Mr. STARNES. What was their field of operations, and what was their campaign at that time; what was their objective with reference to trade-unionism?

Mr. BARRON. At that time, in that particular place, their objective had been mainly the political field, because it was not known as a trade-union or trade section. In other words, it happened to be in the north section of the Bronx, where there was not any industry, but was a residential section, so that they only dealt with political questions, where they got a lot of workers interested, the question of unemployment, social relief, and so forth, in their own neighborhood, for example, in the economic field; but that is another story.

Mr. STARNES. Get to the broader field, then.

Mr. BARRON. You mean the particular trade-unions, I suppose?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BARRON. Do you want me to go definitely into the transport workers' union, and my experience in each field of the transport workers' union?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BARRON. After Joe Lustig was disposed of as section organizer, there came a man from Cleveland, in 1933, John Santo, now secretary-treasurer of the transport workers' union, and John Santo became section organizer of section 15. Due to the nature of the neighborhood, he did not have many outstanding field organizers. It is primarily a neighborhood where there were very few workers who could face the question of going into the transport workers' union. I was sent into the unemployed field to get experience and organize in the Italian neighborhood throughout the Bronx in June, in the C. W. A., mainly as an organizer of laborers. Later the question came up of organizing some workers in the railroad yards, and there I worked under John Santo, in organizing the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us anything about the background of John Santo? His name appears continuously in this testimony.

Mr. BARRON. John Santo came here from Cleveland, in 1932. In Cleveland, in 1932, he was defeated, as I understand it, for the Hungarian party—for the Communist Party. Other than that I do not know, but he immediately became section organizer of that section within the Bronx, and it was for the outstanding work in the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad that he was picked over Joe Gilbert to go into and organize the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. BARRON, when they started work you say they started in to organize the transport workers here?

Mr. BARRON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And to make of that a political trade-union; is that your statement?

Mr. BARRON. That is my statement.

Mr. STARNES. And that is the reason you left the party?

Mr. BARRON. I left the party on disagreements with them later, and at that particular time I was working with John Santo.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the inception of the movement to organize the transport workers' union?

Mr. BARRON. Well, prior to 1932 the Communist Party was not making much headway. For example, let us look at some of the previous attempts to organize the I. R. T. Railroad. Before that each section of the city took a whack at organizing, for example, the elevated, in 1931 and 1932, and some individual would decide he would organize the union on the I. R. T., but mainly the whole thing was disorganized. Therefore, in 1933 there was called an extraordinary conference of the Communist Party at Finnish Hall, at 126th, off Madison Avenue, where it was decided once and for all to decide the question of organizing the key industries of the country at that conference. The keymen of the Communist Party in the United States and Canada were present. They reached the conclusion that the time was ripe where they could get into the key industries, and the slogan at that time was toward the basic element of the American proletariat.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member at that time?

Mr. BARRON. I was a member at that time.

Mr. STARNES. And you attended that meeting?

Mr. BARRON. I attended that extraordinary conference with John Santo.

Mr. STARNES. You are speaking from personal knowledge, and you were actually at that conference?

Mr. BARRON. I was personally at that conference; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed.

Mr. BARRON. The main attack to employ was to organize the two industries picked out at that time, namely, the marine and transport, as basic industries. Therefore the party was to utilize its best finance and efforts for the organization of the transportation and marine industries, and everything else was to be secondary to that, regardless of what it was. Following that Joe Gilbert was sent in as a local organizer to organize the transport workers' union. Joe Gilbert failed, and John Santo was picked as the likely man to organize the transport workers' union. Therefore we set up a temporary organizing committee wherein wide power was given. This was the main tactics. The word "concentration" was the word used by the party. We had no friends inside the transport workers' union. So, we utilized everyone who could answer questions of Irish workers in them. This was one of the outstanding points used in the approach.

Mr. STARNES. Why did you select the Irish?

Mr. BARRON. Well, the transport workers are basically Irish workers, or Catholic workers, and it was the key the party was after which would give them face in New York.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you wanted a respectable face for the movement at the time?

Mr. BARRON. Well, we got it.

Mr. STARNES. You got it?

Mr. BARRON. Yes. It was not until I picked up a few more like Murphy and McGovern that we actually got into the transport field. I was later transferred out to the field-laborers' organization, and it was within that organization that the disagreements came up and

I left the party. Primarily that is the inception of the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. What became of the Relief Workers' Association you organized? Did it merge with some other organization?

Mr. BARRON. No; it blew up. We had a few of the midline element in there, and we took quite a few into another union, which Joe Santo and some of the others objected to, and the matter came to a blow-up.

Mr. STARNES. I failed to ask you a moment ago if you had your membership book in the Communist Party.

Mr. BARRON. My membership is in the file of a case in court on appeal—

Mr. STARNES. Do you have a photostat of it?

Mr. BARRON. I have a photostat of my party book and also the pass to the central committee.

Mr. STARNES. The central committee is the committee which guides the party's policy?

Mr. BARRON. It is the pass which admitted me to this extraordinary conference, wherein this question was discussed.

Mr. STARNES. Will you introduce those as exhibits?

Mr. BARRON. I will.

Mr. STARNES. And will you get the original papers for the committee?

(The photostatic copy of the page of the membership book above referred to was marked "Barron Exhibit NY No. 31" and filed with the committee, being a photostat of a page of membership No. 9031 issued to Laurence Barron.)

(The photostat of the pass above referred to was marked "Exhibit Barron NY No. 32" and filed with the committee, being a photostat of the pass to the central committee, Communist Party of the United States of America.)

Mr. THOMAS. At any of the Communist meetings which you attended, or the unit or fraction meetings, which you attended, did you notice Michael J. Quill present?

Mr. BARRON. I never met Mr. Michael J. Quill within the party, although I have met him at organizations; but I have never met him personally within the party.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you name any members of the workers' transport union who are officials of, occupying what we term "key positions" in the transport union, whom you know to be Communists, or whom you associated with as Communists in the Communist Party while you were a member?

Mr. BARRON. I can; John Santo and John Santo's wife; and I can also name Walter Case, whom I have had experience with when we put him on relief when he was "on the bum" outside. Otherwise I know very few of the others.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Barron, you have stated that you met with the Communist Party here in New York at the time of the inception of the program for organizing the maritime union workers?

Mr. BARRON. Right.

Mr. STARNES. And the transport workers here?

Mr. BARRON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Now at the same time, state whether or not there was any discussion or attempt or any move made to organize the workers in the utilities industry.

Mr. BARRON. On the question of utilities, every section of the Communist Party wherein powerhouses were in that section, or utilities, was at that time constituted the best unit, and the best forces, and a large percentage of the dues collected from the membership were to be utilized in organizing the utilities. For example, in the lower Bronx we have a powerhouse there, which is a good section, and the best political members were employed; and in the upper end, where the New York Central yards were situated, the same situation exists; the best boys and the most money was used.

Mr. STARNES. Why did they want to organize these industries?

Mr. BARRON. For example, let us take the subways. What industry would give the party greater political face than a tie-up of an I. R. T. or a powerhouse? It would be practically in complete control of the town.

Mr. STARNES. When and where was that extraordinary conference or session held that you referred to previously?

Mr. BARRON. In July 1933—July 7 to 10, 1933—which they held in Finnish Hall, One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street, off of Madison Avenue, New York.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you have already named some of the outstanding leaders of the party that were present at that time?

Mr. BARRON. Everybody was there from the upper crust, from Browder down to the outlawed members of the Canadian party.

Mr. STARNES. That is all, thank you.

Mr. BARRON. May I reopen that again? I have an affidavit here from a transit worker who wanted to have you admit it, due to the fact that he is working and cannot be here.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose you leave the affidavit here with the committee. We will examine it as to whether it is admissible; and if it is; we will use it.

The next witness is Mr. Kelly.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL KELLY, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your full name and address, please.

Mr. KELLY. Michael Kelly, 2005 Madison Avenue.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you lived in New York?

Mr. KELLY. Twelve years.

Mr. STARNES. How long?

Mr. KELLY. Twelve years.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a native or a naturalized citizen?

Mr. KELLY. Naturalized.

Mr. STARNES. Naturalized?

Mr. KELLY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you come from?

Mr. KELLY. Ireland.

Mr. STARNES. Ireland?

Mr. KELLY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a transport worker?

Mr. KELLY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession or business?

Mr. KELLY. Electric inspector in the I. R. T.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been employed with the I. R. T.?

Mr. KELLY. Since the fall of 1926.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of the transport workers' union?

Mr. KELLY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join?

Mr. KELLY. January 1935.

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

Mr. KELLY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been solicited to join the party?

Mr. KELLY. Yes; I have been asked in June 1937, by Michael J. Quill. I have a statement, and if I may, I will read it.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. KELLY. On or about the month of June 1937, in a conversation I had with Michael J. Quill in the union office, at 153 West Sixty-fourth Street, he told me he was a member of the Communist Party, and that he thought I should join that party. When I told him I didn't see my way to do so, he continued to tell me that he had been a party member all along, and had always registered as a Democrat. He then told me that the transport workers' union was due to become one of the most powerful organizations in the country and would be run by 16 or 17 men. He then reminded me that as I was an active union man, I should come into the party and come to know first-hand every move that the union was going to make in the future. He then told me that there were two kinds of Communists, namely, those who bore from within and those who speak openly to the public, and that he, Michael J. Quill, was one of the former type. Then Michael J. Quill told me to consider my membership in the party and go to the workers' school at 50 East Thirteenth Street.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go to the workers' school?

Mr. KELLY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Have you a card?

Mr. KELLY. Yes; I have a receipt for \$1.50 that I paid them to enter the school.

Mr. STARNES. Will you introduce that?

Mr. KELLY. Yes.

(The card above referred to was marked "Exhibit Kelly NY No. 17" and filed with the committee, being a card to the workers' school issued in the name of Michael Kelly.)

Mr. STARNES. How long did you attend the workers' school?

Mr. KELLY. I attended five terms, every Wednesday night, for an hour, for 5 weeks.

Mr. STARNES. Five weeks?

Mr. KELLY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. After completing the workers' school, you say you did not join the Communist Party?

Mr. KELLY. No; I did not join. After seeing what went on in the workers' school, and Mike Quill telling me that 16 or 17 men controlled the union, I came to the conclusion that they were a bunch of reactionaries.

Mr. STARNES. You did not join the party because of the fact that 16 or 17 would be in control of the organization, and you considered such tactics as reactionary; is that right?

Mr. KELLY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did Mr. Quill solicit you to join the Communist Party on more than one occasion?

Mr. KELLY. No; just one occasion.

Mr. STARNES. Just one occasion?

Mr. KELLY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I believe that is all.

Mr. McCarthy, will you come to the stand?

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL J. M'CARTHY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Give your full name and address, please.

Mr. McCARTHY. Can I withhold my address?

Mr. STARNES. You can give that to the committee, but we want the addresses of the witnesses.

Mr. McCARTHY. I will ask to withhold it, please.

Mr. STARNES. Give it to the committee.

Mr. McCARTHY. My name is M. J. McCarthy.

Mr. STARNES. M. J. McCarthy?

Mr. McCARTHY. M. J. McCarthy, 503 West 176th St., New York City.

Mr. STARNES. You are a citizen of New York?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been a citizen?

Mr. McCARTHY. Eighteen years.

Mr. STARNES. You are a naturalized citizen?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am.

Mr. STARNES. You are of what descent?

Mr. McCARTHY. Well, I guess the auld sod—Irish.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession?

Mr. McCARTHY. Well, for about 15 years I was engaged in the transportation business, New York City, but I am not just now.

Mr. STARNES. When did you leave the business?

Mr. McCARTHY. In 1934 I left transportation.

Mr. STARNES. You left transportation at that time?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever a member of the transport workers' union?

Mr. McCARTHY. Well, I first became a member of the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railways and Motor Coach Employees of North America, A. F. of L., and for doing so I was discharged from my job. I went out on strike and never got it back. After going out on strike and not getting my job back, in 1933, which was under the old N. R. A., the National Labor Board at the time, our case was taken up with the N. R. A. under section 7 (a) and we got a decision from the National Labor Board in Washington, and after getting that decision from the National Labor Board in Washington to have us reinstated, I got a letter from the transport workers' union, which I have here, inviting us down to have the decision of the National Labor Board enforced. I have that letter here.

Mr. STARNES. Before going further, the committee is not interested, of course, in any jurisdictional disputes between labor organizations.

Mr. McCARTHY. All right.

Mr. STARNES. That is a matter of absolutely no interest to us.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. The only thing we are interested in about trade-unions or the economic field at all is just whether there are any un-American or subversive activities at work in those fields.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes; I understand that.

Mr. STARNES. You understand that?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCARTHY. Never.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever solicited to join?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who solicited you?

Mr. McCARTHY. John Santo.

Mr. STARNES. John Santo?

Mr. McCARTHY. John Santo, who was secretary-treasurer at the time of the transport workers' union, independent, and Austin Hogan—at the time I do not know what position he held, but he was one of the executive members of the so-called transport workers' union at the time when it was an independent, not affiliated with either the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O.; and Michael J. Quill.

Mr. STARNES. Some statement was made by a previous witness here today about the transport workers' union being an independent, that at one time the organization was independent with no affiliation with the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O.; is that correct?

Mr. McCARTHY. It started out with such a name.

Mr. STARNES. I see.

Mr. McCARTHY. But from the time I knew about it, it was no trade labor union at all, so far as leadership was concerned.

Mr. STARNES. What was it, so far as leadership was concerned?

Mr. McCARTHY. It was under the political control of the Communist Party. It was a unit of the Communist Party to get the transport industry organized.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, name some other parties other than John Santo who approached you and asked you to join the Communist Party.

Mr. McCARTHY. Austin Hogan.

Mr. STARNES. Anyone else?

Mr. McCARTHY. Michael J. Quill.

Mr. STARNES. Anyone else?

Mr. McCARTHY. Nicholas Traynor.

Mr. STARNES. Anyone else?

Mr. McCARTHY. A fellow by the name of Case. I do not know his first name.

Mr. STARNES. His name was Case?

Mr. McCARTHY. His second name was Case.

Mr. STARNES. All right. What inducement did they hold out to you to join the Communist Party? Why did they want you to join?

Mr. McCARTHY. Well, they sent for me—which the letter says—they wanted to enforce the decision of the National Labor Board, and by so doing they wanted to make a big thing for their outfit to get on the field. At that time they had the name of being “red” and communistic. That was in 1934.

Mr. STARNES. You say “they.” Who is “they”?

Mr. McCARTHY. The transport workers’ union had the name of being a “red” radical outfit.

Mr. STARNES. They were the ones who wrote to you?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have that letter with you?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes; with John Santo’s name signed to it. The address at the time was 80 East Eleventh Street.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the letter which you received [indicating]?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes, sir; I received that in 1934.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you to identify it as such and introduce it as an exhibit.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You do identify it?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

(The mimeograph letter above referred to was marked “Exhibit McCarthy NY No. 34” and filed with the committee, being a single space mimeographed letter bearing at the head “Transport Workers’ Union, 80 East Eleventh Street, Room 631, N. Y. C.”)

Mr. STARNES. They sent for you?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And did you go down to the union headquarters?

Mr. McCARTHY. I went down, after while, after they had my name and address, and I found out that they got my name and address through a member of their own local, who was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who that man was?

Mr. McCARTHY. Nicholas Traynor.

Mr. STARNES. When you went down there to report or discuss this matter with them, whom did you talk to?

Mr. McCARTHY. John Santo and Austin Hogan. At that time Michael Quill was not president of the transport workers’ union at all.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, you stated that Michael Quill solicited you for party membership in the Communist Party. Where was that?

Mr. McCARTHY. At his residence; one Sunday I went over there to see him. The first thing they done was to try to get us out picketing.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the approximate date of that?

Mr. McCARTHY. About the month of July 1935.

Mr. STARNES. When you went down to Santo’s?

Mr. McCARTHY. No; that is when I went to Quill. I was in contact with him all the time from about the summer of 1934 to the autumn of 1935.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever reinstated, put back on the job?

Mr. McCARTHY. Never; although they made several promises.

Mr. STARNES. What were the promises?

Mr. McCARTHY. The promises were we could never get any reinstatement if we did not join up with the party, and if we did we would be put back to work.

Mr. STARNES. They were made by the party, the Communist Party, of course?

Mr. McCARTHY. The Communist Party is right.

Mr. STARNES. You never joined, and you never went back to work?

Mr. McCARTHY. I never joined the party because from what I saw of them while I saw them right with the organization that there was, I knew too much about them to join the party. I came down to their office one day, and I accused them of being not a labor organization at all. I refused, as a man with close to 15 years' experience in transportation, to take orders from the Communist Party. The lady that they had there as legal adviser, Rose Wortis, was the candidate of the Communist Party in the 1936 election for the supreme court justice for this district of New York, and she was legal adviser at that time for the so-called organizer of the transport workers' union.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other documentary proof there, or have you any other documents which you wish to introduce, which bear upon the question of un-American or subversive activities in trade-union movements?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have the first line-up of the picketing that they made signs for at the transport workers' office when we started picketing the lines of the Fifth Avenue Coach Co. Those were made by the transport workers' union, and we found some of the men that were discharged, which is evidence to show that they were out with us at the time. After that I refused to take orders from the Communist Party, and I broke with them, and I pitched them to the hot place. After that we got close to 500 petitions from the Fifth Avenue Coach Co. employees asking for reinstatement to work.

Mr. STARNES. The committee is not interested in that angle of it, because that probably leads into a dispute with a rival organization or something of that sort. As I have stated, we are only interested in some evidence of the fact that there are subversive and un-American activities at work.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes: it was because of the un-American activities that I quit it.

Mr. STARNES. We will take a recess.

(Thereupon a 10-minute recess was taken, after which the following occurred:)

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Monahan.

Mr. MONAHAN. Do you have any objection if Mr. Gibson sits here and assists me with these exhibits?

Mr. STARNES. That is quite all right.

TESTIMONY OF ROY P. MONAHAN, NEW YORK CITY

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Monahan, will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. MONAHAN. Roy P. Monahan, 49 Wall Street, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. You are a native of New York?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes, sir; I was born on Tenth Avenue.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession?

Mr. MONAHAN. I am an attorney.

Mr. STARNES. An attorney?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And an ex-service man?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes; I served overseas as an aviator during the World War.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of any veterans' association?

Mr. MONAHAN. I am; of the Disabled World War Veterans, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the American Legion.

Mr. STARNES. Do you hold an official position in the national organization of either of these veterans' groups that you have mentioned?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes; at our national convention in Grand Rapids this year I was selected as a national officer, chairman of the National Americanization Committee.

Mr. STARNES. As a member of the Disabled Veterans you have been making a study in un-American and subversive activities for your organization for the past several years?

Mr. MONAHAN. I have. It started in the early part of 1937, through their New York State commander of the Disabled Veterans, and it is continuing, I am sure, up to the present time.

Mr. STARNES. Have you a statement prepared or any information that you are in a position to give the committee as a result of your studies?

Mr. MONAHAN. I have.

Mr. STARNES. We are particularly interested, Mr. Monahan, as to whether or not the charges are true that un-American and subversive activities have crept into our school systems and into trade-union movements, and whether or not they are active on the political front. In other words, we are not interested, of course, in trade and labor disputes as such. I mean jurisdictional disputes between unions. We are not interested in questions of the Republican and Democratic Parties when we speak of the political front, but we are interested to know whether any un-American or subversive movements are on foot or under way working in any of these groups and, with that in mind, if you have a general statement and any specific incidents you want to call to the attention of the committee, we would be happy to have you go ahead with your statement.

Mr. MONAHAN. I have, sir, and I may say with respect to what I am about to cover in this statement, because I have been investigating this matter for some time, I have documentary proof of every statement. I have some of these documents with me, and others I have submitted to your committee, and others I will submit to your committee, and as far as testimony of certain witnesses that I will allude to, in executive session I will give the addresses of those witnesses to the committee so that you may subpoena the witnesses here to substantiate what I have to say, which is not today substantiated by the documents I have here.

Mr. STARNES. Before you start, will it bother you if we interrupt you with a few rapid-fire questions from time to time?

Mr. MONAHAN. Certainly not, if it will help to bring out the facts.

Mr. STARNES. Are you here as a representative of any organization or group?

Mr. MONAHAN. I am representing the Disabled Veterans of the World War, and also here in my capacity as a lawyer and American citizen.

Mr. STARNES. In no other capacity?

Mr. MONAHAN. No; no other affiliation of any kind. I am very glad you asked that question. I want to state, Mr. Chairman, that I believe that it is the duty of every civic organization, regardless of their political, religious, or philosophical attitudes, to assist in this campaign to strip these movements from what military men know to be military attributes, namely, verbal camouflage. We must bring out the facts, and I think it is the duty of every citizen to assist in bringing out the facts.

Of course, my organization and other veterans' organizations are interested in schools and educational systems, and it is our job to develop our children, if we can, to be good and useful Americans. No one can question the statement that the primary purpose of every school and educational institution in this country is to educate our children to be good and useful Americans. Right here we meet one of the key points of the brazen and thoroughly un-American activities of the so-called German-American Bund. While in print they urge gullible German-American parents to send their children to bund-directed schools and camps, allegedly to educate them, as they themselves phrase it, to become valuable American citizens, as a matter of fact, they actually make every effort to destroy whatever American civic-mindedness had previously been instilled into these children in American schools.

To be specific, there was a meeting held in Brooklyn on December 13, 1936, at which the bund people believed they were among themselves at which the so-called commander for North America of the Nazi youth groups of the bund, by the name of Theodore Dinkelacker, said verbatim:

We must make every conceivable effort to obtain a tight grip on all German-American youngsters. Never mind these American schools; they have to be educated to become useful fighters for our German unity. It is the duty of every person of German blood in this country to support this phase of our work. In this way you will help our youth who are destined to carry forward our Nazi ideals, and who will ultimately bring victory to the glorious German ideals here.

I submit that does not sound like any kind of an American bund. Of course, all the leaders and so-called educators working with Mr. Dinkelacker, and I have particular reference to Camp Siegfried, Long Island, which I have thoroughly investigated, and Camp Nordland, N. J., which my organization has also carefully investigated, are what I might call technically American citizens. I mean by that that most of them have gone through a naturalization ceremony. As a matter of fact they boast that the bund is an American organization and all of its officers are American citizens, but I think before I finish my testimony I will have proven that they are not American activities. By this that they try to create misleading impression that the affairs of the organization would be conducted in an American spirit. Among other sources of information on this is a paper called the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, published here in New York, the files of which I have very carefully scanned, and in that paper there is a quotation which I will give you verbatim:

Anyone of German blood who would renounce his real German fatherland, after acquiring American citizenship papers, would be a despicable scoundrel.

To use plain language, all this prating about their loyalty to the American flag, in my personal opinion, is the bunk. If this committee wants to subpoena some records of the telegraph office in Los Angeles, Calif., for the night of April 20, 1937, you will find a message of fervent loyalty of the bund addressed to Adolph Hitler, and signed by Mr. Herman Schwinn, west coast leader of the bund. There was a meeting out there that night of uniformed Nazis and White Russian monarchists. As a matter of fact, for your information, this Mr. Schwinn is in New York City at the present time and can be subpoenaed. I will give you an address where I think you can bring him down here if you want to.

Getting back to this systematic fostering of un-Americanism among children, my records disclose that on May 2, 1937, before a meeting of the bund unit in Union City, N. J., this same Dinkelacker, the leader of the bund youth corps, said, verbatim, again:

German-American children should be kept away from American influence as much as possible. Their education should be in the German tongue, and it should be a thoroughly German education. The best guaranty that they will receive the only proper education possible is to send them to our bund youth schools.

At the same meeting there was a gentleman by the name of George Brauns, who, I understand, is the New Jersey Nazi youth commander, who addressed the bund in a similar vein and he ended up by stating: "You have got to live as good German citizens."

Now, I could dilate on that subject and give you many other instances, but I am confining my remarks to these one or two. These remarks are constantly evidenced in closed membership meetings of the bund where they think no Americans are present, and they consequently talk in an entirely different vein than in their so-called public meetings and when they make press releases. I can quote another statement of Dinkelacker, made at a meeting on May 16, 1937, in New York City, when he had youth delegations from Newark, N. J., Hudson County, N. J., and Passaic, N. J., assembled around him. On this occasion he not only demanded that efforts be made to unite the whole German-American youth under the bund auspices, but that they be given their training exclusively in bund camps. He said specifically that the "more promising" of these youngsters should be trained as future political leaders in Nazi propaganda in the New York political training school, maintained exclusively for these purposes. Now, in connection with that I would like to refer you to a recent publication under the auspices of former Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, published by Harper & Co., which gives the textbook which these children are taught in Germany, which is the same doctrine which is given to these children in the youth movement here in these bund camps.

Mr. STARNES. Will you furnish that for the committee?

Mr. MONAHAN. I will furnish the committee with a copy of that, if you wish.

Mr. STARNES. Fine.

Mr. MONAHAN. I might say this, this is offered as proof, if anybody reads that book, that they are bringing up a race of people trained like thoroughbred dogs, cats, or horses, some day to be what they call herrvolk, the masters, and that is the same basic idea and the educational principle they are trying to install here in New

York City. Full details of the aspects of this propaganda-training school in New York City have been placed at the disposal of this committee, but I want to mention at this time that the man who, on April 17, 1937, at a bund meeting at Hackensack, N. J., was introduced by the local leader, a gentleman by the name of Henry Seibert, as "our national propaganda-training leader and director of this school, Severin Winterscheidt," is at the moment an inmate of the State penitentiary in this State.

Mr. THOMAS. That is, in New York State?

Mr. MONAHAN. In New York State. He was convicted on June 27 of this year in the court of special sessions in Brooklyn on a morals charge for attacking a little girl and sentenced on July 6 to a 3-year term in jail. He had previously received 30 days in the workhouse because he had been arrested for indecent exposure in the Pennsylvania Station, in New York City. Now, this gentleman, whose name appeared for some time on the masthead of this *Weckruf und Beobachter*, the official paper of the German-American Bund, together with Fritz Kuhn's name, this Mr. Winterscheidt, with this background that I have just touched on, had the nerve to call the United States a degenerate Nation. I will give you a copy of that communication. Despite the fact that he has been in difficulties with the law on several occasions, as I have just demonstrated, and I understand that Congressman O'Toole, on April 25, 1938, asked the Secretary of Labor to deport this alien criminal, the Nazi paper here not only defended Winterscheidt but on June 21, 1938, while he was under indictment, or at least under these charges, he was given American citizenship, and I ask your committee to look into the circumstances of the granting of citizenship to this gentleman, Severin Winterscheidt. I ask you particularly to get a statement from Inspector Barnes of the Law Division of Ellis Island Immigration and Naturalization Service, who is in full possession of the records of the case, to find out why he failed to prevent this degenerate from becoming an American citizen.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Monahan, you are making the statement here that this fellow Winterscheidt was a member of the bund?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes, sir; not only a member of the bund, but he was the editor of this paper [indicating].

Mr. STARNES. Joint editor with Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. MONAHAN. Joint editor with Fritz Kuhn.

Mr. STARNES. And that he was an alien?

Mr. MONAHAN. An alien, and was allowed to become an American citizen in June of 1938, when he had one previous offense, of which he was found guilty, and at that particular time was undergoing punishment for a second offense.

Mr. STARNES. That he had received sentence and you say he is now serving that sentence?

Mr. MONAHAN. He is serving sentence, and he received his citizenship, both, and he is now serving 3 years.

Now, with respect to the record with reference to this criminal case, there is a report by Probation Officer Arthur D. Keller in Brooklyn, in which it is stated that this man Winterscheidt, when on a trip to Germany, took the oath of allegiance to Adolph Hitler and was personally sworn in as a Nazi worker by Julius Strecher, a well-known aide of Mr. Hitler in some of his propaganda work in the United States. This took place at Erlangen, Germany, September 18, 1936.

I say this fact alone—the oath of allegiance to Hitler and his “fine” high moral character—should have resulted in that man being denied American citizenship. I think it is your duty, as officials of the Government, to look into that question. That is just a respectful suggestion. I might also say, as a suggestion, I think your committee should look into the possibility of revoking citizenship of some of these men whose activities, I am sure your committee will find out, have been nothing but anti-American since they went through naturalization ceremonies.

With respect to the activities of this bund, it is again a matter of court record that while Winterscheidt was awaiting trial, in May and June of 1938, he and members of the bund’s strong-arm squad bullied and threatened one Harold Newcamp, who is connected, in the capacity of assistant manager, with the Empire Movie Theater at the corner of Quincy Street and Ralph Avenue, Brooklyn. Mr. Winterscheidt was objecting to the showing of that play and sent their bullies from the bund to prevent him doing so, and I think Mr. Newcamp would willingly be a witness before your committee.

I would suggest, in your investigation, that you contrast the actual activities of this organization with the public utterances of Mr. Kuhn, the bund fuehrer. In my own personal opinion, he is a potential Conrad Henlein. Actually, in my opinion, he is a mixture of Charlie McCarthy and Dizzy Dean. But he is the head of this particular organization. For instance, in an open letter which he wrote to the House of Representatives, published in the bund paper on August 10, 1937, Mr. Kuhn states:

I hereby make the categorical statement that all camps of the German-American Bund are for the recreation of the children of German-American parents and their elders, and are absolutely without ulterior political significance.

If the above facts about the training of the children have no political significance, then I do not know what they could have. But it is not only the instilling of poisonous un-American doctrines in the children who, as I will show, are severely punished if they ever dare speak English in the camp, but actual physical hardships which, in the name of the “pro-Nazi spirit,” are imposed on these American children which I complain of.

In the statements of Kuhn and all of the other men they have always emphasized what a wonderful boon to the health of the German-American children these camps are, yet the food, on inspection, appears to be of a subquality, a cheap quality. Also, they have strict German military exercises and, on occasions, they go on a march with a 30-pound knapsack for 20 miles in the sun. And I know something about going on a march with a heavy knapsack in the broiling sun myself.

Also, they actually compel these children to perform hard labor. In the summer of 1937 the parents of these children complained so strongly that the national youth bund leader, Mr. Dinkelacher, had publicly to admit that some of these evils existed. In the official paper of the bund, the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, volume 3, No. 10, of September 10, 1937, you will find his statement in that connection. And he admitted that these children, whose parents thought they were paying their good money for a vacation and a physical upbuilding sojourn of their children in the camp, were

actually used to do hard labor, such as heavy construction jobs on some of the building going on at that time in the camp, the purpose of which, I submit, was merely to save labor costs and avoid employing labor to do the work, as the ordinary citizen would. You will also find, in the very same article, that the officers of the German-American Bund, and particularly Mr. Dinkelacher, threatened complaining children's parents with ostracism from the German-American communities if they continued to complain. I suppose I could not describe the spirit of the whole thing more eloquently than to use his own words, that—

If the children were forced to do work at the expense of their recreational time for games and sports, that is nobody's business but our own.

In the year 1938 conditions are somewhat improved as a result of these complaints. In 1937, however, when this Nazi discipline was at its height, these supposedly health-building camps actually resulted in the death of a girl which has never been fully and satisfactorily explained. I refer to the sudden death on Tuesday, August 17, 1937, of a girl by the name of Tillie Koch, who was leader of the girls' camp at Camp Siegfried. That is on Long Island. Mr. Kuhn devoted a very touching obituary to this girl on August 19, and her commander, Theodore Dinkelacher, wrote columns of praise of the dead girl in the *Weckruf und Beobachter* of August 26. The girl was buried on August 20 with full Nazi rituals, and in the presence of dozens of uniformed storm troopers.

I will submit to the committee a photograph of these funeral exercises.

My investigation shows that Tillie Koch who, incidentally, was a leader of the girls' division of the South Brooklyn unit of the German-American Bund, was stricken with pleurisy at the camp on August 12, 1937, 5 days before she died, and that Dinkelacher, himself, was present and refused to call a doctor. As he said, he did not believe in making German boys and girls sissies. Despite the fact that this girl had a high fever, he neglected to get medical assistance until it was too late to provide proper medical attention for her.

I am going to give the committee full documentary details on the organization of this youth group, particularly originals of orders and decrees which show, beyond any doubt, that these youth divisions are organized as exact parallels to the Hitler youth movement in Germany, with the same instruction books being used. I will show the committee that the very uniforms these children wear throughout the youth movement here in the United States is identical with the uniform that the children wear throughout the Hitler junior or youth movement in Germany; is the same uniform that the Nazi bunds working in Argentina make the children wear; the same one that they wear in Chile, and the same one that they wear in Sudeten, Germany. It is all part of the German military activities, to prepare these children as future soldiers of the Third Reich. Just to quote one of the items with respect to the decree of equipment of American children, it is "black German army belt and black German Sam Brown belt." Perhaps this can be explained by somebody on the part of the bund as having something to do with Americanism! Also I read right now from the same original regulations, "head gear, brown overseas cap, exactly like the regulation German Hitler youth cap."

Then, further, the orders prescribed "the boys' and the girls' groups will particularly be equipped with Germany Army knapsacks, German Army auxiliary kits, and Germany Army canteens." I do not think that is an indication that this is an American movement of any kind.

As far as the political angle of this Nazi movement is concerned, I won't go into that in any great detail, but I do think I should mention some of what I will call the "racketeer" activities of this bund. For instance, my investigation and examination of witnesses shows that there is quite a little graft in connection with the dispensing of beer and alcoholic beverages by their own two camps—Camp Nordlan, near Andover, N. J., and Camp Siegfried, near Yaphank, Long Island. They do not account to members for receipts and expenditures, and the private pockets of some of the gentlemen in the bund have been filled as a result of those activities.

Another thing I wish to call to the attention of the committee is that Mr. Kuhn from time to time has made public appeals for funds for various purposes, and this is one appeal in the issue of the *Beobachter* of September 8, 1938 [exhibiting], in which he says he needs \$20,000 to appeal the *Siegfried case*. As a lawyer who has been practicing in this town since 1920, I say that is an exorbitant sum. By no conceivable stretch of the imagination could he legitimately spend \$20,000 in appealing that case.

Mr. STARNES. What is that case, Mr. Monahan?

Mr. MONAHAN. That is a case in which I was complaining witness and some convictions were obtained against the bund and its affiliates, and some of those connected with it. It is on appeal and, as a lawyer, I would like to be asked to be excused from making any further extended reference to it.

Mr. STARNES. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. MONAHAN. In 1936—this is important, I think, on the subject of whether this is an American organization, or is under the direction of Germany—Mr. Kuhn made a trip to Germany and was accompanied by a large number of the members of this bund, and four members of the bund were allowed to profane the sacred precincts of the chancellory with their presence, and there is their picture here in the 1937 yearbook, which shows Fritz Kuhn with the fuhrer, the real fuhrer, Mr. Hitler—Mr. Kuhn, Mr. Arndt, Mr. Weiler, and a gentleman by the name of Froboese, standing at attention in front of Adolf Hitler. Now, it is very interesting for this committee to know, I think, that \$3,000 was collected from the members of the bund before this trip took place, and it is also interesting, if you care to go into it, to check that up with the fact, which I have investigated, that only \$2,500 was turned over to Adolf Hitler.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection, the statement has been made, as I understand it, by Mr. Kuhn, that all the records of the bund have been destroyed and they were no longer available. I believe some other committee or some other investigation called on them for their records, and they said they had all been destroyed.

Mr. MONAHAN. Your information is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Now, have you any information that would lead you to believe that statement is not true?

Mr. MONAHAN. I have, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What is it?

Mr. MONAHAN. That statement was made by Kuhn, that the records were destroyed as of October 1937. In that connection, I call your attention to the September 8 issue of the *Beobachter*, which I am turning over to the committee, in which there is what purports to be a newspaper account of the national convention of this bund held right here in New York City. In this newspaper account it states:

Reports were submitted by Gauleiter Markmann for the East, Gauleiter George Froboese for the Middle West, and Gauleiter Schwinn for the West. These were followed by reports of other bund functionaries, including those of the national treasurer, national organizer, executive secretary, and others in charge of the *Bulletin Service*, the bund's press organ (*Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*), the youth movement, and the women's organization.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you make the point that the treasurer and secretary neither could make a report of finances on hand, or membership, unless there be records in their possession somewhere?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes; or else this story is another piece of lying propaganda put out by the bund. I do not think you can get away from either of those alternatives. I would suggest your committee exercise its power of subpoena duces tecum and bring in the records of the organization. I might call the committee's attention to the fact that in the masthead of this issue and other issues appears, in the German language, a statement by Fritz Kuhn that he is responsible for all of the contents of this newspaper. I therefore make the point, as a lawyer, that any statement in this paper or any other issue is competent evidence against Mr. Kuhn. I also call your attention to the fact it says it is published by the A. V. Publishing Corporation. I suggest your committee use its power of investigation to get some financial information about the A. V. Publishing Co., which I am told is Mr. Fritz Kuhn.

I also ask your committee to make some effort to find out where Mr. Kuhn lives. As you have stated, he has testified on several occasions, but he either gives his address as a lock box in the post office, or the address of the German-American Bund. I say, as the leader of this allegedly patriotic movement, he should be glad to tell us where he lives so he may be honored by the citizens in the particular section where he lives.

Getting back to the visit of bund leaders and Mr. Kuhn to Adolf Hitler in 1936, I call your attention, Mr. Starnes, referring now to the yearbook of the bund of 1937, which I will give you, to some language in German the exact translation of which is:

Again the Fuehrer expressed his thanks for the gift of the Golden Book of the German-American Bund, as well as the money which accompanied it.

And I leave for you to consider the interesting spectacle of this patriotic American organization contributing money—\$3,000, which shrank to \$2,500—to Mr. Hitler! I say if that was a charitable contribution, any American organization in New York City can find American ways for American suffering to be alleviated by spending any funds they have for charity in this country.

I also call your attention to the fact that this bund has recently organized its so-called intelligence service. A confidential meeting was recently held at 178 East Eighty-fifth Street, in Kuhn's private office, on the 3d day of February 1937. There were exactly 61 of

those bund functionaries there, including Rudolph Markmann, who is leader for the Atlantic coast district of the United States. I will be glad to explain to the committee how I got that information. I will do that in executive session, if you do not mind.

On that occasion Mr. Kuhn announced the formation of an intelligence service. In his words, this service was "to be masked with those bund members who had to know of its existence as a mere 'clipping and news service,'" but it was made clear to the delegates present that it was to be an adjunct of the Gestapo, which is the secret German political police, and was to operate here in the United States, and specifically in New York City, in close cooperation with Dr. Friedhelm Drager, who is chief Gestapo agent for New York and who is presently vice consul at the consulate general in New York City. I wish to submit to this committee that at present this intelligence service is headed by a gentleman by the name of Otto Wegener. I have had occasion to hear or to see some of his speeches and this is the gentleman who was particularly vicious and un-American in his speeches. It was his remark, as a matter of passing interest, at the Hitler birthday celebration in the Yorkville Casino, on the night of April 20, 1938, which started the riot we had there. He said in the German language on that occasion that "President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull have acted like a couple of cheap punks"—that is his language, not mine—"in their reaction to Hitler's seizure of Austria," and that is what started the trouble. He has made other speeches, in similar vein, in New York, on February 13, 1934, and another one at Woodside, Long Island, on May 11, 1934, which I will give your committee.

I call your attention to an article in the New York Times of June 20, 1938, which contains a most lucid description of the bund intelligence service, known as the Bunaste, which is an abbreviation for Bundes Nachrichten Stelle.

If you will pardon me just a few more minutes, I will give you references to some exhibits which I have not previously submitted to this committee. I show you here a photostat of a circular describing in German the American camps in this State, in which it says that German-Americans, as Americans, realize it is their duty to help outlaw Jewish-International, atheistic communism in all its disguises, and so forth, and I will call your attention to the particularly dangerous language in this, in which, again stripping it of the camouflage, it says that the German-American Bund is—

an essential part of the movement of the 100,000,000 Aryan (white) gentle Americans, fighting to reconstitute our country a free and sovereign, God-fearing, moral, social, and national United States.

I say, in plain English, stripping it of the camouflage, that is an admission in plain English they are out to nazify the United States. That is something that is published and distributed by them.

You may be interested in some biographical details about Mr. Kuhn. This is also from the Beobachter in the issue of December 30, 1935:

He was born May 15, 1895, in Munich. He did his military duty in the Bavarian Leib regiment in Munich. During the war, 1914-18, he fought as a lieutenant of a machine-gun division on the French-Italian-Serbian-Rumanian frontier. Kuhn was wounded three times. After the war he fought with the Free Corp Epp against the Bavarian People's Republik (Räte Republik), and later joined the Free Corp Oberland.

In 1921 Kuhn joined the Hitler party and worked in Munich under Dr. Frick (Minister of Domestic Affairs in Germany today) and Poehner. Kuhn participated in the Nazi putsch on November 9, 1923, in Munich—

That was when Adolf Hitler first started to be known as the potential leader of the Germans—

* * * and he was at the same demonstration with Hitler and Ludendorff—on that occasion.

After the suppression of the Nazi putsch and Hitler went to jail—this is particularly significant—and some of the other followers got in difficulties. Mr. Kuhn came over to the United States and was one of the very first members of the German-American Bund.

First he was local group leader in Detroit, Mich. In September 1935 he became the successor to Gissibl as leader of the district middle west.

Mr. STARNES. That is the Gissibl who has already been before the committee!

Mr. MONAHAN. No; that is the Gissibl over in the Orslando Deutscher Institute, in Stuttgart.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Kuhn, as those pictures will show, is wearing the military decoration, which is the Order of Blood, which is the highest military decoration Hitler can give anybody for having been wounded in connection with defending nazi-ism.

As part of the camouflage, I am going to give the committee a picture showing that on April 9, 1938, Mr. Wheeler-Hill, national secretary of this bund organization, decided to change from the straight Nazi standard which they had before, with nothing on it but the swastika, to the present insignia, which contains the Nazi swastika in modified form; that is, the bund flag with the swastika in the center. He did that, he explained, to keep from having insults to the Nazi flag and possible rioting.

I have here copy of a yearbook published in South America and call your attention to the pictures here, not only of the uniformed members of the Nazi movement in Argentina—which, incidentally, has been wiped out since the pictures were taken—but to the pictures of the children there, boys and girls, and call your attention to the identical appearance of the uniforms worn down there in South America with the uniform of the children worn in Camp Seigfried.

Mr. STARNES. That establishes the fact, in your judgment, then, of its being a German movement of the Third Reich?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes, sir; with the connection a little modified.

Also, in this copy of the Newsweek—which is the latest issue, September 19, 1938—to the picture of some Sudeten Germans marching. I call your attention to the fact that the uniform which the Sudeten Germans wear is identical with the O. D. uniform worn by the members of the bund here.

Then these are some pictures from South America showing the children's camp in the Argentine, identical in construction, so far as the uniform goes, with the camp on Long Island.

On the question of whether this is an American organization of American citizens, I am submitting a photostatic copy of the constitution of the German-American Bund. I will just knock that

question out by reading something from article I of the constitution. It says:

The name of this organization shall be the German-American Bund and Prospective Citizens' Association * * *.

In other words, in the language used in the formation of the bund, they made provision for people who are not American citizens. So the statement it is composed entirely of American citizens is an open and unqualified falsehood.

I call your attention to article IX of the constitution, in which you will note the extraordinary powers with respect to finances that are given to the bund leader, Mr. Kuhn. I also call your attention, when you get around to it, to his power to suspend a member without any check-up by any other members of the organization.

Also, on the question of American citizens and noncitizens, I call your attention to the membership card of one of the members who became a member on August 10, 1933, and did not become an American citizen until April 20, 1938. This gentleman's membership card and data I am giving you (Fred Scheibe).

I also call your attention, on the question of how big this movement is, to a sympathizer's card; that it has a group membership of other than people of German-American blood of—the number here is 50,010.

Mr. STARNES. That brings you up to the point where I wish to ask you some questions.

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have your investigations disclosed the number of German-American Bund members in this country?

Mr. MONAHAN. From the information I have, Mr. Starnes, and I base this on a report of membership dated May 10, I think, of this year, there were about 18,000.

Mr. STARNES. German-American Bund members?

Mr. MONAHAN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Now, then, about sympathizers: Have you any idea how many sympathizers there are?

Mr. MONAHAN. This is dated June 8, 1938—50,010. I am a little suspicious of that 50,010. They might have started somewhere along the line, but I will take this as documentary evidence and give it to you as evidence that there are 50,010 sympathizers and 18,000 for the others.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it is your judgment there are many times more than that number of sympathizers in the country?

Mr. MONAHAN. My own opinion is that 50,000 is an exaggerated number. That is my own personal opinion. I am bound, however, as a lawyer, by the record of the activities. I question the authenticity of the figure; but if we can accept it as authentic, that is 50,000.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose I go ahead now with some questions which I think are rather pertinent.

Do you have an idea how many children they have in training in these youth movements? I am particularly interested in their activities with our youth.

Mr. MONAHAN. As far as New York goes, I would say that from seeing them drilling at the camp, the total number would be between 200 and 300.

Mr. STARNES. Between 200 and 300?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes. However, what other schools the children go to, I have not been able to cover.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever witnessed any ceremonies out in the camps of the bund members in uniform?

Mr. MONAHAN. Oh, yes; I have witnessed ceremonies at the camps of the bund members in uniform.

Mr. STARNES. What is the approximate number, would you say, in attendance at any of those camps—at Camp Seigfried, we will say?

Mr. MONAHAN. The men in uniform has been a much smaller number; the men in uniform, from my investigation, have never exceeded 150 or 200. However, I have seen thousands of people there—men, women, and children—enjoying those Sundays as an outing. In other words, I am inclined to think, like the rumor of Mark Twain's death, that the number of those gentlemen and people interested in this movement is greatly exaggerated, and I think is designedly sent out to the public in that particular way.

Mr. STARNES. Do you not feel, too, in many respects it is more of a racket than anything else?

Mr. MONAHAN. I am awfully glad you asked that question, because my efforts have been misconstrued and I have been accused of having some prejudicial or racial bias against Germans or German-Americans. That is exactly not the case. I have the greatest sympathy with Germans in Germany suffering under Hitler's rule and am a great admirer of the Germans who grew up with me in this country and who have been decent American citizens until the Hitler coup came, and I call your attention to the fact of the account in the paper yesterday of the German-American conference here, that they refused to allow German-Americans to take part in the ceremonies in Madison Square Garden, also that the Austrian Bund is going to move, they announced to the press, to drop the word "bund," as it may have some political significance, and they are only interested in politics in the United States. I think they are more anxious in being a great body of decent American, law-abiding citizens, and will not say these people represent them and, in my opinion, they do not and never have.

Mr. STARNES. Do not you think the operation of concessions and the taking up of collections of money and soliciting funds is a racket on the part of Fritz Kulm and many of his leaders?

Mr. MONAHAN. I would say that is partially so, but I am sincerely convinced that besides being done for him, as a racketeer on the unsuspecting members, there is a much more sinister move behind it, and that it is part of the Hitler movement to nazify the world when they get sufficiently strong.

Mr. STARNES. What have you to say about espionage?

Mr. MONAHAN. I say this organization they have, particularly the military organization, is ideally suited for espionage purposes. There is no reason I can see why these men must be militarily organized and must use a military organization with powers identical with the organization of the storm troops and Brown Shirts in Germany. I say it is a very fertile field, particularly of people who call themselves Americans and organize in this sympathizers' movement.

Now this is an interesting exhibit I am going to give you showing Hitler's map of the world.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, in your investigation of un-American and subversive activities, do you have anything with reference to the so-called Silver Shirts?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes: I have found out there is a connection between the Silver Shirts and the bund members. When a certain individual I sent up there went to join the bund, he was given an application to join the Order of the White Monarchists. He wrote to the Order of the White Monarchists and got a letter back—I think from Miller Dudley Pelley, somewhere in the West, and received thereafter a lot of additional propaganda.

Mr. STARNES. What about membership, insofar as you were able to find out, in the White Shirts? Do they exact, in your judgment, membership in the bund?

Mr. MONAHAN. I have no information I would like to present today as to that membership. I think it is another one of the movements that is greatly exaggerated as far as membership goes.

Mr. STARNES. Have you heard, or has your investigation disclosed, any connection between the two organizations; that is, a friendly linking or tie-up?

Mr. MONAHAN. Oh, yes. It is a matter of record in these newspapers that representatives of the Silver Shirts appear at bund meetings and make what are known as patriotic speeches, but actually make speeches along the line and with the purpose of stirring up racial prejudice and hatred, which is the watchword of the Nazi movement.

Mr. STARNES. Did you know anything of the fact, if it is a fact, of the meeting in which they invited the White Shirts in, or to be allied with them as being organized along the same line and with the same ideals?

Mr. MONAHAN. I do not know of any particular joint meeting, but representatives and men active in the Silver Shirts, as I have read in their paper, have attended meetings and made speeches.

Mr. STARNES. Is there any connection between the Black Shirts, the Fascists, and the bund?

Mr. MONAHAN. The only information I have is what I read in a magazine article. I am not prepared to state definitely. I have confined my remarks to the things I have actually noted.

Mr. STARNES. And the place you consider there is the greatest danger, or the place where they made the most headway, is in their attempt to educate the youth of this country in German ideals?

Mr. MONAHAN. That, to me, is the most dangerous form of their activities, and the most pernicious. I do not think the average American with any reason is going to be misled; but I think with the pliable minds of young children, particularly when they are sent there by their parents, they are apt to be warped.

I have in my files many letters which people have sent to me about things these children are trying to bring to bear after they come back from camp, that is along racial and other lines, which I call strictly un-American.

Mr. STARNES. So far as your investigation has gone, you have not found any particular activities in the trade-union movement on what the Communists term "the political front," have you?

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes: it is a matter of record in the records of the State labor relations board here in New York State that these Nazis

mixed in with the strike, which is now unsettled, of the Cook Baking Co. of Jamaica. Mr. Cook is a member of the bund and a strong Hitler sympathizer, and members of the bund furnished strikebreakers. This is an A. F. of L. strike of the bakers' local union No. 3, and they are still out on strike, and bund members have acted the part of strikebreakers. That is a matter of record.

There was a strike in 1936 at the Cushman works, and in that case, also, bund members stepped in to help break the strike. That strike, however, has been settled.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, their activities have been as strikebreakers rather than boring from within in the unions, as in the case of the Communists?

Mr. MONAHAN. Well, they have a labor organization—allegedly a labor organization—which is organized just for the purpose of breaking strikes. If I can find it here, I will give you that address.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest you find it and furnish it to the committee.

Mr. MONAHAN. Yes. Now if I might, I would like to get in two points as an exhibit. One is this application for sympathizer's membership. I call your attention to the fact on this blank it says the address need not be given. It also says a pseudonym may be used. In other words, they can use a party name and conceal their right name and their right address from people who might still be trying to get hold of these records.

Mr. STARNES. It seems as though the comrades in the Communist movement are not alone, then, in the use of party names.

Mr. MONAHAN. No. "Imitation is the sincerest flattery."

I also call attention to a photostatic copy of some propaganda. This bears the stamp "German-American Bund, P. O. Box 75, Station K, New York, N. Y." It comes from Hamburg, from President Heinrich Kessemeier, 127 Hochallee, Hamburg. It says, in English: "If you want any more copies, you can get them free of charge." I would like, if I might, in concluding this, to inform the committee I appreciate very much the opportunity of coming here today and advise them that my organization intends to continue its cooperation with the committee, and we hope to fight these problems in what we call the American way, and not by castor oil, or as Black Shirts with clubs in their hands, but by exposing the facts before the American people and obtaining the proper constitutional laws on the books of the States, and by the Congress. And I do not mean laws that can be used for repressive measures later on, as instruments to obstruct labor unions, or anything of that sort. We feel very confident, when the work of your committee is concluded and the full facts come before the American public, we will have no difficulty in obtaining the passage of such laws.

I was at the national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and they agreed with that proposition. I expect to go to Los Angeles to the American Legion convention, and I think the three major veterans' organizations will not shirk their duty, but will accept the call to real public service. And, on behalf of my own organization, I want to extend my congratulations for the work being done by you today, and to express my appreciation of being allowed to work with you.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much, Mr. Monahan. We have found your statement very helpful indeed, and I am sure the com-

mittee appreciates the information you have given, and we are very happy to know that the veterans' organizations membership are so loyally with the committee in presenting these matters to the public. And I can assure your organization we shall continue to fight to expose these evils in our body economic and politic. That is our whole purpose as a committee. We feel we are an instrument of Congress and, as such, of the American people, and are simply and solely interested in exposing the facts, if we can bring them to light.

We are certainly happy to have heard your statement and appreciate it more than I can state.

Mr. MONAHAN. Thank you very much.

(The various papers submitted for the record by Mr. Monahan were marked as "Exhibit Monahan NY No. 35 A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M," and filed with the committee, being various pamphlets, newspapers, photostats, etc.)

(The committee thereupon adjourned until tomorrow, Saturday, September 17, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,

United States Courthouse, No. 2 Foley Square, New York, N. Y.

The subcommittee reconvened at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman) presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearing.

Mr. Ridder, will you take the stand, please?

TESTIMONY OF VICTOR F. RIDDER, NEW YORK CITY

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Ridder, you are a citizen of New York State?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes; I was born in this city.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession or vocation?

Mr. RIDDER. I am a newspaper publisher.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us your professional background, please?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir. Outside of the publishing business?

Mr. STARNES. Both.

Mr. RIDDER. I am publisher of the New York Staats Zeitung, and partner in Ridder Press, which, besides publishing the Journal of Commerce in New York City, also publishes the Pioneer Press and Despatch in St. Paul, the Duluth Herald, Duluth, Minn., as well as other newspapers. I have been a publisher since 1905. That is my professional background.

Mr. STARNES. This committee has been interested in an investigation of un-American and subversive activities, as you know, which was authorized by a resolution of the House, and we are confining our investigation to those activities alone. In other words, we are interested in obtaining facts with reference to the work of Nazi or Fascist or Communist organizations in this country, or any un-American or subversive activity of that type or character.

In pursuance of this investigation, we have not been interested in the question of maladministration, or the good works of any organization or the bad works of any organization, so far as the Government's function is concerned. We have tried to confine our investigation solely to subversive and un-American activities. In that connection, we have sought to stay entirely clear of any jurisdictional dispute between labor organizations, political theories, and so forth, and so on.

With that background and that statement on the part of the Chair, we will be glad to have you give us the benefit of any knowledge you have with reference to fascism, or nazi-ism, or communism in this country; where it is at work, how it is at work, and, if you have any knowledge as to the number and organizations, and so on, we will be glad to have that. In other words, we would prefer to have you make a general statement and will then ask questions later.

Mr. RIDDER. My first interest in the question of subversive activities was aroused when I was administrator in the Works Progress Administration for the city of New York. At that time I succeeded General Johnson, and after I had been in office a short time I was engaged in dealing with the so-called delegations that came to me as administrator, representing two groups particularly. One was the group at that time known as the City Project Council. I learned that on nearly every project of the W. P. A. there was a so-called project council organized among the workers on the project, and then there was another group called the Workers Alliance. These two groups would send delegations in to me, and it was through the contact with them that I became interested in their activities.

At first, I dealt with them on the theory there was no reason why the workers in the W. P. A. should not have an organization to represent them or to deal for them with the administrator, but I found out, after a short while, that the object of these groups was not constructive; they did not come to me with either constructive suggestions or with requests that could be met; they were coming to me always with things that they knew in advance I could not possibly do. A large part of their technique appeared to me to be taken up with wasting the time of the administrator so that he could not get down to other work. They would come to me, for example, and demand that I go down to Washington and support the Marcantonio bill, and spend my time lobbying in Congress. They would demand that I arrange for an increase of the number of people on the W. P. A. That was not my job at all.

Mr. STARNES. It was no part of your function?

Mr. RIDDER. It was no part of my function. I had nothing to do with that. I got instructions from Washington as to the amount of money they had available for me and as to the number of people I was to employ, and I followed those instructions.

Mr. STARNES. You did not even certify the people for employment; is that right?

Mr. RIDDER. No; I received the certification of the employees from the home relief bureau. That was the bureau from which we drew our workers.

After awhile, I noticed I began receiving copies of the publications these groups were issuing, and from them I had come to the conclusion it was largely a Communist organization.

Mr. THOMAS. What organization was that, that you claim to be a Communist organization?

Mr. RIDDER. The Workers Alliance.

Mr. THOMAS. The Workers Alliance?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Then you flatly claim the Workers Alliance is a Communist organization?

Mr. RIDDER. Is a communistically led organization.

Mr. THOMAS. Is a Communist-led organization?

Mr. RIDDER. I have been told, although this is only hearsay that I am repeating now, that you cannot be an officer in the Workers Alliance unless you hold a card in the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. But you admit that is hearsay?

Mr. RIDDER. That is hearsay. It came to me from one of my investigators in the W. P. A.

Mr. STARNES. You have it from one of your investigators in the W. P. A.?

Mr. RIDDER. I have it from one of my investigators in the W. P. A.; yes. It seemed to me at the time that was probably true, and I still believe it to be true.

Mr. STARNES. Can you furnish us with the name of the investigator?

Mr. RIDDER. No; I do not remember. I had quite a few men out who were working along these lines.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not these publications to which you referred were published on the project?

Mr. RIDDER. No; I do not know. They were not published on the project, in the sense they were not printed in the project, because the projects were not the type of project where you could print a thing, but were put out by the Workers Alliance.

Mr. STARNES. Were they distributed on the project?

Mr. RIDDER. They were usually distributed on the project during the lunch hour.

Mr. STARNES. They were distributed on the project during the lunch hour?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes. That I had no objection to, and I still see no harm in the distribution of this literature; but I think the literature, as such, will convince anyone that the people who put it out is the Communist Party, because they say so. I have kept copies; after I left W. P. A., I assembled copies of the material that was put out in the home relief bureau.

I would like to say the reason I concentrated on the home relief bureau is because I am president of the State Board of Social Welfare in the State of New York, and we have to approve the moneys that are paid out by the city for relief purposes. We have nothing to do with payments which are made to or by W. P. A., but we do have to approve payments which are made by the city, to reimburse it for its payments to clients of the home relief bureau.

Now, the home relief bureau has the same organization as W. P. A.; that is, the Workers Alliance. It is one organization.

Mr. STARNES. You have copies now of the publications you refer to?

Mr. RIDDER. I have copies of the many publications which they put out on their projects. I have a whole raft of material here which I will be glad to turn over to the committee.

Mr. STARNES. Fine. We would appreciate your turning that over to the committee; and when you do so, you can identify them then.

Mr. RIDDER. I can do that now, because there is a great deal of material here.

Now, my first real clash with the Workers Alliance came at a time when I received instructions from W. P. A. in Washington to reduce the number of workers from 250,000 to 190,000. So I set up a list of

rules under which the discharges were to be made. I divided the group into six classes; first, those who were single, without dependents; second, those who were single with dependents; then those who were married with no dependents and those who were married with one child, and so on, and I set up a special classification for those who were in those classes but, owing to illness or some special condition, should have exemption from that ruling.

A Workers Alliance committee came to me and protested on account of the ruling that single women had to be dropped from W. P. A. I had a little session with them in which I pointed out if I had my choice between dropping single women on W. P. A. and women who had families, I had no choice but to differentiate and insist on dropping single women. Thereupon the Workers Alliance sent out a letter under the name of Oscar Fuss, which was published in the evening papers, in which they stated I was making prostitutes out of women in the W. P. A. I mention that to show the methods that the Workers Alliance resort to when they are trying to protect their people. Naturally the Workers Alliance group, being the younger group, are unmarried, most of them and therefore, were more affected by this ruling than other groups.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any other instance with reference to this man Oscar Fuss?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes. I had one other experience. I received—I think it was in July 1936; it may have been along in June—a delegation which came to see me from the American Legion here. I had set up a veterans' bureau in the W. P. A., because the veterans had come to me and complained that veterans were being dropped off of projects whenever the Workers Alliance or one of the other Communist groups would secure control of that project. I had an investigation made by two men who worked in the W. P. A. Robert Rosenbluth was one. He had been my aide in these matters, and he investigated that situation and found the complaint of the Legion was justified. So I had set up a bureau in the W. P. A. where we met with the Legionnaires every month, or every 3 weeks, I think it was, so that their problems could be presented directly to me.

As I say, when the American Legion drew the matter to my attention, I found that their complaint was justified. They had complained that Fuss, who was a single man without dependents, was being kept on a project when a veteran, I think with seven or eight children, was being dropped from another project, and they could not see there was any justice in that. I, of course, agreed with them and, when I learned Fuss was a single man without dependents on the record, I dropped him from the W. P. A. I made that discharge myself in the presence of the veterans, so that they could understand it was my order.

Then Fuss appealed from the decision of the Administrator to the appeals board which I had set up at the time. He claimed discrimination and unfairness in his being discharged. I then appeared before this appeals board which I had set up, because I was very anxious, when men were dropped from W. P. A., that they would have an opportunity to present their case. And, while the appeals board was discussing the matter and holding hearings on it, my resignation became effective, on the 1st of August, and I stepped out, and shortly afterward Fuss was reinstated in the W. P. A.

That has been my contact with him so far as the official work is concerned. I was to appear one night at a school commencement, and Oscar Fuss led a group of 40 men down to the commencement in order to create a disturbance there, but they would not let him in, and he waited outside. When I came outside I had a few minutes' debate with them and then left.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you develop that commencement a little and tell us what commencement it was?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes. It was the commencement of the LaSalle Institute, in which I had been a student.

Mr. THOMAS. And you were a speaker?

Mr. RIDDER. I was a speaker at the commencement because I was a graduate of that school.

Mr. THOMAS. And Oscar Fuss led this demonstration because he did not want you to speak?

Mr. RIDDER. Not because he did not want me to speak, but because they wanted to make as much of a demonstration as they could wherever I spoke. Needless to say, they did not like me very much, because I had been, in my newspapers, denouncing them. I had given notice if they continued to endanger the lives of people on the tenth floor of 111 Eight Avenue with their demonstrations, I was going to get rough. I went before the Rotary Club—

Mr. STARNES. What type of demonstrations were those that you refer to?

Mr. RIDDER. I would like to enlarge on that. I went before the Rotary Club and told the Rotary Club I was responsible for the protection and welfare of 2,400 people who were working on the tenth floor of the building where our offices were, and that the nature and character of the demonstrations that were being carried on were such there was danger of a riot on that floor and possibly a panic.

I explained to the Rotary Club what the Workers Alliance did was to send groups of men up quietly in the elevators until they had enough men on the tenth floor and wait for a given signal and then, on a given signal, to start a disturbance yelling "We want jobs" or the usual cry, "Get rid of Ridder." What I feared at that time was that through some chance there might be a small fire break out on that floor while the demonstration was going on, and the workers at the other end of the office, which was a block long, might mistake the noise of the demonstration for excitement over the fire—which could have occurred very easily in a wastepaper basket—or anywhere else, and we would have a very serious panic.

So I explained to the Rotary Club my feeling was anything but kindly to the people working with the agitators, and I proposed to get rid of the agitators. Naturally, that did not suit the Workers Alliance, so they told me they would hold a demonstration on our floor, and they would show me they meant business. I told them I also meant business and had instructed the guards to see that no one who came up for that demonstration would get out of the hospital inside of 2 weeks, or, if they got out of a hospital inside of 2 weeks, I would drop all of the guards. That was the reason for the feeling between the Workers Alliance and myself, which has continued right up to today.

Mr. THOMAS. Was Oscar Fuss an officer in the Workers Alliance at that time?

Mr. RIDDER. He was secretary of the Workers Alliance at that time.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I think in view of the testimony which Mr. Ridder has submitted in connection with Oscar Fuss, it would be proper at this time, right at this point in the record, to include the telegram from Oscar Fuss to you, as chairman of this subcommittee, and to follow that up immediately by including a copy of your telegram to Oscar Fuss in reply.

Mr. STARNES. I do not see, really, that would be relevant. Of course, Mr. Fuss wired me on yesterday with reference to this matter that was carried in the press a year ago, at least, and a reply has been made, and I am releasing my reply to the press. I think that is sufficient.

Mr. Fuss or any other person or any other organization whose names have been brought before this committee by any witness in any manner, who claim that the statements being made are false or untrue, will have a full and complete opportunity, before the full committee or the various subcommittees which may be appointed from time to time, to make answer under oath, denying any such statements or charges. So far as I am concerned, that is all I am interested in.

Mr. THOMAS. The point I am trying to make is in view of the testimony relative to Oscar Fuss, I think the wording of these telegrams ought to be incorporated in the record at this point, so that later on we can refer to the testimony and to the telegrams very readily, without wasting a lot of time.

Mr. STARNES. My colleague and I will get together on that and decide. Of course, that is a matter for you and I to decide.

Proceed, Mr. Ridder. I want to ask you this: In connection with your duties there as administrator of W. P. A. and the investigation which was carried on under your instructions, by men working on the job, I believe you said—

Mr. RIDDER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you find the Workers Alliance was either a Communist organization or that its activities were controlled by Communists, or it was affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. RIDDER. Well, affiliated with the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. It is affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. RIDDER. It is affiliated with the Communist Party, and I came to that conclusion not on the reports, but I came to that conclusion from their own publications, of which I have copies here.

Mr. STARNES. That is, publications of the Workers Alliance themselves?

Mr. RIDDER. Of the Workers Alliance—of their units; not of the Workers Alliance as a whole, but of their units. Here, for example, is H R B Worker, organ Communist Party unit, district office 18-20, of the home relief bureau.

Here is a circular signed by W. P. A. division of the Workers Alliance of New York, Brooklyn local, denouncing Colonel Somervell.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, every person who has been administrator of the W. P. A. in New York has been denounced by the Workers Alliance?

Mr. RIDDER. They denounced me and, since Colonel Somervell came in, they have taken to denouncing Colonel Somervell. It is a good thing; I am glad; that is, I have more respect for Colonel Somervell.

Mr. STARNES. The point I want to bring out is that the organization itself has denounced every person who has been placed in charge of the administration of W. P. A.?

Mr. RIDDER. I do not know what the relations were of General Johnson, because I was away at that time.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Somervell succeeded you?

Mr. RIDDER. Somervell succeeded me; yes.

Mr. STARNES. They denounced you and have denounced him?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes. Here is a circular [exhibiting] which they put out, signed "W. P. A. division, Federal Workers Alliance," in which they demand "an increase of 20 percent in pay for every W. P. A. worker; no more wholesale firing or pay cuts." First, they want to fix the number of people on it, then they want no more wholesale firing or pay cuts; no more discrimination; no inhuman speed-up.

Mr. THOMAS. What kind of speed-up?

Mr. RIDDER. Well, the Workers Alliance, of course, would like to create the impression that the workers in W. P. A. are worked too hard. They want a broader and bigger W. P. A. and no more Colonel Somervell.

Mr. STARNES. And no more Colonel Somervell?

Mr. RIDDER. No more Colonel Somervell.

Mr. STARNES. That part is pertinent; the other part is doubtful.

Mr. RIDDER. Then here is one from the Red Survey, of district 41, issued by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League unit of district 41. It is in October 1935. It is all Communist material.

Here is the Redmen, as they call it, a publication of the C P unit in district office 67 of the emergency-relief bureau. This was January 1937.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, by their own publication they identify themselves—

Mr. RIDDER. As Communist Party members.

Mr. STARNES. As Communist Party members, and also as relief workers and members of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes. I have one here from the home-relief bureau of the Communist Party in district 48—that is the district office over in Brooklyn—where they speak of Spain. They send food, clothing, and cigarettes to American League Against War and Fascism, so that Spain may live. I have no objection to anybody giving what they want, but it seems to me a person in need here should not be asked to contribute for Spain on their salaries, if they are sufficiently in need that they have to get on the relief rolls.

Here is the Park Builder, issued by the Communist Party unit, department of parks, division of design, April 1937 [exhibiting].

Here is the Red Survey, issued by the Communist Party unit of precinct 41, in the home-relief bureau. This is largely directed against war. The paragraph to which I would direct the attention of the committee says:

In this paper, which will from now on appear regularly in precinct 41, we shall show how the Communist Party proposes to solve the problems of workers

in the home-relief bureau and elsewhere. It has been the experience of Communists, the world over, that when the facts are known and understood by workers, no amount of misrepresentation will make any impression upon them.

We Communists in precinct 41 are 100 percent for the association.

I would like to explain the Ozanam Guild is the organization of the Catholic workers in the home-relief bureau and was organized because they did not want to assist or go along with the Communists or with the Workers Alliance. Now here is a little paragraph I found very interesting in the Vanguard, issued by the Communist Party unit of district office 67:

Catholic workers, 25 dimes, 2 quarters, 2 half dollars, and 1 silver dollar equals five dollars—30 pieces of silver—the symbol of betrayal since the days of Christ, has been offered to you as a palliative to cure your doubts in the Ozanam Guild.

Mr. STARNES. What connection, if any, did that have with the W. P. A. or the Workers Alliance?

Mr. RIDDER. This is all home-relief bureau; it has nothing to do with the W. P. A. The point is the home-relief bureau keeps in contact with the activity of the Workers Alliance, the same as the Workers Alliance keeps in contact with the activities of the W. P. A. I have no publication of the W. P. A. showing that the Workers Alliance are communistic, but I have these publications to show the Workers Alliance are communistic.

Mr. STARNES. You are tying it in by that with the W. P. A.?

Mr. RIDDER. This home-relief bureau of the Workers Alliance, which is a New York City relief group of the W. P. A., is the same organization, but I have no publications here that deal with the Workers Alliance activities in W. P. A. There I speak from my own personal contact and knowledge from dealing with the Workers Alliance.

Here is one called the Challenge, issued monthly by the Communist Party unit of the emergency-relief bureau offices of Harlem, on which appears a picture of Mr. James W. Ford, leading Negro Communist, former Alabama worker, candidate for Vice President of the United States, and so on, and saying, "He's in the vanguard" for us.

Then here is Red Worker, issued by Communist Party shop nucleus of home-relief bureau, precinct No. 48 [exhibiting].

Now I have a whole lot here, but I won't take the time of the committee with it.

Mr. STARNES. No; you need not take the time now; you can submit those.

Mr. RIDDER. Here is one issued by the Workers Alliance which, however, does not speak of communism. I have a great deal of material which I will be glad to turn over to the committee.

(The publications referred to by Mr. Ridder in his testimony were marked "Exhibit Ridder NY No. 36 A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and J," and filed with the committee.)

Mr. STARNES. What, if anything, do you know with reference to Nazi activities?

Mr. RIDDER. Very little. The activities, what we call the Nazi activities here, have been carried on by the bund, but I have had very little contact with them. We do not regard them as very much of a factor in the German-American life of this city.

MR. STARNES. What about the number here? Do you know anything about the number?

MR. RIDDER. No. There is no use guessing, and I know nothing about the number. I know in discussions with people a great deal of the point has been made of the fact that on Sundays there is a large group of people that go down to the Long Island camp they have there, but, at the same time, in other places in New York City there are equally large or much larger gatherings of German-Americans on Sundays that attract no attention.

MR. THOMAS. And is it not your opinion, Mr. Ridder, that the German-Americans in this country generally oppose the Nazi movement here?

MR. RIDDER. They oppose the bund very definitely.

MR. THOMAS. That is what I mean—they oppose the bund?

MR. RIDDER. In fact there is a very real split in New York City between the groups representing the German-American societies, and the bund as such. That has gone to the extent that the bund has been very active in opposing festivities or affairs of the German-American organizations. They always use the designation for German-Americans, "other Germans."

MR. STARNES. I see. What about Fascist activities? Do you know anything about black shirt or Fascist activities?

MR. RIDDER. Nothing. We have not taken the bund seriously since Spanknobel was the original leader of what was then called the Friends of the New Germany, and after he left the country in July—I think it was July 1934—no, he left the country in October 1934, after a great deal of trouble here, and since that time we have not taken the activities seriously. His effort, I think, was a serious one if it had been allowed to grow, but with his departure the thing rather collapsed and in the German element in New York City we have not taken other activities seriously. They are disturbing factors in our German-American organizations, and they are disturbing factors in the life of the German-American element here.

MR. STARNES. You feel, then, that the vast majority of the German-American people are opposed to the American bund or the German bund?

MR. RIDDER. I would say that probably 80 percent of the German-Americans are definitely opposed to the bund as such and, of the others, 20 percent are probably indifferent.

MR. STARNES. I see. Do you know anything about Pelley's organization or his activity in this area?

MR. RIDDER. No. He was a southerner who ran a group called silver shirts or black shirts, something of that kind. I heard his name once but I do not remember.

MR. STARNES. Is there any other statement that you wish to give to the committee?

MR. RIDDER. That is all, unless the committee wants to ask some more questions. It may be that after you have looked through this material you may want me to come back again.

MR. STARNES. After looking through the material if we decide to call you later we will.

MR. THOMAS. As a result of your experience, with your knowledge of the home-relief bureau here, have you found that unemployed veterans have been prejudiced against?

MR. RIDDER. They suffer because they are veterans?

MR. STARNES. Yes.

MR. RIDDER. I do not know as to the home-relief bureau. I do not know that. As to the W. P. A., when I got in it it was not organized, but it was the fact that the veterans naturally gravitated away from Communists and that caused that difficulty.

MR. THOMAS. And that the Workers Alliance showed definite signs of doing everything they could to keep veterans off of the W. P. A.?

MR. RIDDER. Yes; that is so. I organized the veterans' bureau in the W. P. A. so that the veterans would have someone to speak for that section, just as the Workers Alliance spoke for other groups.

MR. STARNES. There was no disposition on your part as administrator nor on the part of any officials to discriminate against veterans?

MR. RIDDER. No.

MR. THOMAS. No; only in the Workers Alliance or Communists.

MR. RIDDER. The only way it would work would be if a Workers Alliance man got to be in charge of a project he would drop veterans wherever he could.

MR. THOMAS. And you found that a great many Workers Alliance men were put in charge of projects?

MR. RIDDER. No. You must remember at that time that we had 240 projects and then, again, men did not necessarily have to be in charge. They might furnish lists and so forth. There was nothing organized about it, but as far as the veterans were concerned it was just as bad, so I set up that bureau in order to prevent that very thing.

MR. STARNES. We are not concerned at all with administration. We do not want to get into that.

Thank you very much.

The committee stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 11:15 a. m. the committee adjourned.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

It will be recalled that on the first opening of these hearings here in Washington we did not complete our inquiry into nazi-ism and fascism, and it is our purpose now to resume that phase of our investigation and permit Mr. Metcalfe to complete his testimony and introduce certain documentary evidence. At the conclusion of Mr. Metcalfe's testimony we have other witnesses who will testify also on the question of fascism and nazi-ism.

I want to make it clear that there has been some rumor that the State Department is opposed to the resumption of this inquiry on account of the international situation. There is no basis for that rumor, so far as this committee is advised. This committee has not received any intimation from the State Department or from any other department indicating any opposition to the resumption of this inquiry into the Nazi phase of the investigation. If the State Department has any views on that subject matter, I am sure they would indicate those views to the committee.

Other members of the committee have been invited to attend this hearing of the subcommittee, but most of them are now occupied with their campaigns, and it is improbable that there will be any other member here except one. He will probably be here tomorrow.

We will resume the testimony of Mr. Metcalfe.

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

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. METCALFE. At the very outset of this testimony it should be clearly stated that in the limited time allotted to this committee for the purposes of investigation it is a physical impossibility to go fully into the far-flung ramifications of Nazi and Fascist activities in the United States. So extensive in scope are the movements of these subversive groups that even a large staff of investigators, working over a period of months, would be able to only touch the surface

of this problem. Therefore, it is apparent that in this and forthcoming hearings on Nazi and Fascist activities we can only give the highlights here and there of this vast problem. However, we shall attempt to present broadly an enlightening picture of the activities, plans, and programs of these organizations.

The testimony to be presented here will vividly show that Nazi activities in the United States have their counterpart in everything that has been and is being done by similar movements of Nazi minorities in Mexico, South America, and throughout Europe. The Nazi activities in this country are traceable to and linked with government-controlled agencies in Nazi Germany. And unless checked the American Nazi forces may cause great unrest and serious repercussions in the United States in the not too distant future.

It should be made distinctly clear that the Nazi ranks in the United States are not really German-Americans but rather American-Germans. In other words, they consider themselves the identical type of minorities as the Polish-German minorities in Poland, the Austrian-German minorities who recently brought about the annexation of Austria, or, for instance, the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia.

Even at this very moment as the whole world is standing on the brink of war and the United States Government is expending every effort in the cause of peace, the German-American Bund is preparing to celebrate Hitler's conquest of the Sudeten territories.

Before the world at large had any public knowledge that October 1 has been set as the deadline for occupation of the Sudeten areas by the Nazi machine, the German-American Bund was already distributing on the streets of New York and elsewhere thousands of throw-aways announcing a celebration of bringing the Sudetens under Nazi rule. Ten celebrations in different points of the New York area were planned, with halls rented for the occasion.

American-Germans, not German-Americans, were called on to join in the celebrations with the slogan "Ein Volkstum! Ein Bund! Fuehrer!"—which means "One people! One bund! One leader!"—and they do not mean the President of the United States.

The invitation is particularly extended to Sudetens who heretofore have steered shy of the bund, and they are made guests of honor.

I might point out in this connection that this is practically the same slogan that was shouted on the streets of Berlin when Hitler made his address at the Sports Palace. I do not know that it is the same slogan that the bund is carrying here in the United States in its announcements, but it amounts to the same one that the multitude was shouting in Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think it would be illuminating to introduce one of those pamphlets that was being distributed?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I have them here and offer this as exhibit No. 1. This is a leaflet that was being distributed on the streets of New York, announcing the freedom of the Sudetens.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read the contents of it?

Mr. METCALFE. It says to the German-Americans of Greater New York and the Sudeten-German members that on October 2, 1938, we will have a celebration of Hitler's conquest. That is the announcement, and it states that every Sudeten-German member of Greater New York is hereby heartily invited to attend this affair as a guest of honor of the German-American Bund. It also announces that

Fritz Kuhn, the leader of the German-American Bund; Rudolf Markmann and Wilhelm Kunze, from this bund and other official bunds, will be the speakers at these various affairs—concerts, ballets, flags, or a group of Nazi flags, and so forth. It says "Ein Volkstum! Ein Bund! Ein Fuehrer!"

(The matter referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 1" and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What bund posts are mentioned in that connection?

MR. METCALFE. There is a list of the posts, including Camp Nordland, Manhattan, Brooklyn, South Brooklyn, Bronx, Astoria, Jamaica, New Rochelle, Lindenhurst, and Union City, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. Will there be developed later on evidence of other organizations affiliated with the bunds, or working in close sympathy with them?

MR. METCALFE. They will probably be the groups that usually participate in all these affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you go into the matter of the allied groups later?

MR. METCALFE. Yes, sir. I might say again from another standpoint that this is not unusual. It has happened on a number of occasions. The Weckruf und Beobachter newspaper, which is the official newspaper of the German-American Bund, has constantly, as in the case of the annexation of Austria, been giving information a week or so in advance on what is going to take place in Germany—in other words, giving every evidence of intimate knowledge of what is going to happen in Berlin.

This testimony will show that the use of storm troops, the Youth Movement, the training, drilling, the consular aid, in fact, all of the Nazi activities here are on identical lines as those used abroad. Other groups are being drawn into their ranks and used for their nefarious purposes. What this will lead to in time must be left to the imagination.

The uniform that I am wearing as I give this testimony is the official uniform used by storm troops of the German-American Bund.

I have put on the uniform, at your request, so you may see exactly what type of uniform it is that the storm troopers are wearing. This is the uniform I wore as a newspaper investigator into the workings of the German-American Bund in the storm-troop ranks. This is the so-called new uniform of the German-American Bund. Prior to this time it was a plain white shirt, black tie, and black pants, with a Sam Browne belt. Incidentally, the uniform is so similar to that of the storm troops in the Sudeten area that you would not be able to tell them apart. You could not tell it from the uniforms worn by the Sudeten Germans. This material is bought in New York, and the bund reaps a certain percentage of profit on the sale of these uniforms and shirts.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you show how many bund posts there are in the United States?

MR. METCALFE. It shows that there are approximately 80 in the United States. They are spreading out, showing marked growth in the Middle West, and there are steps afoot for the establishment of the German-American Bunds in the South. The first symptoms of that were noticed a year ago, and since that time they have again

tried to set up bund posts. In the far West there is some growth at the present, according to reports that have come to us and to this committee.

This, you will notice, is the arm band, with the swastika. It has a swastika, indicating the arm band of the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your testimony.

Mr. METCALFE. The German-American Bund can muster within its own ranks a force of 5,000 storm troops.

This figure does not include the strong-arm detachments of allied groups, such as Italian Black Shirts, Silver Shirts, Ukranians, White Russians, and similar organizations.

It is in the strength of the storm-troop force that a real danger to the safety of American citizens exists.

The German-American Bund has repeatedly stated through Fritz Kuhn, national leader, and other officials in the organization that the storm-troop division of the bund is nothing more than a force of ushers for public meetings.

This is a deliberate misrepresentation.

The storm-troop division of the bund is a strong-arm force patterned sharply after the Hitler storm troops. These storm troops, in other words, are political soldiers of a Hitler-inspired movement in the United States. It is from the manpower of this force that the bund, working hand in glove with the German Government, is planning to draft men for a sabotage machine and spy net to be put in operation in the event that the United States should go to war with Germany.

So similar are the appearances of the Sudetens storm troops to the German-American Bund storm troops that it would be almost impossible to distinguish between the two groups were the American storm troops to don their former uniforms.

The close resemblance between these two Hitler-inspired groups is again extremely apparent in their method of operation, programs, and plans.

German-American Bund has made much ridicule out of public assertions that its storm-troop force is armed to the hilt. The bund leaders, however, are not so foolish as to openly arm their storm troops as yet or to store ammunition at their camps or headquarters. The fact is that this storm-troop army is not armed, although a number of its members have guns in their homes and on occasions have been seen with pistols on their person while in public places.

The German-American Bund, through Fritz Kuhn and other leaders, has also often stated that there are no German citizens in the storm-troop ranks. However, individual members in all parts of the United States have privately admitted that they are not American citizens but German citizens. On many occasions they have boasted of the fact that they never intend to become American citizens. With the same vehemence the organization by and large expresses its disgust for democratic form of government.

I might point out here that in making this statement I make this direct from posters that were given to me personally by members of the storm troopers and officials of bunds in all parts of the United States. It is not second-hand evidence.

A typical example of one of these storm troopers is Ted Schubert, of 229 East Ninety-sixth Street, New York City, a member of the Manhattan Post of the German-American Bund. This man is a former German war veteran. On one occasion this man stated to this investigator that he was a member of the Nazi Party in Germany and intends, within 2 years, to go back to Germany and live there permanently.

On another occasion Schubert was asked if since coming to the United States he had taken out any papers at all. He answered:

I should say not. I don't want to be an American. I'm going back to Germany with my wife in 2 years.

At the opening day of hearings before this committee on August 12 a photograph was introduced in evidence. This photograph showed Adolph Hitler and Fritz Kuhn, along with other bund officials, standing together and talking. This picture was taken in Berlin. In that picture is also shown Otto Arndt, a storm-troop official of the Astoria, N. Y., post. Arndt told this investigator on June 29, 1937, that Hitler had made the following statement to him:

In 3 years you come back. I want all my men back in Germany at that time. In the meantime you stay in America and work there. But when you return in 3 years I want you to stay here permanently.

It should also be noted here that the Schubert, who was referred to a moment ago, boasted of the fact that he was a member of the New York National Guard, having slipped into the guard ranks under faked papers.

American storm-troop discipline is as strict as that of the old Prussian Army. Each member must obey, without question, any and all commands of his superior officers.

Again and again at drill meetings and lecture sessions members are told that they must be ready for "any emergency." They must learn and study the duties of a fuehrer, since all members of the group expect to be fuehrers in their own right when the trouble comes.

Many of the fuehrers of local posts are former German Army officers. In the ranks are expert machine gunners, aviators, riflemen, and gunsmiths, some of whom wear on their shirts iron crosses awarded for bravery in the World War.

Bund storm-troop detachments drill at their respective headquarters usually twice a week. All drills are under commands in German and all drill formations are the same as those of the German Army. Along with these drill sessions are school sessions for glorifying Hitler ideals and actions and instilling racial and religious hatred. These school sessions also feature rounds of beer, money contributions to the cause, and regulation songs of the German Army.

Members of the storm troops are also given an opportunity to visit Germany, free of charge, by being shipped on German liners as boat helpers. While on these visits in Germany storm troops are given an opportunity to attend 6 or 8 weeks of propaganda courses, free of charge, before returning to the United States. These opportunities were offered to this investigator while he was disguised as a storm trooper at the Astoria post in New York.

The storm troops are constantly warned by their leaders of an impending revolution.

On June 7, 1937, Hermann Schwarzmann told the storm-troop detachment that they must always remember their allegiance to German ideals and the German people. He climaxed his talk with the statement:

You are political storm troops.

Fritz Kuhn, speaking at Camp Siegfried, Long Island, June 13, 1937, with several hundred storm troops standing directly before him, made the following statement:

It is the envy of our enemies that we, as servants of Germany, should succeed more and more in our new home, that we should honor German art and German spirit which national socialism as a world institution prescribes.

Herman Schwarzmann, leader of the Astoria post, reading from a book of German Army instructions to his storm troops on June 17 explained as follows:

I am reading this to you not so much because I want you to know what my duties are, but because some day all of you may be fuhrers of your own groups. You can reach these heights if you work hard and come to thoroughly understand the problems before us. Every storm trooper should look forward to the day when he may become a fuhrer himself. He must know how to handle people, he must understand people, he must be able to lead and teach them.

I tell you that exactly what happened some years ago is happening now in this country. In Germany the people finally rose up in resentment. This will happen here. It is inevitable. When that day comes, and it is probably not far off, we must be prepared to fight for the right kind of government. We must win the masses to our side. There will be bloodshed and fighting. We shall have to do our part.

No one knows where we shall have to go—New Jersey, New York, or some other part of the country, or what we may be called upon to do. When that time comes every man must be thoroughly trained to assume his responsibility. The important duties, of course, will fall upon the shoulders of our membership.

(Implying the storm-troop membership.)

You may think I am just dreaming or talking in the clouds. But I tell you I know what I'm talking about. This trouble will come probably sooner than you think. It has to come, judging from the trends of the Nation.

When we understand how Germans handled their situation in Germany we shall know how to handle the difficulty which will arise in America. In all likelihood the day of trouble will come—Der Tag—with a financial crisis in Washington. Then will be the time to wipe out our enemies.

Remember we are still Germans, for blood is stronger than paper, even though we are also American citizens. And as American citizens we have the same rights as any other citizen. But our rights have not been observed. The storm troops are not even permitted to march on the streets. The controlled press will not print our side of the story. Some day that will be changed, for some day we shall demand our rights.

This meeting adjourned with three "heils" for Hitler, Germany, and the German American Bund.

That same evening a young storm trooper in this investigator's presence stated to Schwarzmann the following: "The American [referring to me] is joining with us."

Whereupon Schwarzmann turned to him in disgust and said, "The American? You mean the German!"

At a bund gathering on June 14 Schwarzmann declared in the presence of his storm troopers as follows:

Everyone knows that some day bullets will fly in America. When that day comes, we must be prepared to fight for national socialism.

It is of interest to note that even as recently as September 4, 1938, Fritz Kuhn declared in his speech at Camp Nordland, near Andover, N. J., that the bund is now advocating the cessation of dumping of undesirable aliens. This same Kuhn has repeatedly stated there are no aliens in the ranks of the bund or his storm-troop army.

Speaking before the Nassau County and Jamaica posts, with storm troops standing at stiff attention before him, on June 6 in the Brauhof in new Hyde Park, Long Island, Kuhn said:

Hitler has shown the whole world a new idea in government—a good idea. We, as American Germans, must stand with him like they are doing in Germany. This doesn't mean that you can't be a good American, but that you must be a good American German.

Being political storm troops, it is no difficulty for this unit to control elections of officers within the bund ranks.

A sample of this steam roller was witnessed at a meeting of the Astoria post on June 24 for the purpose of nominating and electing delegates for the bund's national convention.

In other words, the elections of the German-American bunds are about the character of the plebiscite in Austria, where everything is under such good control that no one dares vote against the machine.

More than one hundred members were present. The roll call indicated a post membership of 150 of which at least 30 were storm troopers. The membership was given no choice in selections of delegates. It was a typical Nazi election. Schwarzmunn and other storm-troop officials had selected the delegates in a private back-room conference. At the meeting Schwarzmunn simply read off the names of three delegates, including himself and one alternate, as the slate that was to be voted on. Slips of paper were passed around, four to each person. The slips were numbered from 1 to 4 by each member and then each member was told to vote "ja" or "nein" as the name of the candidates were called off in order.

When the slips had been gathered up by storm troopers Schwarzmunn explained the purpose of the national convention was to be to elect a national leader, and then declared he could not conceive the election of anyone but Fritz Kuhn. Thereupon he asked if anyone in the meeting was opposed to the manner in which the post was conducting its election of delegates. No one dared protest. Then he announced the vote. It revealed that despite the steam-roller method there was opposition ranging from 5 to 10 percent in the voting on the respective delegates.

Schwarzmunn declared the delegates elected and stated that if anyone were opposed to the delegates voting for Kuhn at the convention he should raise his hand.

Again no one dared to protest publicly.

On another occasion Alfons Brem, of 4130 Twenty-seventh Street, Long Island, as a member of the German-American Bund, stated to this investigator as follows:

We are organizing as quickly as possible. Most of us are poor. We have to work now and hold our jobs. But the day will come when we can break loose and fight out in the open. We are anxious to get as many new members as possible. The more we have and the more people we convert to our cause, the easier will be our fight. We are naturally friendly to Hitler and Germany. Their fight is also our fight. We believe in the same things.

Carl Nicolay, a bund national speaker, stated to this investigator on July 8, in reference to storm troops, as follows:

Our whole program at this moment has just one aim—to unite all German-Americans under the bund banners and then bring national socialism to replace democracy in the United States.

So the first thing we must do, and the only thing right now, is to preach national socialism to all German-Americans. When we have won them over to this great American ideal we can go out and talk to others and at the same time do other things that will be necessary at the time.

On at least two occasions German naval officers and sailors were feted by bund storm troops. Once a crew of 100 from the *Deutschland* was entertained in New York, and another time a crew from the *Karlsruhe* was feted in San Francisco. German sailors contact storm troops of the bund at the docks and in German restaurants in New York while the former are on so-called shore leaves.

Storm troops also whisper about German agents being slipped in and out of the United States. They claim that one way that this is accomplished, with the help of German steamship officials and officers, is to have one secret agent leave the United States for Germany and instead of returning another one comes back under the former's name.

German war veterans are extremely active in storm-troop ranks.

They help to train and drill the bund storm troops, most of whom were born in this country and have never before tasted military service. These German war veterans are looked up to by the young bund storm troops as men of superior rank and are treated accordingly. Some of these veterans are such good shots that in watching them at rifle shooting ranges the only thing of interest is how few times they miss a bull's-eye rather than hit it.

Bund storm troopers are constantly urged to take trips to Germany and revisit the fatherland. Many of them actually take these trips. There are always stacks of German travel literature to be obtained at any of their meetings. This literature is supplied by the German steamship lines and German tourist railway information bureaus.

Bund storm troopers are given a constant stream of talk glorifying German soldiers and sailors and are constantly urged to emulate troops of the German Army and Navy.

In one instance, at least, an expert German carpenter came from Germany to assist the Manhattan post storm troops in building their field house at Camp Siegfried. Upon completing his work he returned to Germany. To show their appreciation storm troops accompanied him to the pier to bid him goodbye as he sailed for Germany.

In a speech to the storm troop division at Astoria, N. Y., on July 19, Schwarzmann stated as follows:

Last Sunday night when we returned from Camp Nordland some of you left our main group and went home alone. I must warn you against this practice. It is a very dangerous thing for you to do. If you are seen walking alone in streets while in uniform you might be beaten up by some of our enemies, the Communists or the C. I. O. I am not afraid of a fight, but when someone wanders off alone like that and is attacked, the rest of us might not be able to get there in time to help him.

After this I want this order to be strictly followed out. We stay together whenever we are in uniform on the street. I want to particularly warn you against this danger in the coming months. We have obtained information that there will be a number of C. I. O. and Communist riots in New York this fall. There is going to be plenty of trouble in New York.

We must be and shall be prepared to meet any emergency, come what may. And don't worry. We have plenty of help from other sources. When the time comes our ranks will swell overnight. There are many other "Kameraden" waiting to join us at that moment. Right now they are staying outside for various reasons. But as soon as "Der Tag" comes, they will leap into our ranks to help fight our enemies.

After this speech the storm troops were dismissed and took to beer and song, particularly one song, the title of which is "Hitler is My Leader." The session adjourned with three "Heils" for the cause.

On another occasion, July 22, at a meeting of the storm troops a boy scout from East Berlin, Germany, was a guest at the storm-troop session. He appeared in light-brown uniform with dark-brown bandana and a crimson swastika armband.

On another occasion, while in conversation with him, a storm trooper named Nicola revealed that he was not yet 21 years old. He expressed his desire to return to Germany, where he had been born. He stated as follows:

I'm going to see the German consul tomorrow. I'm going to find out about conditions in Germany. I don't like this country. I plan to go back one of these days.

Asked if he were an American citizen, Nicola replied:

No; I should say not. And I don't want to be one.

Like in New York, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee, and in other cities, storm troopers boasted of the fact that they had engaged in open fist fights. They stated to this investigator that the most spectacular of these took place at a Communist mass meeting in the coliseum and one on the streets of Los Angeles. Both times the storm troops fought against staggering odds, they claim, and while they were beaten they considered them moral victories.

In connection with that statement, it will be recalled that similarly the storm troopers in Nazi Germany created constant riots. That was one of their opening tactics, before they finally obtained control of Germany. But before that there were many riots throughout Germany at the instigation of the Nazi storm troops.

Storm-troops members revealed to this investigator that several of them are aviation mechanics and hinted that they were employed by the Douglas Aircraft Corporation, also Boeing Aircraft. One storm-troop official at this post—that is in Los Angeles—Hans Diebel, stated that he was formerly employed by the Zeppelin Co. in Germany, and also had worked for Zeiss.

Adherents to the Nazi cause have also slipped into United States navy yards, where they have obtained employment and succeeded in securing positions which place them in direct possession of secret plans for construction of United States Navy battleships of the latest types. They have even been assigned to trial runs of these latest types of ships.

New York bund scouts, on their way to Germany, were entertained and lodged by storm troops at the Los Angeles post while this investigator was there. They made the trip via the west coast.

On August 16 Schwartzmann ordered this investigator, who was then in uniform, to read to the storm-troop division a letter from Kuhn relative to the behavior of storm troops in the future. The order indicated a tightening up, all along the line, of regulations

governing storm troops while on duty and in their leisure time at camps and elsewhere.

The order was followed with brief remarks by Schwartzmann to the effect that Kuhn plans to enforce rigid rules for storm troops that would give the camps all the aspects of military posts.

Before continuing, I might call attention to the fact that this man Schwartzmann is the same Schwartzmann who was involved in that recent case at Long Island, in which six members, officials of the bund, were indicted on charges of an oath of allegiance to Hitler being taken by members of the German-American Bund. This is the same Herman Schwartzmann who was at that time widely publicized in connection with that case.

Schwartzmann stated as follows:

We must do this because we must be prepared for the day of trouble. Everything must be in order to get the greatest amount of effect and efficiency. The storm troops must be thoroughly trained when the trouble comes.

Another bund official, Anton Kessler, of 4541 Chouto Avenue, St. Louis, admitted to this investigator that he was not an American citizen and had no intentions of becoming one. He stated:

Kuhn has warned me to keep this information covered up; and so while I am the real leader of the St. Louis post, my name does not appear on any official papers as such.

In addition to the storm-troop division of the German-American Bund, there is a closely allied organization known as the German Bund. This German Bund also features a strong armed force similar to the German-American Bund storm troops.

In the beginning of the American Nazi movement these organizations were matched. They were as one. A year or so ago, however, an order came from Germany demanding that all aliens separate themselves from the bund. In line with this command from Berlin, a German Bund was formed in Chicago. The fact remains, however, the Berlin order was not carried out down the line. In other words, in all other sections of the country aliens remained in the bund ranks, sometimes under the subterfuge of prospective citizenry.

The only actual differences between the storm troops of the German-American Bund and those of the German Bund are that—

1. The German Bund maintains separate headquarters and its own set of officers.

2. The German Bund has a uniform distinctive from that of the German-American Bund. This uniform bears an extremely close resemblance to that of the German Sudeten storm troops, while the German-American Bund has adopted a new uniform which appears to be a combination of uniforms worn by the German Bund, the American Legion, and the Silver Shirts.

3. The German Bund is openly under an oath of allegiance to Hitler and to Hitler alone. It takes orders from no one else.

4. All of the members of the German Bund are aliens, and none of them ever intend to become American citizens.

5. Members of the German Bund are members of the National Socialist Party of Germany.

6. Members of the German Bund are outspoken in their denunciation of democracies, constitutional form of government, and everything that American ideals stand for.

7. This foreign force of storm troops is being trained and drilled on American soil as a close ally of the German-American Bund storm troops.

Information has come to this committee that this organization is growing, and it is reported that already a second force has been established in Los Angeles. That is of just a very recent date. This fact lends credence to the belief that the United States may expect to see German storm-troop units established throughout the country.

Information has also come to this committee that as the result of its recent national convention in New York—the one just held this month—the German-American Bund is plotting to create a strictly American division in conjunction with the bund. First steps in this direction have already been taken by the high command of the German-American Bund. If this plan is carried out, a merger of a number of minor subversive forces in this country may be expected under the swastika leadership of Fritz Kuhn and the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Right in that connection, what you mean is that a number of organizations, parading under euphonious titles and names—

Mr. METCALFE (interposing). That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Apparently holding themselves out as American organizations, but in sympathy with the Nazi ideals and ideology, will merge into one organization and be closely allied to the German-American Bund, while to all intents and purposes separated from it; is that right?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How many such organizations of which you have information are contemplating the step of a merger?

Mr. METCALFE. I would say that we have in our possession at the present time a list of several hundred organizations, and we shall go into some detail at a hearing in the next day or so as to just who these organizations are, and naming some of the leaders of the different groups, their backgrounds, and so forth.

A typical storm-troop song used by the men in the American organization follows. It can definitely be stated that they cannot sing the Star-Spangled Banner.

BATTLE SONG OF THE S. A.

Up, up for battle, we are born to battle,
Up, up for battle for the German Fatherland,
(We are sworn to Adolph Hitler
And to Adolph Hitler we extend our hand).

Firm stands a man, as firm as an oak,
Braving every storm as well as he can,
Maybe on the morrow we will be a corpse
As happens indeed to many a Hitler man.

Up, then, for battle, all you brown battalions,
The Third Reich, our goal shall ever be;
The World War's departed, all of these two millions
Are forcing us to battle and gain a victory.

During this past week in New York small groups of Nazis have been meeting for the purpose of preparing to return to the Third Reich. It must be recalled that most of these men have registered

with the German consulate for military purposes, in accordance with orders issued by the German Government more than a year ago and publicized in the American Nazi press at that time. With the return to Germany of these men, their wives and children will be left on the relief rolls of the American Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified to certain statements made by officials of the German-American Bund?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Those statements were made in your presence?

Mr. METCALFE. In my presence; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you, immediately after the statements were made, make any written record of them?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; and all of those notations are in the possession of this committee. Every notation was made immediately after, or as quickly as possible, after the conversation took place.

The CHAIRMAN. The Department of Justice turned over to this committee the reports of their investigators of the German-American Bund, did they not?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. With instructions, or with the request—the strong request, I will put it—that the committee not reveal the facts obtained by the investigators or their report; is that right?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had occasion to examine those reports very carefully, did you not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; I made a very thorough study of them.

The CHAIRMAN. A number of statements have been made, one of which was that officials of the German-American Bund boasted that they had been investigated and that nothing was found wrong; that no action had been taken by the United States Government. Does the examination at all justify that statement—without going into what the files contain that were turned over by the Department of Justice?

Mr. METCALFE. It is correct that no action has been taken as yet by the Department of Justice; that is, action in the character of prosecuting. However, the statement of letters of the German-American Bund that the Department of Justice in this report has given their organization a clean bill of health—that statement is absolutely false.

The CHAIRMAN. That is as far as you can go without revealing any of the details found in the files?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is fair to state that that statement has been made, but we cannot go into any more detail with regard to it.

Now, as a matter of fact, the findings and reports of the Department of Justice do not constitute anything like as thorough a revelation as what this committee will have in the record when it concludes its present session on Nazi activities? I mean by that, what has heretofore gone into the record, in the form of photographs and documentary evidence seized, together with what will follow in the next 4 or 5 days, will cover a great many grounds that were not covered in the report of the Department of Justice; is that not a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. I would say that statement is correct; that we have considerably more information in our possession than is contained in the files of the Department of Justice and was obtained by them

through their 6-month investigation. I believe they made several investigations. However, in all fairness, I would say that it must be remembered that the Department of Justice made only a cursory investigation, whereas we have gone beyond that stage and gone right into the detailed matter of this particular problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Their information came largely from reports made by outsiders rather than from someone within the ranks of the bund; is that right? It was based more or less upon the statements of others rather than any information obtained from any member of the bund itself; is that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. I would say that it contained both. It contains statements from sundry letters of the organization, and it contains material which is of a direct investigative nature on the part of the Federal agents, and, of course, a good deal of information from outside sources.

The CHAIRMAN. The only way that this committee could use its investigators or utilize their reports was to obtain leads and clues to develop of their own volition?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no restriction placed upon the committee to develop the leads or clues that might develop from an examination of the files of the Department of Justice?

Mr. METCALFE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that has been done, has it not?

Mr. METCALFE. That has been done.

The CHAIRMAN. Without revealing what the clues are, or the information?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But in the course of these hearings, any clues or information that we did not previously possess or make public will from time to time be developed directly on the initiative of this committee; that is, as an original proposition, without quoting from any of the reports or revealing anything in the reports of the Department of Justice; is that right?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right; nothing will be revealed directly.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, of course you stated in your opening statement how seriously the committee was handicapped in pursuing this investigation into the Nazi movement as far as it should be done?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a fact, is it not, that when this resolution was adopted the officials of the German-American Bund issued an order to the various bund posts to destroy all of their records?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct; and we will definitely prove that as we go along.

The CHAIRMAN. That order was carried out in practically every instance, except in the case of the post at Chicago, where you subpoenaed and obtained possession of 25. I think it was, original letters constituting correspondence between the Chicago bund post and Nazi Germans; is that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These 25 letters, which have been all—they were all introduced in evidence by you?

Mr. METCALFE. Every one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. And all of them form a part of the record and will be printed in full in the record?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. These letters contain many statements connecting or showing a close relationship and a sympathetic feeling between officials in the bund and the Nazi government; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. I would say they establish a very definite relationship.

The CHAIRMAN. Between the two?

Mr. METCALFE. Between the two.

The CHAIRMAN. How does that coincide with the statements made by the officials of the German-American Bund to the effect that the German-American Bund is an American organization?

Mr. METCALFE. I would say that those facts are in direct contradiction of the statements made by German-American Bund leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. For purposes of review, too, is it not a fact that at the hearing on the first day Peter Gissibl, who was at one time the fuhrer of the Chicago Bund post, admitted—and it can be found from this record, which will soon be published—that the photographs which were introduced in evidence and form a part of our record were genuine and correctly depicted scenes within the German-American Bund? Is that not a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. He admitted that every photograph that was introduced in evidence was genuine.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, to develop one other phase in connection with the difficulty that this committee has encountered in undertaking to follow up more carefully certain leads and information, it is a fact, is it not, that in order to seize the records of any post, if there are any records left, it would require expert accountants to investigate or to go over the financial records and check up; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; it is a fact. I mean, the ramifications of the activities of the German-American Bund give every indication that that would be the case if we did obtain the financial records of the bund. In the first place, as pointed out, there are some 80 posts throughout the country, and each one has its set of books, and naturally it would be quite a job to go through all of that and follow it and trace it down and find out exactly where this money did come from and how it was expended.

The CHAIRMAN. But the facts that will be developed here will warrant—or will they—the belief or the conclusion that a large amount of money is being spent in the United States for propaganda purposes for the Nazi movement; is that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. I think there is plenty of evidence to warrant that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. It will also show, will it not, definite proof of widespread propaganda directly from Nazi Germans?

Mr. METCALFE. Oh, yes; we will show that conclusively.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you say that there is a fair indication, or indications, that certain American organizations—I won't say that; certain organizations proclaiming themselves American—that are organized in various parts of the country, with various similar procedures; they get out a charter or something for that purpose—you say that these organizations are adopting to a large extent the strat-

egy, the ideals—or rather not ideals but the principles of the Nazi movement in Germany? In other words, they predicate their movements upon some form of hatred or prejudice; that is the background of it?

Mr. METCALFE. Oh, yes; that is the smoke screen.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a smoke screen of some high-sounding title?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But behind the smoke screen there is a motivating force, which is some prejudice which bears all the earmarks of the Nazi ideology; is that right?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is this money coming from to finance so many of these movements; or do you prefer to take that up later?

Mr. METCALFE. I would prefer to take that up at a later time. I have some photographs here that I think ought to be introduced in evidence, for the sake of the record.

On the opening day we introduced a great many photographs of the storm troops, and here are some photographs particularly of the Germans.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to these pictures, let the record show clearly that these pictures were taken either by you or by your brother, or were secured from the official photographer of the bund, or some photographer who took the pictures.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; we either bought these pictures, or else took them, or know the photographer who took them, and have them put their stamps on them, because they would be needed in evidence, to show that these pictures are authentic.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that, Peter Gissibl admitted that those pictures—and I think that is a very important point—that those pictures correctly depict actual scenes within the camps.

Mr. METCALFE. Peter Gissibl admitted, officially, that these pictures, as well as those introduced on the opening day, are definitely authentic. There is no question as to the authenticity of the pictures, and I can identify the investigator in the pictures.

The CHAIRMAN. You had better mark them.

Mr. METCALFE. They can be marked in one group.

The CHAIRMAN. We can do that, giving them exhibit numbers, and the previous pamphlet introduced, celebrating the approaching Sudenten victory, will be marked "Exhibit No. 1."

(The pamphlet referred to was marked as indicated.)

(The group of photographs above referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 2.")

Mr. METCALFE. I am also introducing now some pictures of Fritz Kuhn, taken by an official photographer of the German-American Bund, or by me, at various functions of the bund in the East, and along with Kuhn are shown other officials of the German-American Bund.

There are also shown in these pictures Italians who were meeting there, members of the Italian War Veterans, drilling and parading with the German-American Bund storm troopers; also a photograph taken at the national convention of the German-American Bund, held in the Biltmore Hotel, in New York City. That covers the pictures in this group here.

The CHAIRMAN. That group of photographs will be marked "Exhibit No. 3."

(The group of photographs referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 3.")

Mr. METCALFE. I also have here a photograph we took of the German World War veterans' organization from Philadelphia, known as the Frontkaempferschaft, which organization met with the German-American Bund in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. This photograph will be marked "Exhibit No. 4."

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

Mr. METCALFE. There are also here pictures taken of the flaming swastika at celebrations held at night in various parts of the United States that are very reminiscent of the flaming cross of the Klan, showing the storm troops, and even the youth are shown participating in these celebrations, little tiny tots are shown parading around in the picture.

This particular picture I have before me was taken at Grafton, Wis., where there is a camp of the German-American Bund.

Then there is another picture in this group taken in Dublin Canyon, near Oakland, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that show?

Mr. METCALFE. It shows the members of the German-American Bund, with members of the storm troops, gathered around some sort of a scene. These other pictures in this group are very similar.

The CHAIRMAN. That group of photographs will be marked "Exhibit No. 5."

(The group of photographs referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 5.")

The CHAIRMAN. What other photographs have you?

Mr. METCALFE. Here is a group of photographs, based on the same authenticity I have referred to.

This particular picture [indicating photograph] shows Peter Gisibl right in the photograph.

Here is a picture [indicating] taken showing Dr. G. A. Muller, acting German consul, addressing a German Day group at the United Singers Park, in Springfield, N. J.

Then there are other pictures in this group taken at Camp Siegfried and at Camp Nordland, in New York and New Jersey, and also in San Diego, Calif.; in Wisconsin, in Los Angeles, in Chicago, and others show scenes from similar locations.

The CHAIRMAN. That group will be marked "Exhibit No. 6."

(The group of photographs referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 6.")

Mr. METCALFE. I think that is about all the pictures I will introduce at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you have other documentary evidence, not yet introduced, which you will introduce later?

Mr. METCALFE. As we go along; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other statement to make in connection with this particular phase before we take a recess?

Mr. METCALFE. Not at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will take a recess at this time, and this afternoon we will deal with the question of the Youth Movement.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

(Thereupon the subcommittee took a recess until 1:30 p. m. this day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reassembled, pursuant to taking a recess, at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order and resume its session.

Mr. Metcalfe, you may resume your statement. You are now going to deal with the Hitler youth movement in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. METCALFE. Hundreds of German-American children are being Hitlerized by the leaders of the German-American Bund, despite the fact that under American law every child born in this country is an American citizen.

Every effort is being expended by the bund high command to instill in these boys and girls, most of whom have never even been outside the United States, the doctrines of racial and religious hatreds preached under the pagan German kultur.

American ideals and principles of democracy are boldly shoved into the background and a mental worship of Hitlerism is embedded in these youthful unsuspecting minds. Although this investigator has frequently visited Nazi camps in various parts of the country, never once has there been occasion where he has seen these nazified children led to a Christian religious service in a youth camp.

Health, Hitler, heils, and hatred are the "four H's" used by United States Nazis to prevent Americanization of children whose parents are members of the German-American Bund.

In the coming years all the unity and all the efforts will be required in order to put a stop to the former crippling by the Americanization of their young— declares the bund yearbook, reprinted from the German magazine *Deutsche Arbeit*, in referring to children of Germans who have emigrated to America.

Hence—

the yearbook states, after pointing out that German's youth movement at home must confine itself to German children still in the fatherland—

the youth groups of the German-American Bund are a real achievement for Germany.

In forwarding this program thousands of childish voices ring out in a crescendo of "Heil Hitlers" in German-American camps throughout the Nation.

American boys and girls sing hymns to Der Fuehrer and to the vaterland they never have seen. Their youthful feet goose-step in a march of racial and religious hatred.

The minds and souls of these "babes in the woods" are a fertile field for the propaganda of the bund.

Our youth are the life line of our movement—

leaders repeatedly insist.

We may be gone soon and the youth must carry on our fight * * *.

Under the guise of health, German-American children are being trained and marched away from the democratic traditions of America.

They must learn to speak fluent German and to understand the Nazi ideology. They listen to lectures on the Hitler philosophy and the policies of the Third Reich.

In its youth movement, as in the parent organization, the bund professes a defense of the United States Constitution and true Americanism. But the camps are completely Nazi German. The United States is forgotten except for a display of American flags. The flaming swastika of Germany is the important flag to the Boy and Girl Scouts. Old Glory is of secondary importance.

The Scouts eat, sleep, talk, and dream nazi-ism with the same fervor of the regimented youth of Germany. They are taught to avoid outside contaminating influences. American history is revised in public addresses for them to show that this country has been saved from destruction only through the influence of German-Americans.

Just as in Germany, the youth movement is divided into three sections—the Jungenschaft (boys), the Maedchenschaft (girls), and the Jungvolk (smaller children too young to join other groups).

Youngsters are thrust into the Jungvolk organization when only 5 and 6 years old. They wear uniforms of brown and blue shorts or skirts, white blouses with Hitler-brown scarfs. Older boys wear brown shirts with Sam Browne belts, military trousers and boots, and are armed with long hunting knives and spears.

Youths graduate into the "ordnungs Dienst," the storm-troop organization of the bund, and are trained mentally and physically to lead the troops when the often-predicted "trouble" comes. Scouts are told they must be prepared to withstand the onrush of the coming "red" revolution.

From their elders scouts learn to be suspicious of strangers. They won't discuss the bund unless they know you are sympathetic. This investigator entered Turner Hall at Eighty-fifth Street and Lexington Avenue, in the Yorkville German section of New York City, where the bund holds many of its meetings, and asked a young scout fuehrer where the bund headquarters was situated.

"Bund?" the youth asked in pretended ignorance. "I don't know anything about the bund."

Investigation disclosed that beyond the door he was guarding a group of boys and girls who were attending one of the "Bundes-Redner-Schule." A propaganda film showing the delights of New Germany was part of the day's instruction.

Landesjugendfuehrer (national youth leader) is Theodor Dinkelacker, 9238 Lamont Avenue, Elmhurst, Long Island. Under 30, black-haired and tanned, Dinkelacker devotes all of his time to drilling and teaching potential national socialists. He leads them in parades behind the storm troops at summer festivals and in the city drill halls of the bund during the winter.

Our youth love the fight—

Dinkelacker explains.

They are mostly sons and daughters of old fighters and thus they will not permit the fighting spirit of the bund to die out. National socialism is a worldwide philosophy of strength. We teach our youth along these lines so that

they may take the right road in life. We instill in them pride of German nationality and race. We insist on order and discipline to build character and a broad athletic program to build the body.

Youth bunds are proud of being the future of "the only fighting organization in German-America," Dinkelacker says, and "will always look down with contempt upon those who avoid the battle, who gather in little groups and clubs in order, when they reach manhood, to change into rabbit-breeding societies or bowling clubs."

All boys and girls—

he continued—

have the obligation to keep themselves strong and healthy for their German race; healthy in order to transmit as a link in an unending chain in the heritage of our ancestors to the coming generation; strong in order to ward off every attack against the German race; politically and economically.

The bund youth group "does not only have the purpose to breed a new generation, as certain malicious tongues assert," Dinkelacker explains.

We wish to train the young to become useful members of the German racial community. We wish to train our youth groups to such an extent that by observation we may be able to pick out talented boys and girls, support them in their education, and thus create the possibility that the most capable be placed at the head, for the benefit not only of the German element, but of the entire nation.

Camp Hindenburg, near Grafton, Wis., 18 miles north of Milwaukee, is the summer home of Chicago and Milwaukee scouts. The camp is in its third year.

Two signs, one in blue and one in red, point the way to the camp down a gravel road from U. S. Highway 141. The signs are lettered merely "A. V." The camp itself is set in the valley surrounded by wooded hills with the Milwaukee River providing swimming facilities on the west side of the tract. There is a parking lot for autos through which one must pass before entering the camp proper. The camp and lot are separated by a wire fence with a single pole carrying a sign "Private property."

Unlike the eastern camps, there are no elaborate permanent buildings at Camp Hindenburg. The kaffee kuche (coffee kitchen) and beer stand are housed in small wooden structures. Tents are set in a circle. In the center is a tall flag pole from which are flown the American flag and the Jungenschaft flag—a white streak of lightning or half swastika on a black background. Regulation German swastika flags are displayed on special occasions.

About 80 boys from Chicago and Milwaukee gave up the tents on August 1, after a 2-week stay at the camp, and about 100 girls moved in. The boys and girls marched behind a military band of German World War veterans to the flagpole for a ceremony, during which the boys' flag was replaced by that of the girls' organization.

Uniforms worn by the Chicago and Milwaukee boys include a wide brown belt with a silver buckle bearing a swastika and the legend "blut und ehre" (blood and honor). The boys displayed a hunting knife which had a similar inscription on the blade.

Chicago boys and girls when not in camp meet once a week at the bundsheim (bund home) at 3853 North Western Avenue, and at the southside headquarters at 605 West Sixtieth Street. They also

attend the Theodore Koerner Schule, operated at the North Side home.

In this connection, some reference was made to these particular schools at the opening session, at which time you will recall that some letters were introduced in evidence, and those mentioned this morning referred directly to obtaining funds from Germany for the financing and purchasing of equipment for these schools.

The American Nazi youth movement is much stronger in the East and Middle West than in the far West.

West coast bund members enthusiastically welcomed Erich Bari-schoff, member of the Brooklyn, N. Y., Jungenschaft, who appeared at Deutsches Haus, Los Angeles headquarters, August 1, after a 24-day hike across the country. Erich, a tall sturdy lad, was en route to the Dutch East Indies and thence to Germany to visit relatives. He had nothing but scorn for the American Boy Scouts.

They're sissies—

he exclaimed.

They don't know what hardships are like. They take little walks while we travel hundreds of miles. There is no comparison between the American Boy Scouts and the Jungenschaft. The Americans are babies alongside of us.

The Philadelphia youth encampment is part of the bund layout of the Deutschorst Country Club, near Croydon, Pa. Forty boys and twenty-five girls live in tents and in the stately old mansion, which had been used at one time as a speak-easy and later as a home for wayward girls before the bund leased it 4 years ago. The owner offered to sell the property to the bund for \$12,000 4 years ago but boosted his price to \$18,000 last summer just before the lease expired. There was talk of looking for a new place.

A Philadelphia storm trooper, in a conversation with his fuhrer, G. W. Kunze, who is the chief of propaganda, on July 25, revealed "how we fooled those newspapermen." A reporter and photographer of the Philadelphia Record spent several hours at the camp that day.

They didn't see a thing and got only a lot of pictures that don't mean anything—

the trooper explained.

The funniest thing happened when they went to the youth camp. All they saw was the boys and their tents with a little American flag on the staff. They didn't get to see our flag.

The trooper indicated the swastika had been removed purposely for the day in anticipation of newspaper photographers.

Efdendó Camp, 9 miles north of Pontiac, Mich., serves the Detroit post. It does not compare in size nor in buildings and improvements with the eastern camps. Entrance is down a side road off U. S. Highway 10 at the Springfield Gladiola Farms. A small sign reads "Summer Camp A. V." Detroit members are cautious about displaying swastikas or other Hitler emblems at their camp.

A small frame building houses a kitchen and bar near the lake-shore while headquarters for the Jungenschaft is beyond an athletic field. About 20 girls and 30 boys are accommodated in separate units of a one-story building.

The most elaborate of the bund's camps are Siegfried, near Yaphank, Long Island, and Nordland, near Andover, N. J. It was at a youth celebration at Camp Siegfried on July 11, that National Leader Fritz Kuhn said:

The youth of our great bund are the hope, the life line of our organization. Through them we must live into the future. It is, therefore, necessary that we must stand united behind them, educate them, and raise them to manhood and womanhood with our ideals imbedded in their hearts. We must fight together for their freedom.

We must work to win over the youth of all German-Americans, and some day when our labor has reaped its reward we shall hear fine and strong German-American youths coming marching from the East and West, from the South and North—marching onward to build a greater Nation.

When "Achtung!"—attention—rings out over the loudspeaker system in the eastern camps scouts as well as storm troopers hurry to attention. If it is Sunday morning at Camp Siegfried boys and girls form into separate ranks and prepare to greet storm troopers and other bund members arriving from New York on a special train.

Some of the scouts march behind the German swastika and the American flag to the railroad station 2 miles away, through Yaphank. They line up at attention beside the track and as the train pulls in their arms are outstretched in a Hitler salute to the arriving guests.

With a band blaring a stirring German march, the scouts and guests—500 or more strong—march back through the village to the camp, where another contingent of the scouts is at attention "heiling" the arriving storm troopers.

The Sunday parades through Yaphank once aroused a group of villagers, who protested that fat women clad in shorts, trampled their gardens and picked their berries and flowers. Justice of the Peace Gustav Neuss said the Nazis were a far cry from old-time peace-loving Germans he expected would occupy the camp when it was started 3 years ago.

At Siegfried and at other eastern bund camps separate tent encampments for boys and girls are set back in the woods, away from the main building and cottages where their parents drink beer and dance. Sentries stand guard at entrances to the rows of tents. Visitors—even parents of the scouts—are not permitted in the youth camps proper. Scouts on duty in the camps must come to the entrances to visit with their parents. If not on duty, they are permitted to roam through the entire camp layout at will.

A German steel helmet and a long lance are part of the equipment of the guard at the entrance to the boys' camp at Siegfried. The lance and helmet are passed along to each boy as he takes up sentry duty.

You will recall that we introduced photographs in substantiation of that statement at the opening hearing.

Commands and conversations among the scouts are entirely in German, but they politely answer questions in English.

Faces of the youths reflect their love for the bund fight, but they also reflect the doctrine of racial hatred instilled in them by their elders.

Discipline is rigid. Some scouts are assigned to duty at soft-drink stands in camp on Sunday. Others carry water to perspiring troopers lined up under a hot sun for several hours listening to

speeches denouncing their enemies and praising Der Fuehrer. Still others are lined up near the troopers listening to the same speeches.

German-Americans can send their children to the camp for from \$3.50 to \$5 a week. If their parents have the money, the children remain in camp all summer and enjoy a theoretical 3-month trip to Germany.

Camps are supported partly from contributions. Otto Arndt, one of the most active of the New York area storm troops, said his contributions to the Jungenschaft amounted to \$25 during a year.

A collection was taken up for the Jungenschaft at the end of a night boat trip up the Hudson which outwardly had no connection with the bund, but which was sponsored by the Steneck travel bureau.

The youth camp at Siegfried is a half mile around a lake from the main camp building. A two-story stucco building, adaptable for winter use, serves as headquarters. Tents are pitched on wooden foundations back in the woods. At Camp Nordland, set in the wooded hills of Sussex County, N. J., the tents are in one end of the 100-acre tract.

Heels click together and the right arm goes out in a Hitler salute when a scout, boy or girl, is addressed by a youth leader or any storm trooper in uniform.

Singing forms an important part of the camp training. Both the boys and girls are divided into older and younger groups and learn numerous songs in praise of Hitler and the new Germany. The boys also have a fife, bugle, and drum corps, members of which are equipped with red and white epaulettes.

As part of their training for "true Americanism," scouts sing Heute Hoert Uns Deutschland—Morgen Die Ganze Welt! (Today Germany Hears Us, Tomorrow the Whole World), and also the song familiar to all storm troopers, We are the Friends of the New Germany.

They join enthusiastically in singing Deutschland Uber Alles and the Horst Wessel, the Hitler national anthem, but have a difficult time remembering The Star-Spangled Banner.

Girl scouts are tanned and healthy and a trifle more muscular than the ordinary American girl of their age. They are trained in the folk dances of Germany and perform at the various bund functions. Some of the older girls enjoy the company of uniformed storm troops on Sunday festivals. The younger ones dance and giggle with young German boy scouts.

For some of the smaller girls camp life brings the ordeal of living away from their parents for the first time.

How quickly a German-American boy can become a part of the Hitler youth program was explained by a woman bund member. She said her youthful cousin scorned the camp idea at first, but after one visit came home singing Nazi songs and remarked that the German scouts were "real kameraden." After another visit he became a member. Today, at 19, he is a fuehrer and has learned to speak German.

"His older brother," she said, "who is in the United States Navy, makes fun of the boy's scout uniform and his Hitler salute. But we tell him not to mind, the older brother will learn the truth before long and realize he must join the new Germany."

The bund also maintains camps near Buffalo, Schenectady, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Diego, Oakland, Calif., Spokane, Seattle, Portland, Oreg., and at St. Louis.

All bund leaders—from Fuehrer Fritz Kuhn down to minor leaders in local posts—recognize the importance of the youth movement, but none more than Carl (Papa) Nicolay, South Brooklyn leader and national speaker since the inception of the organization.

Nicolay, who is nearing 60, is the most enthusiastic and most verbose of the bund speakers. He is an officious little man with gray-ing hair cut short in German military fashion. He delights in reading poems of his own composition at bund gatherings.

Nicolay wrote of the wonders of Germany under Hitler:

The gradual education away from shallow internationalism and the often but not too obvious meaninglessness of its decadent liberalism and democracy * * * to a sound and rational nationalism, which in its very desire for the strength of its own country and people will not only tolerate but look to similar national strength in others, but make for real peace, therefore, instead of war.

He wrote of the joy of Hitler youth but did not mention the signs over Nazi youth camps: "You were born to die for Germany."

This sign has not yet been plastered over the American Nazi camps.

In Germany all young people are forced by the State youth law to become members of the Hitler Youth or the League of German Girls and undergo national Socialist schooling. American children of bund members "love the fight" in the words of the national leader, Theodor Dinkelacker, and don't need a law to force them into the regimented organization.

In a mimeographed paper issued by the American Nazi youth movement, Hitler is termed "The prophet of a new and nobler chapter in the course of human events." His "creed" is world-wide, youthful Americans are told.

He leads the struggle for race preservation against the melting-pot idea of international-minded dabblers in theoretical concepts of the "brotherhood" of all races.

The setting up of a nation in order; clean and strong, free and unified is a miracle which only proves the prophet is divinely inspired with God-given powers and insight.

The slumbering embers Adolf Hitler has fanned into fire in the hearts of Aryan men will break out into a mighty blaze that will consume the enemy when he raises his red rags.

The world quivers with the convulsions of an approaching earthquake that will shake each nation to its bedrock, bury everything corrupt and outmoded and clear away to leave a world of virile, progressive race-conscious nations.

The article, signed by Paul M. Ochojski, in charge of the English columns of the youth paper, thus tells American children of the same "approaching revolution" which bund speakers warn their members to prepare for.

In another article Ochojski declares Germans are "vanishing" in the United States because they "aren't organized and fighting" against their enemies.

Rallying American children of bund members to answer the battle call to fight, Ochojski warns that unless action is taken Germans in America are—

doomed to become a gray, raceless mixture of unskilled laborers having no voice in politics and no economic power.

There is no more immigration of new blood from Germany to freshen up the dying cadaver of Germanic America—

the writer explains.

Organize, keep alive German language and traditions, learn useful and higher trade, go to higher schools and colleges, enter professions and politics, fight the enemies of Germany.

The bund program of instilling "fight" in its youth and its teaching that Jungenschaft members should be ready to meet any emergency makes the youthful scouts brave and self-reliant.

Discipline of bund youth was praised by Herr Weiss, physical-education instructor at the organization's Philadelphia youth camp, Deutschhorst, near Croydon, Pa. He told this investigator the boys and girls in camp obeyed orders "just like little soldiers."

Two members of the New York Jungenschaft hitch-hiked to Chicago late in August, and received a warm welcome at the Bundesheim at 3857 North Western Avenue.

The boys wore hunting knives encased in leather holsters attached to their belts. Handles of the knives showed a small swastika. Asked if the knives were made in New York, "No," one boy replied. "The knives come straight from Germany and they can't send enough to supply everybody who wants one. When the next boat comes over, it will bring many knives, but there will not be enough to take care of all the orders."

Youth Leader Dinkelacker declared at the bund national convention:

It is highly important that we train them to think our way—the right way. Every bit of support you give this movement, whether it be financial or otherwise, is deeply appreciated and most significant. Urge your children and the children of your friends and relatives to join with us. We have great camps and training schools for them. The children will benefit by this training indoors and outdoors and will learn to understand the true meaning of our cause and when they have reached mature life, they will rise to fight with us and will send their children to us.

The "aims" of the Amerika-deutscher Volksbund, as printed in its yearbook includes much the same message for youth.

To this youth we bind ourselves in duty to the end that some day it may feel bound in duty to our nationality and complete what we have begun. To have trained and strengthened and schooled them for national and racial responsibility, to be clean, healthy, and strong men and women, that some day shall be the fairest reward of our pains, activity, and sacrifice.

An example of the arrogance of the American Nazi machine in its march to indoctrinate Nazi idealism in American youth was discovered recently in St. Louis, where reside some 100,000 German-Americans, forming nearly one-eighth of the city's population.

Nazi propaganda was slyly worked into the public schools of that city in recent months under the guise of summer German language classes. Ostensibly the plan was to simply teach the German language and sing German folk songs. But before very long it became apparent that this was not at all the real purpose of the classes. Instead, instructions drifted into Nazi doctrines.

These classes were inaugurated through the efforts of a Mr. Walter Rist, a native-born citizen of St. Louis, last May. Fifteen fellow teachers and laymen were enlisted for this propaganda work. These instructors offered their services without compensation, at least none from the schools. Whatever compensation they may have actually

obtained remains a matter of conjecture. They also obtained classrooms in two public schools and succeeded in enrolling some 400 students.

Some highly interesting facts in conjunction with this Nazi propaganda schooling of American boys and girls has, however, come to light. After every Saturday class, trucks picked up some 50 of the children and carried them 55 miles to a Nazi camp near Stanton, Mo. This camp site is operated by the Deutsch-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft and is under the direction of Eberhard von Blankenhagen, former consul secretary of the German Embassy in Washington.

In manner similar to other Nazi camps throughout the country, this site is run with Prussian military precision. German is spoken everywhere and children are forced to don uniforms and so make their appearances at meetings and meals.

So glaringly obvious was the plot of Nazi education of American boys and girls that Henry J. Gerling, superintendent of instruction at St. Louis, has denied Rist a permit for fall-term German classes.

American educational institutions throughout the United States offer in their curriculums any number of German classes. Yet despite this fact, the German-American Bund has set up throughout the United States a German school system of its own. If these bund schools are purely for teaching the German language, why has the bund created a secret school system of its own?

Schools just like these bund classes have been opened by Nazi minorities not just in the United States, but also in many other lands, such as South America, Poland, and in the Sudeten areas.

At the national convention of the German-American Bund held a year ago in the Biltmore Hotel, New York, bund officials from all sections of the United States heard at length a talk by a representative of the Polish-German Bund on this very subject. He outlined in detail just how the Nazi minority in Poland had succeeded in setting up this hidden school system, along with its own kulture church system. And to the cheers of bund leaders he forecast that the day is not far off when Germany would succeed in building up through the German-American Bund an identical program in the United States.

The spread of the Hitler youth movement within the ranks of the German-American Bund is reflected in a list of boys' units which have been established, which are experiencing a continued growth in numbers. The list includes the following:

EASTERN DISTRICT

Manhattan, N. Y.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Hudson County, N. J.; Nassau County, Long Island; Astoria Long Island; Bronx, N. Y.; White Plains, N. Y.; Jamaica, Long Island; South Brooklyn, N. Y.; Schenectady, N. Y.; Yonkers, N. Y.; Lindenhurst, Long Island; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Passaic, N. J.

MIDDLE WESTERN DISTRICT

Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Cleveland, Ohio; and Kenosha, Wis.

WESTERN DISTRICT

Los Angeles, Calif.

It is of interest to note the purchase of a site for youth camps in Camp Siegfried, at a cost of \$8,000, that Theodore Dinkelacher, na-

tional youth leader of the German-American Bund, has advised that the money used in this purchase was raised by loans from the Long Island membership of the German-American Bund, and particularly from parents of the children. Dinkelacher also declared that the older boys in the children's camp are given instructions with reference to the menace of communism and are instructed in ways in which they should avoid it. He stated that the older boys are also given instructions in national socialism.

However, when this same national youth leader was asked:

Do you give them instructions in our democratic form of government?

Dinkelacher replied as follows:

No; they are too young to understand about Republicans, Democrats, and so forth.

In other words, it is the belief of the bund that these boys and girls are too young to be taught Americanism but are old enough to instill in them Nazi ideology.

Along this same line it is of interest to note that Spellsberg, who was a former leader of the San Francisco storm troops, does not think it is worth while for the bund to try to win over those German-Americans who came to the United States before the World War. Spellsberg, who trained speakers of the German-American Bund for propaganda purposes, points out instead as follows: "Get the youth."

So closely related is the youth movement of the German-American Bund to that of the Hitler youth in Germany that they even sing the songs of the Hitler youth and reprint them in their songbooks.

On page 3 of issue No. 6 of *Junges Volk* for June 1937 there are German songs of this character. The first song contains the words:

We have sworn an oath to our flag.

The second verse states:

The flag is our faith in God, people, and country,
Whoever wants to rob it, may rather take our lives and hands,
We shall care for the flag like for our good mother
Because the flag means tomorrow and honor and courage.

It should be made very clear in this connection that the flag referred to by the bund and its youth movement is not the Stars and Stripes of America, but the swastika of Germany.

Another song on the same page is quoted as follows:

Fly, you sparks, fly into our time,
Announce war to all far and near
Who dare argue with us and who
Carry discord in their hearts.

On page 4 of the same issue there appears a song which is quoted as follows:

Youth, youth—we are the future soldiers
Youth, youth—we are the ones to carry out future deeds
Yes; through our fists will be smashed who stands in our way
Youth, youth—we are the future soldiers
Youth, youth—we are the ones to carry out future deeds
Fuehrer—we belong to you; yes; we comrades belong to you.

Again, it is pointed out that in the last line of this verse, the word "Fuehrer" does not refer to the President of the United States or any other American, but to Adolf Hitler of Germany.

In effect, therefore, the bund babies sing: "Hitler, we belong to you; yes, we comrades belong to you."

The practice of spreading Nazi propaganda through educational institutions does not, however, stop here. It has crept into many American institutions of higher learning.

One of the most alarming ways of Nazi propaganda along this line has swept through the ranks of exchange students to universities.

The purpose of the "exchange students" to universities has long been to foster good will and peace among the nations. The American student in a European university learns of the customs, habits, and cultural progress of the country in which he studies. The European student in an American school learns to appreciate American culture. The result is greater understanding.

But this worthwhile aim has been neglected in the exchange of German students for American. Now American students are being indoctrinated with the aims of fascism in Germany both abroad and at home to the detriment of democratic institutions in America.

Take, for instance, the case of the Committee on American Youth Camp in Germany. This committee arranges trips and stays for American youths in Germany. On the letterheads of this committee there is found the names of the following persons:

Dr. Colin Ross, Munich; Professor Sprengling, University of Chicago; Mrs. Dupont Ruoff, Wilmington, Del.; Mr. Leslie Bissel, Munich; Mrs. Elsie von Johnson, Munich (formerly of Galveston).

It should be noted that Dr. Colin Ross is a Nazi propagandist who spends his time between Germany and the United States. He has been one of the outstanding speakers for the German-American Bund and has been a writer for the *Weckruf*, official organ of the bund.

Another case which has attracted some attention is that of two German exchange students who were sent to the University of Missouri.

I am not mentioning the names of the students. They have been filed with the committee. The actual cases—who they are—their identity is known to the committee, but, for obvious reasons, it has not been made a matter of public record.

One of them is a boy and the other a girl. It was reported that before leaving New York City these students, among others, were given instructions by diplomatic officials of Germany.

On arriving at Columbia, Mo., they took up residence in the finest houses on the campus. The girl was taken into Kappa Kappa Gamma house and the young man was accepted by the Beta Theta Pi.

During the fall season a course of lectures was given on Nazi Germany. These lectures were conducted by Prof. John B. Wolf and others. It was reported that at this time the two students composed a mailing list for Nazi propaganda.

The girl, in addition, wrote articles which appeared in the *Columbia Missourian*. The tenor of her article was to the effect that foreign newspapers give a distorted picture of conditions in Germany. The articles were definitely pro-Nazi. This girl is an active member of the German Club.

Professor Wolf came from Minnesota as a professor of history before taking up his post at Missouri. His special theme is Modern Germany in Contemporary Europe.

Professor Wolf visited Germany last year and it was reported that this trip was paid for by the German Government. Professor Wolf

is an American citizen. Many educators have taken advantage of the generosity of the Nazis.

The German exchange student at Drury College in Springfield, Mo., addressed the local Rotary Club and presented a talk that was purely pro-Nazi propaganda. Protests over this action reached the college president and other school officials as well as the board of the Rotary Club and the student as the result, offered an apology for his talk. He was dismissed from college shortly thereafter.

Complaints have been lodged at various times with the chancellor of the University of Kansas to the effect that Nazi propaganda was being circulated on the campus. There are several German exchange students attending the university.

The German exchange student of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., addressed a community forum in Fitchburg, Mass., and was jeered at the conclusion of his talk, in which he stated as follows:

Hitler seems to promote friendly relations with all nations of the world.

Another exchange student at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, who is a professed Nazi, created a disturbance with remarks as follows:

We must counteract the lying propaganda concerning us which is present in your papers.

The German exchange student at the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt., has delivered decidedly pro-Nazi addresses, one of which took place at the United Church in Johnson, Vt. She is one of the number of students who attended the annual convention in Florida last December of the German exchange-students conference.

In her talk she sketched Hitler's life, his achievements, stated that the German Government is a form of democracy, that all enemies of Germany are heartless and dishonest, denied that the policy of scarcity was connected with the rearmament action, but rather that it was a child of boycott which is felt severely. She stated, in part, as follows:

We desire that all people from all countries know us better so that we may be understood. Then, in case of war, they will not want to kill a friend who they know so well.

A German exchange student at the University of Indiana has been reported boosting the Nazi government, especially among Phi Psi fraternity students, where he is living.

A German student attending the University of California, who was sent here by his father under some special arrangement, has been spreading Nazi propaganda. He has been reported mixing with newcomers from Germany to sound them out as to their fealty to Hitler. He was also reported to have tried to enforce Mein Kampf, Hitler's book, into the International House library. He also expressed indignation that the university allowed Thomas Mann to speak on the campus.

These are, briefly, some of the examples of Nazi activities which have crept into American universities. It is of interest to note the following article in connection with the student exchange idea, which appeared November 14 in the New York Times, having been cabled from Berlin:

BERLIN.—A marked increase in the number of American private preparatory schools exchanging students with the official National Socialist boarding schools, called National Political Education Institutes, is represented here as another victory for national socialism over foreign prejudice.

Several American boarding schools have been sending students for a year's training in National Socialist institutions. This year has seen a notable increase in the American schools taking part. In the past there has been no difficulty in finding young National Socialists to go to the United States, since their expenses are paid by the State. However, very few young Americans could be found for exchange purposes. Largely because of vigorous propaganda by the international schoolboy fellowship, this situation has been altered. The American boys here undergo a year's thorough training in national socialism and wear the customary brown-shirt uniform.

I have in addition, for the record, some photographs in connection with the youth movement. Like the other photographs, these were obtained either through the official photographer for the German-American Bund or they were taken by me, or I have seen the photographers who took the pictures, and I was present when they were taken.

The CHAIRMAN. What do the pictures show?

Mr. METCALFE. Here is a picture of an American boy and a girl who had never been abroad. This picture was taken by a bund photographer for propaganda purposes. This picture shows the boy standing before a large swastika flag with the youth flags in the background.

Here [indicating photograph] is a boy and a girl at a youth camp. This picture I took at the Philadelphia camp. You will notice the famous German guard box that they have in Berlin and other cities. The boys were giving the Hitler salute.

This is a picture that was taken at Camp Nordland in New Jersey. It shows the girls parading, with their flags, in uniform.

Here is a girl scout with one of these flags. One of these poles is a flag and the other is a lance. She is standing guard at a girl youth encampment.

Here is a photograph that was taken at Camp Siegfried of a boy holding a spear. He is in the scout uniform, wearing his steel regulation helmet of the German Army, standing guard at the youth encampment in Long Island.

Here is an informal picture that was taken of boys and girls together at the youth camp.

Here is a picture of boys marching at Camp Siegfried, in their uniforms.

This picture was taken at Harms Park, Chicago, where a great many outdoor gatherings are held by the German-American Bund.

Here is a large contingent of boy scouts and girl scouts and storm troops. You will notice the large swastika emblems.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "boy scouts" and "girl scouts," you mean in the youth movement?

Mr. METCALFE. In the Hitler youth movement.

The CHAIRMAN. They are entirely distinct from the American Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts?

Mr. METCALFE. Entirely. In fact, as I joined out in this brief, they look down on the American Boy Scouts and consider them—and the American Girl Scouts—as a bunch of sissies. That has been repeated on several occasions.

Here again they are all parading, boys and girls.

This is the entrance to the girls' youth camp at Camp Nordland, N. J.

This is a picture taken at mealtime, near the tents. They are eating their meals, and in the background there are storm troopers drinking beer. The girls and boys, of course, do not do that.

Here is an informal view of girl scouts preparing for a parade.

Here is a picture that is very unusual. In fact, these are very tiny little tots. They are not more than 6 years of age, already being drilled in the Nazi ideology, through the youth movement.

Here is another view of the youth encampment at Camp Siegfried.

Here is a picture of the flag bearers, of the boys and of the girls, and in the foreground is Dinkelacher, the national youth leader. He is about to address a gathering at the youth encampment at Camp Siegfried.

The CHAIRMAN. Those photographs will be introduced as a group, and given exhibit No. 7.

(The photographs above referred to were thereupon marked "Metcalf Exhibit No. 7.")

Mr. METCALFE. I also have as an exhibit a group of pictures of Nazi toys that are imported from Germany and sold to the boys and girls, members of the German-American Bund.

These toys were on sale in New York City. I was told that these toys were modeled after living figures, and were posed for by German Army officers. They are very expensive toys. They do not buy the American toys, that is, toys of American soldiers, although they could get them anywhere. They prefer to have toys of the German Army soldiers.

Here is one, for instance, of a German soldier swinging his rifle over his head as if to smash someone.

Here are several miniatures of Hitler in uniform and the arm in this toy moves so that the salute can be made. He can salute with it.

Here are some of the bugle corps. Here is another one of a flame fighter throwing his flames; and also another one wearing a gas mask and throwing a hand grenade.

Here is one with artillery pieces and ammunition, and so forth; and field glasses.

These are typical of a very large assortment of toys that include everything; Red Cross wagons, and all that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Those photographs will be marked as a group exhibit, No. 8.

(The photographs referred to were thereupon marked "Metcalf Exhibit No. 8.")

Mr. METCALFE. In this connection, I might also offer a group of pictures of camps which were mentioned in the previous hearing today and also the opening day, a group of pictures that were taken, some by the official photographer and a good many which I took myself, showing locations and activities in the camps; as, for instance, here [indicating photograph]. This was taken at Camp Nordland, where there were 10,000 in attendance.

This shows a special train bearing 1,500 members coming in, arriving at Camp Nordland, including a large detachment of storm troops, as they are getting off the trains and preparing to march to the camp.

The CHAIRMAN. Those photographs will be marked as a group, as one exhibit, No. 9.

(The photographs above referred to were marked "Metcalf Exhibit No. 9.")

MR. METCALFE. I believe that is all I want to introduce at this time, Mr. Chairman. Others will be brought out in forthcoming briefs.

THE CHAIRMAN. With reference to this youth movement, how does it compare with the youth movement in Germany? Is it modeled along the same lines?

MR. METCALFE. It is patterned very sharply after the youth movement in Germany. As I have said, they sing their songs and they model their drills very much along the same lines. And, as they do over there, they wear uniforms here that have a striking resemblance.

I have seen some of the Hitler youth from Germany visiting here. While, of course, they have different uniforms, there is a similarity in the youth scout uniforms.

Of course, these boys here mixed very freely with those that came from Germany and were on very friendly terms with them—that is, these boys in the youth movement here, as well as the girls. They did not care to associate with outside influences. As was pointed out, to some extent here, they shy away from that and want to stay by themselves and with their own group.

They seem to take no interest at all in any American ideals of the Scouts, do not believe in it. They believe they are very superior to anything that America has produced or could produce for them, that could be of interest to them.

THE CHAIRMAN. You stated in a previous hearing that as a result of your investigations over a considerable period of time, and your contacts with the various camps which you have mentioned, you were convinced that the overwhelming majority of the people of German descent in America were not sympathetic in any sense with this German bund movement. That is a fact, is it not?

MR. METCALFE. I would say very much so. In fact, in going around in this investigation and talking with people at a great many places, I find that a great many German-Americans are fearful that misrepresentations accidentally or unintentionally might be made here that all German-Americans are in sympathy with this bund movement; but the fact is that nine-tenths of the German element in the United States is definitely opposed to everything that the German-American Bund stands for. There is much feeling among a great many people that if the German-American Bund is trying to help Germany, they are being very foolish about it, because they have done far more harm than good in any effort to bring about a better understanding between the United States and Germany. If anything, they have only injured the relationship between the countries.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is there at the present time, within the ranks of the bunds, a growing feeling among members of the movement in opposition to the bund leadership?

MR. METCALFE. Yes, sir; and that is not a new thing. A few years ago the bund was split wide open because of the differences within the high command, and a lot of charges were hurled back and forth. It is very difficult to say just exactly what was back of it. There were charges of missing funds, and that sort of thing. Then the bund changed its name. It was originally the Teutonia Society. Then, when the public began to resent their activities, they changed the name to the Friends of Germany. Again, public opinion was

aroused against them, and then they changed the name to the German-American Bund. There is considerable talk of that today, and, in view of this investigation, the German-American Bund may again change its name.

The CHAIRMAN. Within the ranks of the bund membership, have some of them expressed the opinion that the opposition from certain quarters has increased the strength of the bund? In other words, what I mean is, Have some of the leadership of the bund attributed it to the character of some of the opposition? Is that the fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What field of recruiting is most fertile for the bund organization? Is it among people who have been in this country for only a relatively short period of time?

Mr. METCALFE. I would say that is largely true. It is among people who have not been in this country very long. As I pointed out in the brief, and discussed slightly, some of the leaders have given up entirely the idea as to any of them who had been here prior to the World War, because they were so Americanized that they would have no interest whatsoever in it, so that it would be a waste of time to attempt to convert those people to national socialism. However, a great many members of the German-American Bund, particularly in the storm-troop ranks, have come to the United States since the World War. Many of them served in the German Army, and a lot of them went through the revolution after the war. They have been through a period of great unrest over there; they have come here and, apparently, have not been able to settle down.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you found in your investigation, and in your contacts with this German-American Bund movement in the United States, that it has found definite encouragement from some American people or some American interests?

Mr. METCALFE. I would answer your question in this way: You will recall that I said this morning you only see the high lights of the movement, because of its far-flung ramifications, but there is sufficient evidence, I believe, in the hands of the committee today which would warrant going much further into this problem. I feel that the proof or evidence is of such a nature that it would probably disclose, upon careful investigation, that certain high-up American industrial leaders are behind the movement. There are among bund memberships names that have been mentioned of that sort. They have been mentioned in the ranks of the German-American Bund as being supporters of their efforts or objects. They are talking in this movement, saying there are high industrial leaders in America, who, it is true, are Fascist-minded, and I believe that if this committee had the opportunity and if the period of time was sufficient to permit them to do so, they should go into that more fully, and, on the basis of the information we already have, the committee would be able to get tangible and definite proof of this character.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say a sufficient opportunity over a sufficient period of time, you mean with an adequate staff of people to do the work?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir. Within the limit of time that I understand this committee has to report, January 3, I do not believe that, with the staff we have, it would be physically possible to go into this situation that far; but there is sufficient evidence now in the hands

of the committee to warrant going further into it in order to find out and prove who the people are who are behind this Fascist movement in the United States. The evidence that we already have shows that they would be some very influential and very powerful industrialists in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking of a limited number, or a very small minority?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We will meet at 10:30 o'clock tomorrow and will resume our inquiry into another phase of the Nazi movement in the United States. The committee stands adjourned until tomorrow at 10:30 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee adjourned to meet tomorrow, Thursday, September 29, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1938

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

The committee met pursuant to adjournment at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN C. METCALFE—Continued

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. I believe, Mr. Metcalfe, you will deal this morning with the relationship between the German-American Bund and the Nazi government.

Mr. METCALFE. That is right. It has been repeatedly denied by leaders of the German-American Bund that there is any relationship existing between the German Government and the German-American Bund.

These denials are not borne out, however, in the silent activities of the German-American Bund. Not only does a relationship exist beneath the surface but on numerous occasions in the past officials of the German Government and those of the German-American Bund have been seen mingling publicly.

Before going into the detailed account of some of these existing tie-ups, reference is made to an article in a Chicago newspaper of August 13, 1938, which quoted Gustave Brand, treasurer of the city of Chicago, as follows:

I know Mr. Gissibl only by sight.

It will be recalled that Peter Gissibl, former leader of the German-American Bund of Chicago, testified before this committee, August 12, 1938. This is the same man to whom Mr. Brand refers. While Mr. Brand contends he knows Mr. Gissibl only by sight, it should be pointed out here that Gissibl testified as follows:

Mr. Brand has been like a father to us.

This reference was made not only to himself but also to the German-American Bund.

In the same article, Mr. Brand goes on to say as follows:

I have frequently spoken with Dr. Baer, the German consul in Chicago, and he has repeatedly told me that the German Government does not approve of or endorse bunds or any other organizations parading around the country.

In direct contradiction of this statement, a series of photographs are, herewith, presented in evidence. These pictures show German

consular officials addressing sundry official gatherings of German-American Bund in various parts of the country.

I have that series of exhibits. Some pictures of similar character were introduced on the opening day of testimony before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Describe some of the pictures for the record.

Mr. METCALFE. I will describe some of them; yes.

There is here a picture of the German Vice Consul Tannenberg, of Chicago, addressing a meeting at Logan Square Masonic Hall. This is a picture that was taken at that time.

(The photograph referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 10 (a).")

Mr. METCALFE. There is also a picture here that was taken at Harms Park, Chicago, which is adjacent to the headquarters of the German-American Bund at that city, and this picture was taken at the annual celebration of the bund. On the speakers' platform, among other persons, are Fritz Kuhn, in uniform; the general consul, Emil Baer; and also in this picture is my brother, who was dressed in the storm-troop uniform at the time he had joined the German Bund.

(The photograph referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 10 (b).")

Mr. METCALFE. There is also a picture here of W. H. Friebel, who is the chancellor of the German consulate in Chicago, and he is addressing the youth organizations of the German-American Bund from Chicago and Milwaukee at a gathering held in Hindenburg Camp near Grafton, Wis. Also in this picture are storm troopers, and also in the picture is Peter Gissibl, the same person who testified here on the opening day.

(The photograph referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 10 (c).")

Mr. METCALFE. There is another picture here which was taken by the official bund photographer at the recent national convention of the German-American Bund held at the Biltmore Hotel in New York on July 3, 1937. In this picture is Dr. Draeger, the German vice consul for New York, addressing the gathering; also, seated beside him is Fritz Kuhn and officials of the German-American Bund from all parts of the United States; and I am also seated directly in front of Mr. Kuhn in this picture, which will prove the authenticity of it.

(The photograph referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 10 (d).")

Mr. METCALFE. Here is another picture of a gathering of the German-American Bund, showing Dr. Emil Baer, the German consul for Chicago; George Froboese, who is Middle West leader—he is from Milwaukee; and Fritz Kuhn is in the picture. Dr. Baer, incidentally, is sitting between Fritz Kuhn and Peter Gissibl on the platform at this gathering.

(The photograph referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 10 (e).")

Mr. METCALFE. There is another picture here of a parade of storm troops passing the reviewing stand, with officials of the German-American Bund, Dr. Baer, the German consul, and officials of the bund giving the Hitler salute as the storm troops march by.

(The photograph referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 10 (f).")

Mr. METCALFE. Another Chicago newspaper on August 12, 1938, stated as follows:

Dr. Otto Willumeit, Chicago bund leader—

He is the newly appointed leader, succeeding Gissibl—

also issued a denial of facts submitted to the Dies committee. An affidavit he was purported to have made declared that Fritz Kuhn, American fuehrer, had directed that all correspondence be destroyed before the congressional inquiry opened.

"I have never signed any affidavit for the Dies committee," Dr. Willumeit stated.

In direct contradiction to this statement by Dr. Willumeit, there is herewith introduced in evidence the original affidavit signed by Dr. Willumeit, witnessed and signed by an assistant United States district attorney.

(The paper referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 11.")

Mr. METCALFE. The affidavit, which is signed by Dr. Willumeit, who gave his address as 4344 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill., was taken on Friday, July 15, 1938, at the United States Courthouse, Chicago, Ill., room 826. Present at the time were Harry N. Connaughton, assistant United States attorney; Earl C. Hurley, assistant United States attorney; I was present; and also Dr. Willumeit, who signed the affidavit. I might point out, before reading this, that they have made quite a point of the fact that this document was never submitted to the committee; that no such document exists. So we have the document here, proving that it does exist. [Reading:]

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.

OTTO WILLUMEIT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of July, A. D. 1938.

ANNA L. MANAHAN, *Notary Public.*

Witnesses:

HARRY N. CONNAUGHTON.

E. C. HURLEY.

JOHN C. METCALFE.

Since Dr. Willumeit made out this affidavit, the text in the last paragraph, which refers to his relationship personally with Fritz Kuhn—these facts have been altered considerably, as Dr. Willumeit led the Chicago delegation of the German-American Bund to the recent national convention of the German-American Bund which was held in New York, and at that time he did certainly meet Fritz Kuhn personally, and he came back from that convention with a series of messages, and so forth, as to what took place at that particular convention.

There is also one strange point I might bring out. Here is a man who takes over an organization and becomes the head of it, and even after having been in there for a month or more, he declares he is not familiar at all with the financial set-up of the organization for which he is the responsible head.

In further evidence of the consular tie-up between the German-American Bund and official Germany, there is introduced herewith a sworn affidavit signed by George Froboese of Milwaukee, Middle West leader of the German-American Bund. This affidavit not only admits the presence of German consular officials at bund affairs but also for the third time substantiates that Fritz Kuhn instructed leaders of the German-American Bund to destroy all evidence which might be interpreted as being of un-American character.

I have here the original of that affidavit, and submit it in evidence. (The affidavit referred to was marked "John C. Metcalf Exhibit 12.")

Mr. METCALFE. This affidavit is as follows:

STATE OF WISCONSIN,

Milwaukee County, ss:

George Froboese, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says:

I reside at 3227 North Second Street, and by trade am a mechanical engineer. I am an American citizen, having come from Germany in 1922. I took out citizenship papers in 1934 in Milwaukee. I am the leader of the Middle West district of the German-American Bund. I am not a member of the Silver Shirts or of any German-American society other than the bund. I have never received any remuneration from the German-American Bund for my services in the organization. I have never received any money from Germany for my services in the bund. I was the leader of the Milwaukee unit of the Friends of New Germany, which was the forerunner of the German-American Bund.

In 1932 I returned to visit Germany for a period of approximately 6 months, and in 1936 approximately 3 months. I have at various times received assistance in the form of books and general literature from the German foreign institute at Stuttgart. We have established in Milwaukee a school through the bund for the purpose of teaching American children of German descent the German language. I have participated in German-American affairs at which the German consul was present, including Dr. Baer, Dr. Jaeger, and Vice Consul Tannenberg.

I absolutely agree with and endorse the policies of the German-American Bund as outlined and furthered by Fritz Kuhn. I have never attacked anyone on account of his race or his religion. I believe in the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence.

Covering the county of Milwaukee, I have forwarded approximately between six and seven hundred applications for membership in the German-American Bund during my tenure of office. I have been asked by Mr. Kuhn to destroy such private letters as may be interpreted as being inconsistent with the proper behavior of an American citizen. The Milwaukee unit and such other posts as are under my jurisdiction as Middle West leader from time to time send funds to the national headquarters, these funds having been raised through membership, contributions, and public affairs. To my knowledge, I do not know what is done with the funds after they are sent to New York.

I have no relationship whatever with the Silver Shirts except that I know quite a few individuals who are members of the organization. To my knowl-

edge, no Black Shirt organization have met with the bund in the Middle West. The only place where I have seen them was July 4, 1937, at Camp Siegfried, although the bund and various Italian organizations have met throughout the country.

I shall be glad to testify before the congressional committee as to any and all activities of the German-American Bund and present such evidence as may be desired by the committee and which I am able to furnish, specifically such correspondence as I may have between officials of the bund and correspondence between myself and the foreign institute at Stuttgart, and any other records of the organization that may be desired.

This affidavit is made in the presence of Mr. John Metcalfe and Mr. Carl R. Becker, an assistant United States attorney for the eastern district of Wisconsin, for the benefit of the congressional Committee on un-American Activities.

I have read this statement and the same is true and correct.

Dated July 30, 1938.

GEORGE FROBOESE.

Witnesses:

CARL R. BECKER.

JOHN C. METCALFE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of July 1938.

CARL R. BECKER.

Notary Public, Milwaukee County, Wis.

My commission expires December 21, 1941.

In this affidavit there are several points that might be of particular interest.

Mr. Froboese states, for instance, that he is not a member of the Silver Shirts or of any other German-American society other than the bund. We will show that Mr. Froboese has been seen on a number of occasions at the meetings of, and so forth, and in the confidence of the Silver Shirt leaders in the Milwaukee area.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point, have we any information as to the strength of the Silver Shirt movement in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. I think we are going to come to that, Congressman, in a future brief.

He mentions here:

I have at various times received assistance in the form of books and general literature from the German Foreign Institute at Stuttgart.

You will recall that this is the same institute about which Mr. Gissibl testified on the opening day, and is also the same institute that we showed correspondence from, between the German-American Bund and that particular institute, and how that institute is headed by the various former leaders and officials of the German-American Bund who have been recalled to Germany or who have fled from this country because the Government was after them, and who are now leading that institute and spreading that propaganda ail over the United States, as well as other countries throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get into that a little later in specific instances where propaganda has been distributed to American citizens?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; and the evidence will be presented in documentary form.

He also admits that he has established a school in Milwaukee and, as all other officials of the bund say, it is purely for the teaching of the German language, the singing of folk songs, and so forth. Yesterday we showed exactly what the schools are, and cited an instance in St. Louis, Mo., of how they are spreading propaganda through

the schools and setting up an entire school system of their own in the United States, despite the fact that there is plenty of opportunity for the German boys and girls to learn the German language in our institutions.

Also of interest is the fact that he states that he absolutely agrees with and endorses the policies of the German-American Bund as outlined by Fritz Kuhn. I think the policies as outlined by Fritz Kuhn are a matter of public record, and perhaps that sentence is inconsistent with some of the other statements that he makes as to his activities in the bund. He could not very well be completely in sympathy with and in support of Fritz Kuhn's policies and yet at the same time not attack races and religions. One or the other is wrong.

And, of course, he again admits the destruction of evidence to sabotage these committees.

We will go into more detail about the Italian Black Shirt organizations and their relationship with the bund.

This same man, Froboese, is quoted as follows in the September 15 issue of the Weckruf, official newspaper of the German-American Bund in America:

Hundreds of times we have told the public that national socialism is a philosophy which the German Chancellor designated the best German patent.

We have never made any bones about the fact that we are in sympathy with the present German Government because we are upstandingly proud of the achievement it has brought to the mother country of all Germans.

The Chicago Tribune in a release of its press service from Stuttgart, Germany, under date of August 27, 1938, published the following article:

STUTTART, GERMANY, August 27.—Fifty Americans are taking part in the annual meeting here of the organization of Germans living abroad.

This is the same organization from which we had a series of letters on the opening day.

Forty of these men and women have become residents of Stuttgart and vicinity. They are rallying around Fritz Gissibl, formerly of Chicago, who fled to Germany after an American congressional investigation into un-American activities in 1934.

That was the McCormick committee.

Gissibl, a former associate of Walter Kappe, who edited the Deutsche Zeitung in Chicago and founded the Deutsche Weckruf in New York, told his followers they would remember forever "the great times you are experiencing now—the days of battle for German cause."

(Gissibl was leader of the United States Nazi movement when it was known as the Friends of New Germany. He also was a leader of the Teutonic Club in Chicago. The Friends of New Germany had its Chicago headquarters in the Reichshalle at 3859 North Ashland Avenue.)

It will be recalled that Fritz Gissibl is a brother of Peter Gissibl who testified on the opening day of hearings before this committee. The institute the Chicago Tribune article refers to is the same institute which was brought into testimony on the opening day of hearings before this committee, at which time it was shown that a working and financial relationship exists between Germany and the German-American Bund.

The following day the Chicago Tribune published another release from Stuttgart, which stated as follows:

STUTTGART, GERMANY, August 28.—“No one has the right to call himself a German unless he is a Nazi. To be German means to be true to the Fuehrer.” With this statement, Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, chief of Germans living in foreign lands, opened the sixth annual meeting of Germans abroad here today. The delegates had assembled to rekindle their Nazi faith and receive their marching orders from the all-powerful Nazi party. Other spokesmen of the government, including Rudolph Hess, deputy leader of Reichsfuehrer Hitler, and Dr. Wilhelm Frick, minister of the interior, left no doubt that non-Nazi Germans abroad are considered renegades. They endorsed Bohle's statement that “those who do not stand behind the Fuehrer automatically exclude themselves from the ranks of Germans.”

It should be noted here that the watchword of the German-American Bund is that you cannot be a good American unless you are first a good German. Obviously, therefore, if you are a good German you must stand behind the Fuehrer, Hitler.

The Chicago Daily Times of August 12 quotes Gustave Brand as follows:

He (Brand) told of troubles with the bund in 1934 and 1933 when he was in charge of Chicago's German Day celebration.

I believe that is 1935—a correction.

Some of Gissibl's group wanted to march with raised arms—he related—

We couldn't permit that and kept them out altogether. They held a rump meeting and denounced me.

The group he refers to, incidentally, was then the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. Brand, however, neglected to add that the German-American Bund did participate the following year and in 1937. In fact, last year the storm troops of the German Bund were even furnished Chicago police horses for their German Day parade. In proof of this fact there are submitted photographs showing this incident.

One of these photographs, which very vividly shows that, was introduced on the opening day and is on file now with the committee; and I have here another exhibit of that same parade.

(The photograph referred to was marked “John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 13.”)

Commissioner of Police of the City of Chicago James P. Allman advised this investigator that the Chicago police department horses obtained for the German Day parade of August were secured through him on a written request from George H. Weideling, president of the German Day Association.

This request shows that Weideling asked for 6 mounts for August 28 and 5 mounts for August 29, a total of 11 police-department horses. He stated in his request that he wished to have the horses for the parade because he desired to have some ladies ride these horses.

Actually, however, as the pictures portray, these horses were not ridden by ladies, but by storm troops of the bund.

Confronted with this evidence Commissioner Allman declared that it appeared to him that the horses had been obtained under a subterfuge and that, further, if he had known the horses were to be

used by bund storm troops, permission would never have been given for their use.

Mr. Brand was quoted in the Chicago Daily Times and other newspapers as having denied that he ever attempted to hire Frank Davin as a Nazi propagandist. Mr. Davin, it will be recalled, was a witness at the opening day of hearings before this committee. In order that the record as to this incident be clear, I submit herewith a sworn statement signed by Mr. Davin, and the original I have here, which is on file with the committee.

(The affidavit referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit 14.")

Mr. METCALFE. It states as follows:

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

County of Cook, ss:

Frank Davin, of the city of Chicago, County of Cook, and State of Illinois, being duly sworn, doth depose and say that during the month of March 1938, or thereabouts, I had lunch at the Chicago Athletic Club with Gustave A. Brand, city treasurer, for the purpose of listening to a proposition of a publicity nature that I understood he desired to make to me. I was under the impression, at the time I met Brand, that he wanted me to undertake some political publicity for himself or his party. Brand, instead, gave me to understand that he desired to arrange for me to undertake a publicity program of international character. Brand said that he and certain commercial interests, which he did not name, were prepared to spend a sizeable amount of money to have this work done. He explained that the publicity was to be of such nature as to offset current anti-Nazi propaganda in this country. He said the purpose of my publicity was to be of such character as to create better relations between the United States and Nazi Germany. I explained to him that I was not interested in his proposition inasmuch as I was opposed to all "isms" but Americanism. He smiled and said it was a shame that I did not have the opportunity of meeting Dr. Jaeger, German consul general of Chicago, who had been recalled to Germany. He said that Dr. Jaeger would have opened my eyes and made me see the truth. He explained that I should not believe what I read in the newspapers about Germany; that the newspapers tell nothing but lies about Nazi Germany. He said I had come highly recommended to him for this work and that he was disappointed in my attitude and refusal to do this work for him and certain commercial interests. And further deponent says not.

FRANK DAVIN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23d day of July, A. D. 1938.

JACOMINE M. MONACHIUS,

Notary Public.

Mr. Brand also stated in the Chicago papers that he did not know Mr. Davin personally. In answer to this statement Mr. Davin wishes to inform this committee that for a number of years Mr. Brand and he lived near each other and that on numerous occasions in past years he has talked with Mr. Brand about social, business, and political matters.

Fritz Kuhn, national leader of the German-American Bund, has repeatedly stated to the public and to the press that there is no connection between his organization and Germany.

On the opening day of hearings before this committee it was testified that Fritz Kuhn claimed that he was responsible for the removal of Dr. Hans Luther, German Ambassador to the United States. At that time it was stated that the details surrounding this boast, and also the consular connections between the German-American Bund and Germany, would be gone into in detail at a later hearing.

In this connection Fritz Kuhn informed this investigator when the latter was disguised as a storm trooper that not only did he have power over the Ambassador and consular set-up in the United States but that he also had a special secret arrangement directly with Adolf Hitler, of Germany. Kuhn has repeated the same statement to others.

Ramifications of this "arrangement," Kuhn declared, also included a secret relationship between German-American Bund and Dr. Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, present German Ambassador to the United States, and German consuls throughout the country.

In the privacy of his executive office on the second floor of the bund national headquarters at 178 East Eighty-fifth Street, New York City, on the night of August 16, 1937, this investigator spoke with Kuhn concerning a trip he had made to the Pacific coast and told him of the difficulties the Los Angeles Post had had with the German consul there.

Kuhn exclaimed [reading]:

My God, what's the matter with them. They know what to do. Why don't they let me know about it? I've heard before of this trouble in Los Angeles. Schwinn talked it over with me.

(This Schwinn is Hermann Schwinn, western leader of the German-American Bund.)

He is from Los Angeles.

Oh, well, maybe Schwinn took my order of instructions with him to Germany and forgot to send it to his district.

It was at this point that Kuhn made the following statement to this investigator:

You see, I have a certain special arrangement with Hitler and Germany that whenever any of our groups have trouble with the consulates in their districts that they are to report it to me in full detail. I then take it up with the Ambassador. Germany is not to be troubled with it unless I get no satisfaction from the Ambassador.

That is exactly why there is a new Ambassador to the United States, and that is exactly why many consuls have been and still are being removed. All the new consuls are National Socialists and are under special instructions to give us the fullest cooperation in every way.

It should be pointed out that Dr. Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, present Ambassador, was sent to the United States May 14 to replace Dr. Hans Luther, whose policy, bund leaders said, did not coincide with those of the bund and the Nazi Party in Germany. There have been numerous consulate changes during the last 2 years, and bund leaders a year ago predicted that more would follow.

One of the newer consuls general appointed a little over a year ago was Manfred von Killinger, who was assigned to San Francisco June 11, 1937. It was shortly after his appointment that this investigator visited San Francisco and, on the night of August 16, 1937, reported to Kuhn that the San Francisco post of the German-American Bund was well pleased with its new consul. Kuhn stated to this investigator:

Of course, he is the kind of consul we want everywhere.

Von Killinger, it should be pointed out, it was charged some few months ago, was implicated in the assassination of Erzberger, former German chancellor.

An article of considerable interest in this connection with the affairs of Baron von Killinger was published only recently in the Salt Lake

City Tribune—to be exact—on August 16. The following are excerpts from this article:

“The German Government looks upon ‘bund’ activities in America exclusively as an internal problem of this country, since only American citizens may belong to bunds,” Baron Manfred von Killinger, German consul general at San Francisco, asserted here Monday.

It is a fact, however, that the ranks of the American-German Bund include not only American citizens but also aliens. This fact has been established again and again throughout the United States in admission by various members of the bund to the effect that “they are German citizens and intend to remain aliens.”

The article continues as follows:

The consul, rated as the No. 2 German in America and close friend of Hitler, was a storm-troop leader in middle Germany and, after Hitler's rise to power, became Prime Minister of Saxony, relinquishing this position in 1935, when state governments were abolished, to enter the diplomatic service.

Although denying emphatically any connection between the German Government and bund camps and organizations for training pro-Nazis in this country, Baron von Killinger expressed sympathy with bund aims.

“The bund leader in Los Angeles has conferred with me and asked me to address members there,” the consul related, “but that does not mean I have gone to them.”

It is known that Von Killinger has addressed meetings on the coast, and newspapers on the Pacific coast have carried many articles and pictures of these gatherings, many of them showing Consul von Killinger.

Consul von Killinger was also reported as stating that the activities against certain religious groups in this country, as practiced by the German-American Bund, are “for the good of America.”

Consuls of no other nation stationed in this country have ever assumed such an invasion of liberties enjoyed by American citizens and guaranteed them by their Constitution.

Before resuming the narration of my conversations with Fritz Kuhn on the subject of consular aid given the German-American Bund, it should be stated that the congressional committee investigating un-American activities in 1934 proved that many Nazi consular officials had paid in cash for spreading propaganda in this country.

Returning to the conversation with Fritz Kuhn on the night of August 16, this investigator also told Kuhn that Henry Lage, then the leader of the San Francisco Bund, had told him that the consul had offered financial aid to the bund for purposes of Nazi propaganda broadcasts on the Pacific coast and other bund activities.

To this Kuhn replied, “Yes; yes; I know. I know all about the financial angles in regard to the bund and the German consulates.”

He did not amplify his remarks, but, with a very broad smile, made it clear that arrangements were satisfactory.

Even before this conversation with Kuhn took place, this investigator had been told of direct connections between the bund and the Third Reich.

Schwinn, west coast leader, and his first assistant, Carl Hein, had left for Germany following the national convention of the bund at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City. They remained for a 6-week stay. Dr. Joseph Goebbels' ministry of propaganda and enlightenment offers a 6-week propaganda course. Following their stay of 6 weeks, Schwinn and Hein sailed for New York September 17.

While they were abroad this investigator visited Hein's father, George Hein, who is employed as a second cook in an Oakland hospital. Hein's father told this investigator on August 5 that his son's expenses on his trip to Germany had been paid for through a secret arrangement between Kuhn and the German Government.

Hein's father further stated:

He (his son) will be well prepared on national socialism when he returns to America. No doubt they will expect much of him when he gets back. We have only a small post here in Oakland, but now with my son thoroughly trained and a new German consul in San Francisco, I think we shall begin to make headway.

In connection with Hein, another Government agency sets forth the following record:

Carl Hein, of Oakland, was the district leader of the Friends of New Germany, later the American Deutsches Folks Bund. He is considered one of the most active Nazis in the western area. He is known to contact all German ships, receive direct orders from New York, and is obviously the man who gives orders in this area. He is the originator of the German radio hour in San Francisco.

He had returned from a trip to Germany, where he visited Heim-rach, of whom we will tell considerable later.

He has been giving speeches since his return from his trip to Germany. He spoke at the German-American Bund meetings in various places. He has been in the United States since 1928, and became a citizen in 1934.

Arno Risse, acting western leader of the bund during the absence of Schwinn and Hein, told this investigator:

Schwinn and Hein are in Germany to take up, among other things, our difficulties with the German consul. We are getting practically no support or interest from him in our affairs. I am confident a change will be made in the personnel of the local consulate. Schwinn is going before the highest authorities in Germany to get the desired result. As you know, there has already been a number of similar changes, including the ambassador at Washington.

Schwinn is also getting instructions, information, and literature for us.

Arno Risse is the leader of the Los Angeles post of the German-American Bund.

Otto Wiedeman, leader of the storm troops at the Oakland post of the German-American Bund, told this investigator further details of the tie-up with German consulates. He also disclosed that he is not an American citizen.

He stated:

I am doing a very dangerous thing. Here I am, head of the storm troops, training them and all that, and I'm not even a citizen. I haven't even taken out my first papers, but no one but Kuhn, Hein, and the consul know it. They have approved it because I have experience in training men, but I have been warned to keep quiet about it. If anyone find this out there is likely to be a lot of trouble because the newspapers don't like us.

Wiedeman spoke of the difficulty of getting new members, but said there had been conversations with the consul "and something will be worked out." He said the consul had offered financial aid to the bund and "understands our problem thoroughly."

Henry Lage, San Francisco leader, who was conducting one of the three bund radio programs on the coast, said the new consul was very much interested in the radio program and that the bund looked to the consul for financial aid to keep the radio program going.

The bund attitude toward consuls who do not give the Nazi organization their full support was illustrated at the national convention banquet of the bund in the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, July 3, 1937.

Dr. Friedhelm Draeger, German vice consul—I introduced that picture a little while ago—showed up late for the affair and received a cool reception. Otto Arndt, a storm trooper of the Astoria post of the bund, told this investigator:

Oh, he's not going to be here long. Hitler is going to recall him along with the consul general. You see, they still hold dreams of the old Kaiser and were not appointed by Hitler, but before he came into office by Hindenburg.

Ambassador Luther was recalled for this reason. We knew it was going to happen long before it took place. Just like we know about these two fellows.

The new Ambassador is O. K. But we don't like this old crowd of diplomats, and they know it in Berlin.

It should be pointed out that Otto Arndt boasts of a personal friendship with Hitler. In substantiation of this boast, he showed this investigator the photograph taken where he is standing at the side of Hitler along with Fritz Kuhn. This photograph was submitted in evidence on the opening day of hearings before this committee.

In St. Louis, Anton Kessler, the bund leader, said his organization was well pleased with Consul Reinhold Freytag. At the time that this investigator spoke with Kessler the consul was in Germany and Kessler was somewhat worried because the consul was remaining there too long. Kessler then told this investigator that he planned to talk to Kuhn in order to arrange to have the consul return to St. Louis as soon as possible.

Dr. George Krause-Wichmann, German vice consul, on August 29 extended greetings from Germany to German-American Bund meeting in Camp Siegfried.

Dr. G. A. Mueller, consul general representative, on July 12, brought greetings from the German Government. Der Fuehrer, himself, he said, appreciates what German-American organizations are doing to spread the doctrines of national socialism in the United States.

German Vice Consul Draeger, in speech July 3, before the national convention of bund at Biltmore Hotel, New York City, stated in part:

Germany again stands in the sunlight of the world and is marching forward with greater glory. * * * The consul's office is always open to you and ready to serve you in your great work. * * * You are making history in America and your work is keenly appreciated in Germany. * * * I call to you for a toast. * * * And as we lift our glasses, let us drink to a united German people, a united and powerful German-American Bund, and to a closer relationship with our glorious homeland.

Hans Neubeck, of 279 Chelsea Place, Buffalo, N. Y., leader of the bund post in that city, stated to this investigator on August 20 the following:

Just recently—

That is, 1937—

we entertained the new German Ambassador, Dr. Hans Dieckhoff, and at the suggestion of our German consul in Buffalo tendered a luncheon to the Ambassador.

I think it was very much worthwhile for us, as the Ambassador seemed highly pleased with our bund activities. This was a good thing because the consul in Buffalo also liked us very much. We never have any trouble with him.

Adolph Scheidt, then secretary of the Cleveland bund post, also the representative of the California Weckruf, a newspaper in that city, told this investigator on August 25, 1937, that the German consul general of that city had been removed and replaced by a true Nazi consul who was decidedly friendly to them. He pointed out that this was in line with the order from Fritz Kuhn that consuls not cooperating with the German Bund would be replaced with men that the bund could depend on for assistance.

Dr. George Gyssling, Los Angeles German consul general, attended a gathering September 13, given by the German-American Bund of Los Angeles, Calif., in conjunction with the Silver Shirts, which are headed in that territory by Kenneth Alexander. This affair was also attended by Dr. Manfred von Killinger, German consul general of San Francisco. Henry Allen, to whom reference will be made later; Arno Risse, Dr. Konrad Burchardi, German-American Bund officials; and others prominent in both the bund and Silver Shirt organizations were all present there.

In addition to the close relationship between the German consular service and the German-American Bund throughout the United States, cooperative actions have been noted also between bund officials and officials of German steamship lines.

In Pittsburgh the agent for the North German Lloyd Lines, William F. Knoepfel, was appointed last March as the acting German consul. Long familiar with German-American Bund activities in the Pittsburgh area, as well as with Nazi propagandists in the territory, Knoepfel, although an American citizen, now enjoys diplomatic immunity while at the same time serving steamship lines. This fact, therefore, prevented this investigator from questioning an American citizen who is known to associate with persons who have admitted their activities in American-Nazi affairs. Knoepfel was appointed acting German consul following a 2-month visit last spring to Germany.

German naval officers and sailors have met at bund headquarters, both on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

Packages believed to have contained shipments of propaganda bulletins, instructions, and messages have been delivered by captains of various German ships to the Deutsche House, headquarters of the German-American Bund in Los Angeles. It is understood and it has been at times admitted by the officials of the bund that this material emanates from the foreign propaganda office of the Nazi Party in Germany.

It has been noted that shortly after the arrival of certain German ships in the port of Los Angeles, and Portland, Oreg., that a great number of these propaganda bulletins suddenly appear on the desk of Herman Schwinn, western leader of the German-American Bund, who has his office in the Los Angeles Deutsche House.

The bulletins are printed on legal-size paper, and some are in English, while others are in German. These bulletins, which are in English, have always had on the face of them the stamp of the official

headquarters for the translation of propaganda for foreign consumption.

The CHAIRMAN. You, yourself, have obtained possession, from time to time, of this propaganda?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct, Congressman; I have personally obtained literature at the headquarters at Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are testifying from personal knowledge and personal experience?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct. And we will show how that material is coming in, and present you with some of the material that has come in through these various routes—material which we picked up on the coast and also material which is being distributed by them.

The CHAIRMAN. And also material that has been sent to this committee since its organization.

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct; material that various members, or rather American citizens who have no relationship whatever with the Nazi movement in this country, have received, but who for some reason or other have received or are receiving propaganda, week in and week out, propaganda that they never asked for and do not want, but which keeps on coming to them.

Obviously, someone has put them on a mailing list in order to try to convert them to Nazi ideals, or else believing that they might be sympathetic.

The CHAIRMAN. It is very evident, from what has come to the attention of this committee, both directly in the form of propaganda sent to us, accompanied by letters from citizens who have received this propaganda, and from your investigation, that some agency or someone in the United States is furnishing lists of names to the propaganda agency of Germany, and through them they mail out this literature.

Mr. METCALFE. That is true; and we will tell you about one of them, and will name him, tell where he is, and how he goes around checking up on these people when they receive propaganda the first time. We will name who the person is who goes around, and show how he calls on them, in an effort to get them to take more literature and in an effort to get them to help spread this Nazi propaganda among their friends, a man questioned by this investigator and who admitted this activity all the way down the line in this particular phase of the work.

The CHAIRMAN. What I wanted to make clear was that in every statement you make you are testifying from personal experience and personal knowledge.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; from personal knowledge and also very reliable information that has been furnished the committee directly by individual citizens around the United States, and we know it is correct.

In the past some of this material has been reprinted in the California Weckruf, official publication of the German-American Bund on the Pacific coast. It is also interesting to note that these Nazi propaganda bulletins have always been closely guarded by bund officials.

On one occasion, the captain of a German ship, known as the *Scharaben* arrived at the Deutsche House and delivered to Herman Schwinn a package. This package was done up in brown paper and was about 16 by 18 inches and about 4 inches thick. Later that same

evening 14 members of the crew of the *Schwaben* arrived at the Deutsche House and were entertained by Schwinn and members of the storm troops. At about midnight the crew members of the ship left the Deutsche House.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, have you had occasion to examine the wrappings in which this propaganda comes?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have checked that with American manufacturers of newspaper print?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you find with reference to that?

Mr. METCALFE. We found that the wrapping paper also is not made in this country. There is no manufacturer in the United States who even makes this kind of paper. It comes from Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. What paper is that?

Mr. METCALFE. That is the wrapping paper with the stamps on it.

The CHAIRMAN. They not only send this propaganda through the mails directly to a list of people whose names were furnished, evidently by some one in the United States, but they also bring propaganda on boats, through the sailors on boats.

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct, and we will cite some instances.

I wanted to correct one thing. We do know some of the sources; we do know who the people are who are furnishing the lists; we know who they are contacting in Germany, because, by opening these packages, we have found that some of this material does come from this country, from certain sources, and we know what and who they are.

The CHAIRMAN. The evidence will show a little later the names of the Americans, or so-called Americans, without going into that in detail now, who have been responsible, and evidently have been in close connection with the propaganda movement; is not that true?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will go into that more in detail later.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; completely.

On another occasion Schwinn went down to the Los Angeles Harbor to meet two German ships which had just come into port. The ships were the *Portland* and the *Oakland*. The *Portland* had just come in from Vancouver and Seattle and was on her way to Germany, and the *Oakland* had just arrived in port from Germany. On this occasion Schwinn and the captain of each boat exchanged sealed packages. On board the *Portland*, which was on her way to Germany, Schwinn delivered a sealed package to be delivered in Germany.

On another occasion Schwinn visited aboard the *Oakland* with Captain Trauernicht. In this instance Schwinn brought with him a brief case and went directly to the captain's cabin for a secret conference when he boarded the ship.

In this instance Schwinn went directly to the captain's quarters where he stayed in secret conference for about 3 hours. Before leaving the ship Schwinn received from the captain three flat envelopes. They were about 5 by 15 inches and made of stout brown manila paper. The flaps were sealed and covered in about three places with red sealing wax.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point let me ask you this question: How do you know those facts to be true?

Mr. METCALFE. This information has been definitely checked as being true. As I said before, we have had some packages opened—

The CHAIRMAN. I know that, but were you present?

Mr. METCALFE. No; I was not present on this occasion, but the source has been checked upon and found to be absolutely reliable.

On another occasion it was noted that the German-American liner *Vancouver* had in a storeroom large stacks of current German newspapers, estimated to be about 2,500 copies. Some of these were given to an agent of the German-American Bund at San Francisco, where the boat lay in harbor.

This type of material which has been discovered on a number of German liners docking at American ports frequently bears the stamp "Not to be sold," indicating that it is pure Nazi propaganda.

Thus, with "favorable" German consuls, the assistance of steamship officials, German railway tourist agencies, motion-picture companies of Germany, imported speakers, and propaganda agents the German-American Bund hopes to accomplish its aim of uniting all Americans of German descent, or birth, under its swastika banners in the United States.

While the subject of propaganda will be gone into detail at a later hearing, an instance of its direct connection with a German consulate would be proper to mention at this time.

I do not want to mention the name of the person to whom this particular piece of evidence was addressed. I do not believe it would be advisable.

However, on this is a stamp "Printed Matter—German Consulate, St. Louis, Missouri."

It is addressed to this certain person and it contains an article on German church conditions by the Reverend Dr. O. Stewart Michael, the late pastor of the American churches in Dresden and Munich.

Incidentally this is reprinted from *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung*, 1838 North Halstead Street, Chicago, Ill.

You see, there is an exchange of information.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, that was sent from the consulate to a citizen whose name is not revealed because, if his name were revealed, he would not get any more literature; is that right?

Mr. METCALFE. That is so. If we did that, we would close the source of the information. We would lose the possibility of getting further mailings from that source.

I might say that we have established a number of those contacts and we continue to get information through these particular contacts—information of this kind. We cannot disclose the names. If we did, of course we would immediately shut off that source.

Included in this envelope is another article by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, who was president of the Reichsbank, Germany, on *Why Germany Requires Colonies*.

Also in this envelope is an article on the German population policy by Rudolf Frercks.

This was published in Berlin and translated. These three were contained in this particular mailing, which I offer as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. The three pamphlets referred to in this envelope will be marked "Exhibit No. 15" of this date.

(The documents and envelope referred to were marked "Metcalf Exhibit 15.")

Mr. METCALFE. It should be pointed out in connection with this that this particular piece was mailed only a few months ago, following the appointment of this congressional committee; a very recent piece of mail.

I might introduce in evidence at this point some pictures showing how the German-American Bund displays Nazi propaganda right in its own camps. This material is for sale.

Here is a picture of a storm trooper holding up one of these pieces, which happens to be a sketch of Hitler made in Germany and was sent from Germany to the German-American Bund for sale by the German-American Bund. The authenticity of this picture is established by the fact that I am right beside this storm trooper, in uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. That photograph may be received and marked "Exhibit No. 16."

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

Mr. METCALFE. This is a picture taken at the San Diego camp of the German-American Bund and in the picture is a storm trooper, Hans Diebel. He is from Los Angeles. He is connected with the Los Angeles post, but attended a San Antonio meeting of the bund.

This man has at the Deutcher House in Los Angeles a sort of a propaganda book store; well, I would not say sort of a propaganda book store, it actually is one. He has taken this material to San Diego where he is displaying it at the bund meeting. The material, of course, is for sale. You will notice here Hitler's book and you can read the titles of some of the other books. They are in German and the swastika emblems are on the outside. He is in uniform.

I know this man personally. I was not here when the picture was taken. However, he gave it to me himself and in fact, autographed it.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received in evidence and marked "Exhibit No. 17."

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

Mr. METCALFE. Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all I have to introduce at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Nazi Government, through their propaganda machine, which evidently is highly developed, hope by this German-American Bund to maintain in the United States an instrumentality for the purpose of distributing propaganda favorable to the Nazi regime; is that correct?

Mr. METCALFE. You mean the German-American Bund is a wing of the Nazi propaganda machine of Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. METCALFE. For the purpose of spreading propaganda in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The development of minority blocs, so-called, throughout the world, was undertaken wherever there was a fertile field?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, approximately at the same time that the German-American Bund was created and began to grow, similar movements occurred in South America and other countries; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. That is a fact. In fact, it goes back as far as 1933, shortly after Hitler ascended to power in Germany. Practically no time was lost in the formation of these propaganda units all around the world.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was a part of the general strategy of the Nazi regime, was it not?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct. It was part of its program.

The CHAIRMAN. As found in their various publications and in their admissions?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, in their admissions; as, for instance, Kunz and others have stated, it is a world institution.

The CHAIRMAN. So that through the bund they are able to disseminate propaganda in the United States; and also they are able to have an active force which they hope will make friends for Germany in the United States; is not that true?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The bund itself admits, in its constitution and by-laws, that one of its chief aims is to create a friendly relationship between the United States and Germany; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. I think it very clearly points out that that is what it is supposed to do.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of its chief objectives?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the Nazi movement working through the German-American Bund, which is more openly connected with it than perhaps any other organization, is it not also true that there is evidence—and that evidence will be offered—to show that the Nazi leadership hopes to capitalize or take advantage of any religious or racial feeling that may exist in the United States independent of the bund movement?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir. The same strategy again that is employed by the Nazi regime in Germany is reflected here by the German-American Bund; the same antireligious and antiracial attacks.

The CHAIRMAN. That would have a wider appeal than just the membership of the bund; in other words, that would reach out into many other organizations that have a similar background, would it not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, of course. It is a sort of connecting link to help spread their own propaganda. It links other groups with them.

The CHAIRMAN. As proof of that, is it not a fact that certain American writers, whose names will be revealed later, as well as literature written by them and shipped to Germany—certain American writers who are distributing antireligious pamphlets throughout the country, have been writing articles that are published in Germany and given wide publication for the purpose of showing that there is a fertile field for the Nazi movement in the United States?

MR. METCALFE. Yes; that is right. You will also find—for instance, you will recall we showed one German newspaper was reprinting an article from the Weckruf, published here in the United States. There is that exchange as well.

THE CHAIRMAN. An exchange between the Weckruf in the United States and the official publications in Nazi Germany?

MR. METCALFE. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. The point that I wanted to develop was that all of this is part of the Nazi strategy, as shown by their own publications, by their own platform, and by what has occurred in other countries. That is the building up of a minority bloc within a certain country that has not only a wide appeal among the particular racial group but that will reach out and appeal to those who have certain—we will say certain—prejudices; is not that a fact?

MR. METCALFE. That is the fact, and in practically every case there has been trouble as a result of it sooner or later; that is, there is an explosion of some kind sooner or later, as, for instance, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Brazil, and in Chile. In each case there has been trouble.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have testified that this strategy, so far as the United States is concerned, has not met with much success, because the great bulk of people of German descent in this country, particularly those who were here before the war and who constitute the great majority of the people of German descent in this country, have themselves rejected this whole plan; that is, they have not shown any enthusiasm for it and have actually opposed it individually and through their own organizations?

MR. METCALFE. The German-American element in the United States is certainly very American and believes firmly in a democratic form of government and will have nothing whatsoever to do with the German-American Bund.

For instance, bund leaders at times have admitted to me that they have more difficulty trying to convert German-Americans to their ideals of national socialism, and so forth, than they have in trying to convert American citizens of no particular extraction, but not of German descent.

THE CHAIRMAN. But if they could build up a direct minority bloc in this country of, say, just a few hundred thousand, they hope also to build up an Italian assisting bloc; is not that true?

MR. METCALFE. Yes; we will show the link there.

THE CHAIRMAN. To work in conjunction with the bund movement; is not that a fact?

MR. METCALFE. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. And then, in addition to that, to work in conjunction with other organizations which have high-sounding titles, as we said yesterday, but back of which, or the motivating force back of which, is some form of religious or racial intolerance. Is not that a fact?

MR. METCALFE. I think religious and racial intolerance has been identified with every one of their maneuvers.

THE CHAIRMAN. I was going to say that is the background of it.

MR. METCALFE. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. And that will be shown more specifically by some of the leaders in these movements in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact that they themselves have written articles that have been sent to Germany, and those articles, after reaching Germany, were printed in Germany; many of them have been printed, have they not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To create a false picture in Germany of the situation in the United States, is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And also those articles were sent back, along with Nazi propaganda, to a list of names of people in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that is right. In connection with that, the bund seems to follow very closely whatever policy is followed by Hitler; that is, if Hitler is particularly friendly with the Hungarians, the German-American Bund immediately begins to take an interest in Hungarian-Americans, in the hope of drawing from that source further members and help in their movement. And if the German Government suddenly becomes friendly with the Poles, immediately the bund casts its eyes in that direction, in the direction of the Polish-Americans, always being in line with whatever policy is adopted in Germany; that is, if certain nations are enemies of Germany, then those are the enemies of the bund here. Those who are friendly with Germany abroad, the bund tries to be friendly with people of the same extraction in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of that, how do you account for the argument that Hitler himself requested the German-American Bund to disband here in the United States; that he was not interested in it, and that, in his judgment, or in the judgment of the Nazi leaders, it caused more trouble than it did good?

Mr. METCALFE. In the first place, Hitler did not ask to have the German-American Bund disbanded, and at no time has he taken that position.

The CHAIRMAN. What is actually the fact?

Mr. METCALFE. All that they asked was that those who were still German citizens should withdraw from the ranks of the German-American Bund. And that was done in some parts of the country. Particularly was it done in Chicago where a separate organization was formed of all those who were still German citizens. Information has come to this committee that a second such unit of purely aliens—German aliens—has been formed in the Los Angeles area.

In other parts of the country that was not followed out. In the first place, Kuhn and other leaders of the bund had said that there were no aliens in their ranks. And then they said, "Well, if there are, of course, they will have to get out." But they did not put them out and, as a subterfuge, they created a sort of a prospective citizens' league which was right within the bund ranks. And those men have remained in the bund ranks.

That particular policy has created considerable internal strife in the bund, where some leaders believe that they should follow what Hitler has said; that they should take the German citizens out of the bund ranks until such time as they took out their citizenship papers here, and then put them back in.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any information or evidence as to whether or not the bund in the United States, or the bund leaders in the United States, have revealed to the Nazi leaders in Germany the true attitude of the overwhelming majority of the people of German descent in America toward the Nazi movement?

Mr. METCALFE. Of course, we have no direct evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. In the various publications in Germany, has there appeared at any time anything to show that the overwhelming majority of the Germans in this country have an entirely different attitude than, for instance, the Germans in Austria had, or the Germans in Czechoslovakia, or in any other country where they have a minority bloc?

Mr. METCALFE. By no means. In fact, the attitude has been much to the contrary, as evidenced, for instance, by articles which have been written by several American newspaper correspondents in Germany, when they reported speeches made by members of the German-American Bund. For instance, a speech that was made by Peter Gissibl in Stuttgart. In that particular speech—I do not recall the exact text of it now—he gave the impression that the German-American people, the German people in the United States, were solidly with the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that is where these American propagandists fit into the picture. They write articles that are sent to Germany for the purpose of creating the same impression?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the Nazi leadership would be led to believe that the same thing could be built up in the United States that was built up in other countries, whereas the situation is wholly different?

Mr. METCALFE. I think every attempt has been made in that direction. But as to just how successful the attempts of the bund leaders have been in that direction, I do not believe anyone is in a position to say, unless he were over there.

However, I think we can credit the German Government with a good amount of intelligence. They seem to know pretty well what is going on in the ranks of the German-American Bund. And from that they certainly would know just what support the bund is receiving from the German-American element at large; especially, for instance, agents who have come into this country from Germany and have met with leaders of the bund. And also, for instance, there was one agent of the German Government who not only met with Kuhn and other leaders, but I traced him clear down to San Antonio, Tex., where he had talked to some German-Americans about the possibility of forming posts in Texas. They have been trying for some time to organize posts in the State of Texas. But the German-Americans in Texas—and I think you are probably familiar with that situation—certainly do not want any part of the German-American Bund. And that is typical of the South. The German-American element throughout the South does not seem to respond. The greatest response to the German-American Bund movement has been in the larger cities of the United States as, for instance, New York, where there is a large German settlement in the city, and Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, it would be interesting, if it were possible, to find out how much of this organization and other similar organizations are pure rackets, and how much is a genuine movement.

It is a fact, is it not, that a number of these so-called organizations are organized from time to time for the financial benefit of a few leaders? You run into that constantly in making your investigations, do you not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes. And we will show specific examples of that sort of thing as we go into the un-American movements, some of which, or most of which, are allied with the German-American Bund.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, you will find one individual in a certain State or in a certain region will form a certain organization; these individuals will form these organizations with high-sounding titles, is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And claim a large membership which, in fact, may not exist at all?

Mr. METCALFE. A lot of those are letterhead organizations with crackpot leaders; they are rackets, cheap little rackets, in which they fool a lot of people and raise money. They keep no books, no records of any kind, and sometimes even no offices or headquarters. They are on the loose. They meet in homes, in basements, and so forth, or they simply get in touch with their members by post cards, and call a meeting at one place or another, wherever they can rent a hall. Most of those cases are just rackets. In some cases the leaders will have a lecture series, and the text of the material is highly fanatical.

The CHAIRMAN. They go about collecting money for certain causes. Some of them want to help Spain; some of them want to help Czechoslovakia and some of them want to help some other country?

Mr. METCALFE. None of that type of organization gets anywhere without a cause.

The CHAIRMAN. But they have a good deal of overhead. Everyone has to have a salary and travel expenses, and so forth.

Mr. METCALFE. But nobody has any records.

The CHAIRMAN. But nobody keeps any records?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So when an investigator goes out to check up, you have nothing except their verbal statement as to what the situation is?

Mr. METCALFE. It is very difficult; yes. We have persons who are working on the inside of some of these organizations, quietly, and contacting our investigators, telling them what is going on, what is being said; and they are keeping a record of statements that are made in these organizations and the movements of some of these groups. Because, if we did not do that, we would not be able to get as much information as we have and will show, with reference to these organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon the committee took a recess until Friday, September 30, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Metcalfe, will you resume your testimony with reference to another phase of Nazi activities in the United States?

STATEMENT OF JOHN C. METCALFE—Continued

MR. METCALFE. Mr. Chairman, there are thousands of German-Americans who will stretch their arms in a Hitler salute but who, for financial or business reasons, are not members of the bund. Some are afraid to join. Other wealthier German-Americans contribute money secretly but have no outward connection with the organization.

Propaganda direct from the German Ministry for Propaganda and Enlightenment is distributed by bund officials. At each bund gathering a long table is loaded with books, magazines, and pamphlets from Germany which are sold to members and friends.

The bund receives a steady stream of contributions from members and sympathizers.

At every official meeting and even at affairs which supposedly have no Hitler connections, collections are taken up for one or another of the bund's varied activities.

The extent of funds received by the German-American Bund from the German Government, or its unofficial representatives, abroad and in this country, has never been determined. But by their own admissions officials of the German-American Bund have on repeated occasions revealed privately that they are receiving financial aid from these sources for purposes of organization and propaganda. These admissions have been made by leaders of the bund, not just in New York, but from coast to coast.

Financial aid for propaganda purposes has gone into literature of all kinds, radio programs, speakers, and motion pictures.

Sample of this type of propaganda material was placed in evidence at the opening day of hearings on August 12.

One of the chief sources of bund revenue, aside from dues and contributions, is the Deutscher Konsumverband, the German Business League, commonly called the D. K. V. The league is designed to counteract boycotts of Nazi goods.

German-American businessmen must pay to be listed in local directories. Bund members pledge themselves to buy only from DKV members and receive rebate stamps for each purchase.

Business owners also are called upon to advertise in programs of the numerous festivals sponsored by the bund.

Many programs contain hundreds of advertisements, and thus the treasury of the bund is enriched.

This organization is a wing of the German-American Bund movement.

Members of the German-American Bund, when they make purchases, receive from the merchants DKV trade stamps. These trade stamps may be cashed in at the headquarters of the DKV.

Merchants who are members of this league deal heavily in German imported merchandise, shunning American-made goods.

The bund profits in this trade arrangement.

It has been frequently reported that officials of the German-American Bund, under the direction of Fritz Kuhn, have brought pressure to bear upon German-American merchants to join the DKV. Failure to do so has brought on boycotts by members of the German-American Bund in their trade with these merchants.

According to bund information the New York DKV corporation was originally formed "not for profit," but not long ago changed its charter to one of "for profit." It is stated this action was taken without consulting the membership. The charter papers are signed by Kuhn, Rapp, and Luedke.

It is pointed out that a matter of high importance in the operation of the New York DKV is the fact that this corporation is operating without sufficient funds to cover the trade stamps which are in circulation.

In other words, if there were a run on the corporation by those holding trade-stamp books, the corporation would be unable to cash in their books.

It is reported that the reason for this is that Kuhn is draining funds of this corporation for his personal expenditure, chiefly those of a social character.

In connection with this, I would like to introduce in evidence exhibits dealing with the DKV. I have a group of exhibits here, samples of the trade-stamp books and rebate stamps, which were obtained by this investigator in the purchase of material. There are several books here: they are practically all the same.

THE CHAIRMAN. Will you introduce them as a group?

MR. METCALFE. Yes. There is one here from Chicago; there are two from New York; and there is also a directory, a list of merchants who are members of the DKV, and there are some 90 pages of a list of members.

(The group of items referred to were marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 18.")

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Metcalfe, before you go further into that phase of it, I wish to make a statement with reference to a statement made

by Dr. Hans Thomsen, counselor of the German Embassy, who is reported by the press to have said:

Mr. Metcalfe is not a trustworthy man. He became a member of the German-American Bund under an assumed name and then wrote a series of newspaper articles. Then he was picked up by the House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee. If Mr. Dies wants to get the real truth, why doesn't he cite Mr. Kuhn as a witness? His failure to do that seems to me to mean that he doesn't think much of Mr. Metcalfe's testimony himself.

Personally, I hold no brief for Mr. Kuhn, but I know he said no such thing.

The Chair wants to make the statement which he has repeatedly made through the press, in the record, and through letters written, that every person or organization named as being involved directly in any charge made by any witness who appears before this committee will be accorded an opportunity to be heard to refute such charges.

I wish to qualify that statement by saying that those who take advantage of the opportunity must come before the committee with clean hands; that they must be prepared to bring their books and their records and give this committee the benefit of the facts.

In the case of Mr. Kuhn, the evidence before this committee at this date, without seeking to prejudge the case, is almost conclusive that he issued orders to the bund posts throughout the United States to destroy all records of the bund, and that he issued those orders immediately after the Congress passed the resolution which set up this committee and directed this investigation.

That testimony is borne out by the sworn testimony of Peter Gissibl, who himself was the fuhrer of the bund post at Chicago; it is borne out by the testimony of Froboese himself, who is at the present time one of the officials of the bund; is not that so?

Mr. METCALFE. He is the leader of the Middle West.

The CHAIRMAN. In a sworn affidavit before witnesses, before two assistant United States district attorneys. It is also borne out by other testimony that has come before this committee.

In view of that order issued by Mr. Kuhn as the official head of the German-American Bund, the Chair is somewhat surprised that the German Embassy would suggest that Mr. Kuhn be called as a reliable witness to appear before this committee to give evidence with regard to the German-American Bund activities in the United States.

Mr. Kuhn will be accorded an opportunity to appear before this committee, provided he is willing to come here with the records, the books, and financial statements of the bund, showing from whom they have received contributions, with a correct list of the membership, and a statement of the money that was expended; and be prepared to explain the original correspondence that was seized by this committee which, in the judgment of the Chair, shows a very close relationship between the German-American Bund activities in the United States and the Nazi government.

Independent of any verbal testimony, which may be disputed, these original letters represent the highest type of testimony that could be obtained.

I wish to make that statement, not to become involved in any controversy with the German Embassy, because it is not made in any sense as an answer to what appears to the Chair to be a rather unfair statement proceeding from a representative of the German Embassy.

The Chair has no disposition to hide any facts; it is the intention

of the Chair to conduct a fearless examination, regardless of ridicule or criticism or any opposing force, and let the facts come out, no matter who is involved.

I think it only fair, Mr. Metcalfe, that you be accorded an opportunity to answer the statement to which I have referred.

MR. METCALFE. Mr. Chairman, last night Dr. Hans Thomsen, counselor at the German Embassy, issued a press release in which he made the broad statement that this investigator "is not a trustworthy person."

The attaché further stated that he knew that Fritz Kuhn had not said the things I said he did.

The question of my integrity I will leave to Americans, who are in better position to judge my responsibility.

It is true, as the attaché stated, that I joined the German-American Bund under an assumed name. How else could an American and a believer in democracy get into an organization composed of and run by people who use the American flag as a shield and loudly protest their loyalty to this country while their very body and souls belong to a dictator across the sea?

How else could I join an organization that breeds racial and religious intolerance, that takes American-born children and permeates them with Nazi doctrine and a love for the swastika instead of teaching them how lucky they are to be here eating real food instead of substitutes?

How else could I get into an organization that is tied directly to a foreign government and its political subdivisions—an organization whose members must have had their fingers crossed when they took an oath of allegiance to this country?

How else could I get into an organization where the leadership was so afraid of the spotlight of pitiless publicity that they ordered all records destroyed when your honorable committee was created?

How else could I get into an organization where members have never seen a financial accounting and are "suckers" for not finding out what becomes of their money?

The attaché repeats that the German-American Bund was told that German citizens could not belong but he does not say that it was followed. Does he say anything about the creation of the German bund composed entirely of aliens who are admitted under an oath of allegiance and an oath of allegiance to Hitler alone? These men openly say they will never become citizens of this country although they work here—enjoy the privileges of this land such as they do not have at home—and send their American money over there.

It may well be noted that the attaché of the German Embassy does not defend the charges I brought against his consuls. I dare him to deny that Dr. Jaeger, former German consul general at Chicago, spoke to me for hours in his office planning a lecture tour for another person while I was to handle the press relations and get as much Nazi propaganda into the newspapers as possible.

Dr. Jaeger placed at my disposal the fullest cooperation of the German steamship lines and the German Railway Tourist Information Bureau. Furthermore, Dr. Jaeger put me in touch with the then Friends of New Germany, in Milwaukee; and how those Milwaukee boys function when their consul cracked the whip!

We have charged and we continue to charge that there is a direct tie-up between the German-American Bund and the Nazi government. Dr. Thomsen's own statement proves it. If there was no tie how would Thomsen be able to say:

I know that he [Kuhn] has said no such things.

No one has not found fault with consuls of foreign nations who have discharged their duties in diplomatic fashion. Dr. Thomsen is correct when he says that for 110 years consuls have visited groups and attended celebrations. What the attaché fails to mention, however, is that the consuls of his country stationed here were the first to use their diplomatic immunity to foster hatreds, to buy propaganda with cash that they hoped could not be traced, and urged a loyalty and allegiance to Germany after the men and women had sworn they wanted to become American citizens.

What other consuls have been as lavish with free steamship rides across the Atlantic; what other consuls have subsidized teachers, and lecturers and students?

In conclusion, permit me to repeat that I did join the bund under an assumed name—I did it as a reporter for an American newspaper, intent on exposing an unholy un-American outfit and its machinations. If the knowledge I gained helps put an end to its nefarious activities we shall have been repaid.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, the Chair wishes to state that several statements have been made challenging this committee to use its subpoena powers to bring before the committee these organizations and their representatives.

It is well known that the funds of this committee are extremely limited and that when a witness is subpoenaed the committee is required to pay his transportation and required to pay him for the time he is in attendance, from the time he leaves the city or town where he is living, and for the time that he is here. This committee has no accountants or any one capable of examining the books of the various organizations, and if a precedent is established in one instance it then would become necessary to subpoena the representatives of these hundreds of organizations, and the object of that statement is to create a smokescreen, knowing that the committee does not have the financial means to follow any such policy. All of our little fund would be exhausted within the first week or two, if such a policy as that were pursued.

It is for that reason that the Chair extended to all organizations the opportunity to appear before the committee and, if the testimony that has been adduced, under oath, is incorrect, to afford them an opportunity, not by stating generalities, but by producing books and records, real evidence, to disprove any of the evidence that has been adduced, and if they are able to disprove any of the testimony, the Chair would be the first one to acknowledge that the testimony was in error, and give them full opportunity to correct whatever may be claimed to be in error.

You may proceed, Mr. Metcalfe.

Mr. METCALFE. In addition to the exhibits which I have produced, I have a series of photographs of GKV stamps, covers of their booklets, and so forth, which I would like to present in evidence, in substantiation of those statements, as a group exhibit, in substantiation of the same point.

The CHAIRMAN. That exhibit may be received and will be marked. **(The matter referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 19.")**

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. METCALFE. Another source of revenue comes from the sale of uniforms for the storm-troop division of the bund.

These uniforms are sold from the store of E. O. Krause at 308 East Eighty-sixth Street, New York City, and other merchants.

Pins are sold to help the poor in Germany. At least this is what bund leaders say the money is used for. These pins sell for 25 cents and 50 cents.

Money is also raised through the sale of beer and soft drinks, food, and so forth, at the various camps. Of course, also, at bund meetings, money is raised through parking of automobiles.

Sometimes funds are raised when members offer to loan anywhere from \$5 to \$25 to their respective posts to help finance the construction of buildings at the various camps. These various forms of financing should be investigated by State authorities for possible violations of law.

These loans are supposed to be paid back at the end of a year without interest.

In addition, there are a great many lotteries conducted at the various bund headquarters and camps.

I have, in this connection, a photograph which I took of one of these lotteries being conducted. This picture was taken at Camp Nordland, and it shows a large gathering in attendance.

The CHAIRMAN. That exhibit will be received and marked.

(The exhibit referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 20.")

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, let the Chair state, in justice to you, that letters have come to the committee, sometimes anonymous, of the usual type, denouncing you as being either a Communist or sympathetic with Communists. What are the facts with respect to that?

Mr. METCALFE. I think my record in the newspaper field will show very clearly that I have been just as much opposed to communism as I have been opposed to nazi-ism and fascism.

In fact, I have addressed organizations in the Middle West, in which addresses I have made attacks in every way upon communism, in my speeches showing that their purposes were just as nefarious as those of the Nazi organizations and the Fascist groups in the United States.

It is a matter of public record that I have been just as much opposed to communism as to all other isms, except Americanism.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. METCALFE. These lotteries are for prizes ranging from household goods to free vacations at the camps. One of the most popular prizes in nearly all of these lotteries is a free round-trip to Germany, which is arranged through bund officials.

There are reported to be a number of silent contributors to the bund throughout the country.

A typical example along this line is portrayed in the statement of Albert Zimmer, a leader of the Cincinnati post of the German-American Bund.

He stated to the investigator on August 14 as follows :

While many German-Americans may not join our ranks openly, they fight with us in a whispering campaign and silent financial contributions. No one knows this, but we have a permanent list of silent contributors. Most of these persons are wealthy and they feel that they cannot afford, for political or business reasons, to support us openly.

However, they are deeply sympathetic with our movement. So I keep a double set of books. The names of the silent contributors and the amounts which they have donated I keep in a small black book that is shown to no one, unless it is someone like Kuhn.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, is it not a fact, Mr. Metcalfe, that these organizations, whether they are pro-Communist or pro-Nazi, seldom keep accurate books, if they keep anything at all? Is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. That is true in a great many cases.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean if, for instance, the leaders of an organization were using the proceeds for their own benefit, they naturally would not put that in a book.

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So to seize their books would not help you in any respect?

Mr. METCALFE. Probably not.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have to go further and have an expensive accounting investigation: you would have to go to the banks and various avenues of information, which would entail a tremendous amount of research. Is not that true?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, you found that to be true in one particular instance?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were investigating a certain organization, not charged with being pro-Communist, but an organization charged with being pro-Nazi?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You undertook to find out something about the financial status of the organization and where they were getting their money?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And to do so you had to go to the Post Office Department to find out about the postal receipts at various points, and at many of these points you found difficulty in getting access to information even though you were armed with the credentials of the committee?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There seems to be an impression in some quarters that it would be very easy to find out about these things by seizing these books.

Mr. METCALFE. It is very difficult. It is obvious that where we may have knowledge that an organization has spent a great amount of money, and yet their books do not show that, and you have the postal receipts, which also show the amounts, yet if you get all the information and try to prove it conclusively, naturally those witnesses would simply deny that they had expended the money: they probably could

not account for some of it if they did show that they had actually expended it.

To obtain that would entail a very thorough investigation, which we are not equipped to do.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a matter of considerable interest to consider the state of our law which permits these organizations to be formed with little or no difficulty or restriction. All that most of them have to do is to file an application, and then they get a charter and pay a nominal fee, and they use the corporation charter as a smoke screen to carry out their activities.

Mr. METCALFE. That and a very high-sounding name.

The CHAIRMAN. They make no public accounting of the money they receive or expend, nor is there any law that would compel these organizations to make public this information. So in order to get it would require a tremendous amount of money, with a large staff of investigators, accountants, and experts, to find the various sources of this money; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. METCALFE. It is generally understood and stated privately in bund circles that some prominent American industrialists are helping to finance the German-American Bund movement. I repeat that statement in connection with this particular incident in Cincinnati.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no evidence to that effect; you say it is reported?

Mr. METCALFE. The situation is as I stated the other day.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to substantiate those reports, it would require a detailed investigation, to seize certain records and books, and have certain accountings, and perhaps even to go into certain foreign lands to follow the circuitous route over which it comes; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. As I say here, for obvious reasons, their names have never been revealed publicly and therefore there is no direct proof that such financial relationship even exists. That is, publicly.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that ought to be gone into thoroughly. The whole thing ought to be exposed, because it is just as harmful and dangerous as any activity could be.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But, in order to do that, in order to make that exposure, our information has indicated that it would be necessary to follow a rather circuitous route, which they follow in order to accomplish these ends?

Mr. METCALFE. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the funds apparently may come from a foreign country when, as a matter of fact, they would have their origin in the United States; is that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. METCALFE. In connection with funds raised and expended by the German-American Bund certain points of high interest should be noted.

To begin with, Fritz Kuhn and many bund leaders down the line have on scores of occasions stated publicly and through the Weckruf,

their official weekly newspaper, that the bund is constantly in need of funds.

At the same time Kuhn has stated that the bund has a membership of only 6,500 and that these are poor people who must work for a living.

In line with this reputed poverty Kuhn has given his membership to understand that he is earning only from \$60 to \$75 per week through his activities as national leader of the German-American Bund movement.

In the face of these statements it is strange, to say the least, that the German-American Bund is financially able to pay out some \$12,000 for the purchase of Camp Siegfried, some thousands of dollars more for a youth camp adjacent to it, some \$9,000 for Camp Nordland, near Andover, N. J., some \$3,800 for Camp Von Steuben, near Danbury, Conn., and thousands of additional dollars for other camp sites throughout the country.

Not only is the bund financially able to purchase and lease camp sites and bund headquarters throughout the United States, but it is also able to pay out thousands of dollars for the construction of buildings in these various camps and continue the flow of money for operation of not only these sites but also their various headquarters, salaries for officials, and equipment and supplies.

The stream of financial plans and operations does not stop here.

The extent of them is revealed in a bund program which has never before been made public, not even to many officials in the German-American Bund.

This fact is that Kuhn has planned to spend \$2,000,000 for the construction of a building in or near New York City to house the various departments of the national headquarters for the German-American Bund.

Another plan which has never before been revealed is that Fritz Kuhn also has planned to purchase a large tract of land near the Canadian border, some 2,000 acres.

THE CHAIRMAN. In that connection, is there not a Fascist movement in Canada?

MR. METCALFE. There is; yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is there any evidence of any relationship between the Fascist movement in Canada and the Fascist and Nazi movement in the United States?

MR. METCALFE. There is; and particularly an exchange of propaganda, which we will show in just a little while.

THE CHAIRMAN. Very well, proceed.

MR. METCALFE. On this site he proposes to build a large institution to serve, ostensibly as an old people's home and hospital for members of the bund.

Likewise, in this plan, Kuhn has indicated that thousands of dollars would be spent for the purchase of this land near the Canadian border and the construction of this supposed Nazi institution.

It should also be stated here that certain witnesses have testified in executive sessions of a subcommittee of this committee and to this investigator relative to the expenditure of funds by Fritz Kuhn personally.

The names of these witnesses cannot be made public as they are in fear of reprisals at the hands of Fritz Kuhn.

These witnesses have testified under oath that Fritz Kuhn, although earning only from \$60 to \$75 a week, is spending for his own amusement from \$25 to \$50 a night three and four times a week. The expenditure of this money does not include that for other personal uses, such as an automobile, large wardrobe of expensive clothes, and items of that kind, becoming one of New York's men about town and habitual of night clubs.

All of these financial points have been set forth in anticipation of flat denials by Fritz Kuhn, which is a customary action for him to take whenever any evidence against him or the organization is presented to the public.

However, Fritz Kuhn has never answered specifically the charges made against him or this organization before this committee.

He has ignored the various points with broad and vague denials.

The points made here are that certain money has been and is being spent by him and the German-American Bund. It remains for Kuhn to disclose the source of revenue rather than deny the actual expenditure of money.

At the same time it should be borne in mind that already one big leader of the German-American Bund testified on the opening day of hearings before this committee that his organization for 2 years had been unable to secure from Kuhn an accounting for funds which had been forwarded to the New York headquarters. This leader had repeatedly requested a financial statement as to how their funds had been expended.

It should also be noted that this difficulty over the expenditure of funds under Fritz Kuhn's direction in New York City is not a new one, but that similar complaints were made to this investigator by bund leaders throughout the United States.

In conjunction with the purchase of camps for the German-American Bund, it is highly interesting to note that despite the oft-stated claim of Fritz Kuhn that his organization is 100 percent American, the following statement was recorded in a booklet issued by the American German Bund Auxiliary, Inc., with reference to the opening of Camp Nordland on July 18, 1937:

Hereby we give you over Camp Nordland to your holy mission. We consecrate this as a little piece of German soil in America, as a symbol of our motto: "Obligated to America, tied to Germany."

That is their own admission.

The CHAIRMAN. That statement was in this booklet?

Mr. METCALFE. In the booklet issued by the German-American Auxiliary. That document is filed with the committee.

Note must also be made that Otto Willumeit and George Froese, Nazi leaders, have made sworn affidavit that they know nothing of bund funds.

At this point I should like to call attention to a number of packages containing Nazi propaganda which have been shipped from Germany to various citizens of the United States. Several facts surrounding these shipments should be made distinctly clear. These packages contain, for instance, considerable Nazi propaganda which was printed in Germany for distribution in the United States; considerable Fascist propaganda which was printed in Great Britain for distribution in the United States; and considerable material of anti-

racial and antireligious character which was printed in America, shipped to German Government agencies, and then reshipped to the United States for distribution in this country.

The material which was printed in the United States may also be bought in America, some of it is distributed freely along with other Nazi and Fascist propaganda.

It will be recalled that on the opening day of testimony before this committee, which took place last August 12, that during that session a large amount of Nazi propaganda was produced in evidence. This was material which this investigator had obtained personally at various German-American Bund camps and headquarters from coast to coast. Some of this material was purchased and some of it was obtained without cost.

Today, however, an entirely different aspect is presented on the steady flood of foreign propaganda pouring into the United States, going out of it and coming right back into the country at the expense of the German Government, and for the specific purpose of approaching the gospel of national socialism and the aim of Nazi Germany in foreign lands from every conceivable angle.

In this presentation of this evidence, however, no names of the persons to whom this material was addressed will be made public. These people, for good reasons, fear reprisals by agents of the German Government should their names become known. It is only fair to protect them in their actions of cooperation with this congressional committee.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point, and before proceeding further, as illustrative of that statement, this committee received a letter from a judge of a superior court, who had received some of this propaganda and who sent it to the committee. The committee also received letters from other citizens over the country. The committee does not feel at this time that it should make known the names of these people without their authorization.

However, you have all of that material there, do you not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are about to take up package 1 now?

Mr. METCALFE. I might say that this is just a part of the material which we intend to proceed with today.

The CHAIRMAN. You may continue with your statement. I should like first that you call attention to the wrapping of this package.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes. This is a type of paper that is not manufactured in the United States [indicating wrapping of package].

The CHAIRMAN. You have checked that?

Mr. METCALFE. That has been checked. This is German paper.

In conjunction with this package appears a letter from Johannes Klapproth, in charge of the American section of the World Service, one of the chief Nazi propaganda agencies shipping material to the United States and elsewhere. This agency is located in Erfurt, Germany. It was referred to briefly on the opening day of testimony and the evidence presented here is in full substantiation of statements made at that time.

Before continuing, however, it is well first to consider the background of Mr. Klapproth. Without making any personal reference to this man, but relying on another Federal Government department,

Klapproth's record is herewith presented, this record being no different from that already in possession of this committee:

Klapproth was an original member of the German Nazi Party before Hitler rose to power. He is fanatically antiracial and deeply interested in the Silver Shirts movement. He is continually exchanging reading matter with Silver Shirt leaders. He was the organizer of the Friends of New Germany in San Francisco and vicinity. In April 1934 he wrote a report to Germany on the slow progress of the San Francisco Bund at that time, blaming Consul Heuser for this condition.

He is acquainted intimately with George Deatherage and Kositsin and corresponds with them. Klapproth is now in Germany.

He came to the United States in 1928. He is an engineer. Going east, he became the gauleiter (district leader) of Brooklyn for the Nazi movement. This was early in 1935. He returned to the bay region, supposedly after a visit to Germany, where he boasted of having had a conference with Goering during the summer of 1936.

Klapproth toured the west coast with Deatherage for the purpose of interviewing pro-Nazi elements. He received mail at the German consulate in San Francisco. This fact alone once again establishes the tie-up between the German Government and the German-American Bund.

I have the letter here. It was sent from Germany. I will not say to whom it was sent.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a translation of this letter?

Mr. METCALFE. The letter itself solicits funds.

The CHAIRMAN. For what?

Mr. METCALFE. For propaganda purposes in the United States. It is written from Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter was written from Germany to a man in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right. We will have other letters along that line to introduce.

The CHAIRMAN. And this package was received by an American citizen?

Mr. METCALFE. As it is; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the way you obtained possession of it—from the citizen?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that citizen does not want his name revealed for the reason that, in the first place, he would cease receiving this propaganda?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

In addition to considerable material from the World Service, there is contained in this package copies of speeches by Hitler printed by Nazi government propaganda agencies in Berlin.

This is the World Service material here, and here are these speeches [indicating documents].

The CHAIRMAN. This World Service is one of the chief propaganda publications of the German Government?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice it says here, in the beginning: "International Jewry mobilizes the United States for a new world war. The three great democracies—England, America, and France—to fight on behalf of world Jewry."

Mr. METCALFE. It is antiracial and antireligious material.

The CHAIRMAN. I want the record to show what these things are.

Mr. METCALFE. I am going to take them up point by point.

We also find here Nazi literature from the pen of Ernst Goerner, of Milwaukee. This man has been an extremely active Nazi propagandist in the United States. He has been mailing material of vicious character to all parts of the country and is deeply linked with sundry subversive movements in this country. The story behind the activities of Goerner will be told more fully in a forthcoming hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. The Goerner pamphlet is printed in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. In Milwaukee.

The CHAIRMAN. And it evidently was sent to Germany?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right; and then reshipped and included in this package along with others that came from America and Great Britain and from Germany, then sent back to the United States. In other words, it is a sort of a clearing house. They take that material and then make up packages of it.

Then there is included a quantity of Fascist propaganda originating from England and Canada, even some from Sir Moseley's Black Shirt Legion in London.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, let me ask a question in connection with this. There appears here a publication by the Christian Free Press, which is published in California?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes. I am going to take that up.

The CHAIRMAN. Then proceed.

Mr. METCALFE. There is also a pamphlet from the Knights of the White Camellia, an organization founded by Deatherage, who will be referred to in detail at another hearing.

There is also a leaflet from the Russian National Union, an organization of White Russians closely alined with the German-American Bund.

Included also is an issue of the Christian Free Press, operated by a Mrs. Fry, of whom more will be told later. She is in Glendale, Calif., and was formerly of Los Angeles.

Attention is called, particularly, to Nazi propaganda originating from the American National Confederation, led by Deatherage. This material is pertinent because it includes the following statement:

Organizations which you should support and from whom you can secure literature:

The list includes the following:

The New Federalist, Wichita, Kans., edited by Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, recent candidate for the United States Senate.

The Examiner, Nelwon, New Zealand.

The Patriot, London.

Pelley Publishers, Asheville, N. C., of which the editor is William Dudley Pelley, chief of the Silver Shirts.

The American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Berlin Weekly, Berlin, a representative of which was a speaker before leaders of the German-American Bund at a meeting attended by this investigator.

Industrial Control Reports, Washington, D. C., published by James True Associates, who publishes a weekly four-page letter patterned

after a famous business-news service. This service has been highly friendly to Nazi and Fascist powers, while strongly opposed to Russia. Early in the first Roosevelt administration True was ordered out of press conferences of Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, then N. R. A. Administrator.

In this package is also included True's news letter.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to identify this for the record, this is a pamphlet issued by the American Nationalist Confederation. Where is it issued?

Mr. METCALFE. Charleston, W. Va., is where Deatherage operates.

The CHAIRMAN. And this says, "Organizations which you should support and from whom you can secure literature," and then gives the names of the organizations which you have mentioned?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And this pamphlet is a part of other pamphlets enclosed and sent through this route, from Germany to the addressee in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

I have here what I call exhibits 2, 3, and 4. That is this package here [indicating]. They are practically the same as the first one and they continue to carry identically the same sources of information; probably in different issues, but the material is the same and along the same line. The propaganda sources are the same as were found in this first one.

The CHAIRMAN. Which American writers had pamphlets in these packages?

Mr. METCALFE. Goerner of Milwaukee and Deatherage. They are American writers. Those are two of them. Mrs. Fry, of the Christian Free Press, and Pelley, of the Silver Shirts.

The CHAIRMAN. What about True?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; James True. There are a half dozen there.

The CHAIRMAN. All of these packages contain propaganda printed in Germany and in England by Moseley's Fascist group?

Mr. METCALFE. And in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN. And in Canada?

Mr. METCALFE. By Fascist groups.

The CHAIRMAN. And in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are all together in a package which was sent to American citizens over here?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you ready at this time to introduce those pamphlets that came to the committee?

Mr. METCALFE. We are going to use some of it today and some of it in connection with another hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; proceed.

Mr. METCALFE. We direct attention to exhibit 5 in the Nazi propaganda material in this package.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this ought to be cleared up for the sake of the record, if it is not absolutely clear; these American pamphlets were printed in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then evidently they were sent to Germany and then returned with these other pamphlets and literature; is that the fact?

Mr. METCALFE. A certain amount of each printing.

The CHAIRMAN. Do we have any knowledge of the reason for sending these pamphlets to Germany and then returning them; in other words, an explanation of why they would send American propaganda over there?

Mr. METCALFE. It is the psychology of the approach; you get something from Europe and you feel it is more authentic along that line, when the man right next door to you would be printing it, but you would not believe him, because he is a neighbor of yours and you know he is a crackpot.

The CHAIRMAN. What about some of the pamphlets written by these American citizens? Some of those were also printed in Germany, were they not?

Mr. METCALFE. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they appear to be in publications in Germany?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For the purpose of purporting to show what the true conditions are in the United States?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instance where any opposition pamphlets have ever been printed?

Mr. METCALFE. Never, that I know of. We never came across any. Everything that was printed over there, of course, was highly favorable to the Nazi regime.

The CHAIRMAN. What do all of these pamphlets have in common? What is the trend of them?

Mr. METCALFE. They are antiracial and antireligious; they try to create hatreds among people, stir up trouble. They attack the democratic form of government. They contain vicious attacks on the President of the United States particularly and on the Democratic administration.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a similarity in the statements made by the American writers and the statements made by the German writers and the British writers? Are they practically the same charges?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; there is a similarity in all of these publications.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it is the same kind of propaganda?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

We direct attention to exhibit 5 in the Nazi propaganda material. This package forwarded at the direction of Klapproth, contains a very expensive magazine glorifying Germany's industrial achievements. It is significant that while Naziland defaults on its bonds and no American firm can take its money out of that country, it is able to finance and distribute such expensive propaganda. One paradox in this particular propaganda maneuvering is the fact that Klapproth, apparently backed by a huge fund for this Nazi work, still asks gullible Americans to send him dollar bills for his stuff.

As you remember, in this first exhibit, or in that letter, he asks for funds to help finance the work.

The CHAIRMAN. This is new.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir. You will see what an expensive type of magazine it is. This is exhibit No. 5.

The CHAIRMAN. This magazine depicts the industrial development of Germany.

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It also contains photographs of Nazi leaders and chiefs—is that right?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have any photographs of the German Army?

Mr. METCALFE. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. This exhibit does not appear in the record, and we want to identify it and show what the propaganda is.

Mr. METCALFE. The office of Congressman Martin Dies received four pieces of propaganda (exhibit No. 6) all addressed to a superior court judge located in California and coming from Erfurt. One of the items in these four envelopes advertise the afore-mentioned George Deatherage and his American Nationalist Confederation, which has the swastika as its symbol. The same group previously mentioned at this hearing are advertised on this piece of material edited and printed in Germany [indicating].

This committee also has in its possession an affidavit by a highly respected citizen of Indiana in which he relates receiving Nazi propaganda that he does not want and which he has not asked for nor ordered.

The CHAIRMAN. This man occupies a rather responsible position.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The affidavit, omitting the name, is as follows:

———, being duly sworn, upon his oath says * * *.

That he received, on or about July 25, 1938, the accompanying pamphlet, entitled "World Service," which he has attached to this affidavit as "Exhibit A." That the same was mailed to him from Erfurt, Germany, in the enclosed envelope, which has been marked "Exhibit B."

That he did not subscribe for this pamphlet, or publication, and did not request that it be sent to him. That it is one of a series along similar lines that he has been receiving at intervals over a considerable period of time.

That he makes this affidavit in order that any parties interested, including the congressional investigation committee of which Congressman Martin Dies is chairman, may be informed that printed matter of this character is being forwarded direct from Germany to citizens of this country, unsolicited and without their request, as propaganda of a nature to breed racial and religious intolerance.

Another pertinent item of Nazi propaganda of American origin is entitled "Stepchildren of Czechoslovakia" and edited by Viola Bodenschatz, of Louisville, Ky., a known Nazi sympathizer. This booklet (exhibit 7) has as its center pages a map of Czechoslovakia with the Sudeten areas marked in exactly the same manner as the map released in Berlin this past week.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that the map shows the same Sudeten areas shown on the map submitted to the allied powers?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir. This map, from Berlin, is given in advance in this pamphlet.

Another group of material has been coming to an American citizen each week. It contains Streicher's Stuermer. The weekly sending is the result of one Karl Neumeister, 1898 Daly Avenue, New York City. This is exhibit No. 8.

I interviewed Neumeister with the following result:

Neumeister admitted under questioning that he is engaged in spread-

ing Nazi propaganda. He explained he was doing this kind of work because he believed in the principles of Hitlerism. He admitted blandly that he goes around checking up on people to whom material of this type is mailed from Germany and that he does everything in his power to get these people to take more Nazi propaganda and assist in its distribution throughout the United States.

Neumeister further stated that he had served in the German Army during the World War and was a soldier in the Kaiser's own regiment. He stated that he is on intimate terms, through lanes of correspondence, with the Kaiser. He said that he and the Kaiser have written to each other over a long period of years.

He then went on to further express his beliefs and support of the Nazi government, stating that he hated all those hated by Germany and opposed all who are opposed by the Third Reich.

He was, in fact, so brazen in his declarations and attitude that he even came to an executive session of a subcommittee of this committee with a swastika tie pin.

Neumeister, while admitting that he is disseminating propaganda for German agencies and is connected with one of the political subdivisions subsidized by a foreign nation, has not yet registered with the Secretary of State here in Washington, as required under an act of Congress governing the registrations of agents of foreign principals.

I have also, in addition to these exhibits that have been submitted, another one which contains identically the same type of propaganda, coming from Germany, England, Canada, and, of course, from sources throughout the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that come from different people?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir. It was not received by one person at one time, but it has been gathered and placed together. However, all of it came from those sources.

I made some reference recently to the raising of funds for the German-American Bund, and I introduce in evidence a series of raffle tickets to outings, celebrations, and that sort of thing, held by German-American bunds. You will note that on some of the tickets there is a swastika printed, but nowhere is there the emblem of the American flag. That does not appear on any of these tickets. They only display the swastika. There is also a ticket over a Long Island Railroad train. I have included all of them in one group of exhibits.

In addition to that, I have a series of exhibits which are put in as one group, showing various raffles which were held by the German-American bunds. You can see for yourself exactly what they are. They are chances for free trips to Germany, and so forth.

In addition to that, I have some photographs that I know were taken, because I was there. They sold tickets for the German-American Bund. Here [indicating] is Peter Gissibl's personal card, and here [indicating] is a round-trip ticket to Germany.

I have, in addition to that, original photographs of certificates of donations, or dollar donation certificates. This [indicating] is signed by Fritz Kuhn, and is dated April 20, 1937. I obtained this by paying \$1. It states that the German-American Bund hereby acknowledges the donation of the sum of \$1 "For the fifth year of our battle."

The CHAIRMAN. What does that mean—"the fifth year of our battle?"

Mr. METCALFE. The fifth year of their campaign, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. The fifth year of the bund campaign.

Mr. METCALFE. Of their entire program, I would say. This is official, as you will see.

In connection with the affidavit which was submitted in evidence, I have here an envelope of material which was mailed to the gentleman in Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that material?

Mr. METCALFE. It is called "World-Service." You will recall that I introduced an affidavit in connection with it.

(The matters above referred to were marked "Parts 1 to 12, inclusive," of Exhibit No. 21, and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any positive proof that these organizations formed and chartered in the United States have been disseminating any German propaganda?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They have disseminated German propaganda?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you say you have evidence that these organizations which were chartered in the United States have disseminated some of this German propaganda in the United States?

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

I believe that is all the evidence I have to present at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you completed your statement?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn until Tuesday morning at 10:30 o'clock, at which time the committee will hear from three other witnesses on this same subject of nazi-ism and fascism. We expect to have those witnesses here Tuesday morning at 10:30 o'clock and will continue until their testimony is completed.

Mr. Metcalfe, I believe you still have several other documents to be incorporated in the record.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned to meet on Tuesday, October 4, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. The first witness is Mr. Girolamo Valenti.

TESTIMONY OF GIROLAMO VALENTI

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Valenti, you live in New York City?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have requested an opportunity to appear before this committee and give the committee the benefit of information which you and others have collected; is that right?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you testify, I want to ask you a few preliminary questions. The charge has been made to this committee that you are a Communist; is there any truth to that?

Mr. VALENTI. It is not the truth. I never was a Communist; I am not a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you approve of communism?

Mr. VALENTI. I do not approve of anything but Americanism, and the ideals of democracy and liberty.

The CHAIRMAN. Your contention is that, because of your fight against fascism, you have been designated as a Communist; is that true?

Mr. VALENTI. Exactly; not only a Communist, but an anarchist. The Fascists call me an anarchist.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, some say it is customary for those who oppose fascism to be designated by the Fascist groups as Communists.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the same is true with reference to communism, that those who oppose communism are immediately designated as Fascists.

Mr. VALENTI. That may be true.

The CHAIRMAN. Your purpose in being here is to make a statement as a patriotic American citizen.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And to give this committee and the country the benefit of your testimony, supported by documentary proof and other evidence which you will make available to the committee; is that true?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Among other charges that have been made against you is that you published—and this is in support of the contention that you are of the communistic belief—a book called *The Third Internationale*.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes; I did publish that book, but that was not in favor of the *Third Internationale*. On the contrary, it was against the *Third Internationale* at the time; just the contrary.

The CHAIRMAN. It was the contrary of the charge that was made?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have, of course, been interested in labor movements?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes. And I am proud of it, too.

The CHAIRMAN. But that does not mean that you are a Communist or that you sympathize with Communist beliefs?

Mr. VALENTI. I never was a Communist; I am not a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. VALENTI. If you will allow me, Congressman Dies, I will read my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. VALENTI. American-Italian Black Shirt legions, 10,000 strong, are marching in America with the same resounding tread as those of the goose-stepping detachments of German-American Bund storm troops.

Behind this Black Shirt parade there are more than 100,000 Americans of Italian descent who are willing to be seen at the public manifestations of some 200 Fascist organizations throughout the United States.

Another 100,000 fall within the influence of the powerful organs of propaganda emanating from well-knit and centralized fascistic forces which are mind-conditioning American citizens and swerving their allegiance to Italian dictatorship under the thumping fist of Mussolini.

In the same manner in which other un-American movements, such as the German-American Bund, engage in subversive activities, so, too, the American-Italian Fascist organizations reflect a shirt-tail relationship.

This marked similarity is especially noted in the following activities:

1. Participation of Italian Fascist Government agents and officials.
2. Training and indoctrinating American boys and girls in Fascist ideology.
3. Military formations in the form of Black Shirt legions.
4. Methods employed in Fascist propaganda throughout organizations and affairs.
5. Raising of funds, under cloak, to aid the Fascist regime in Rome.
6. Fraternalization and cooperation with other subversive movements across the United States.

Italian consular officials and secret Fascist agents are spreading Fascist propaganda throughout the ranks of some 200 Italian-American organizations in the United States. In addition, they are also expending every effort to penetrate bona fide Italian-American fraternal societies with a view to gaining control of these organizations for the purpose of increasing the influence of Fascist dictatorship.

Italian consular officials are addressing scores of semipublic gatherings and closed meetings in which they deliver speeches of pure Fascist propaganda, seeking to undermine the democratic form of government.

The participation of Italian consuls is a matter of common knowledge among the American-Italians. Among those who have repeatedly taken part in Fascist affairs in their respective areas are the following: Consul General Vecchiotti, New York City; Consul General Segre, Boston; Consul General P. Pervan, Philadelphia, Pa.; Consul P. Decicco, New Haven, Conn.; Consul Yannelli, Johnstown, Pa.

While enjoying diplomatic immunity, these Italian consular officials are exerting influence over American citizens of Italian descent with the view of gaining more power and prestige for their native government.

They show no regard for the fact that these people have of their own free will sworn allegiance to the United States of America and openly prefer to remain Americans. In other words, these Italian Government officials seek to keep alive the tie between these people and their former ruler.

In this they are following the dictates of Mussolini, who states that Italians living abroad must be considered as loyal sons of Italy, even unto the seventh generation.

Consular officials participate in meetings where American dollars are raised for the benefit of the Italian Fascist cause abroad.

They spy on American citizens and threaten those who will not subscribe to Mussolini's dictates and philosophy of government. They even resort to fraud to gain their ends, by warning victims with threats of revoking their American citizenships and sending them home to Italy. In other cases they also threaten harm to their relatives who are still residing in Italy, should they fail to win these American citizens over to the Fascist side.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point you are to introduce some evidence?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes. I have here a letter written by the consul general of Johnstown, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it in Italian?

Mr. VALENTI. It is in Italian, but I can translate it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do so.

Mr. VALENTI. It is addressed to Mr. Gavino Pellani, Nettleton, Pa. Nettleton must be a small town around Johnstown. This letter is dated the 16th of March 1937. Then it gives the number of the Fascist era, XV, and it says:

DEAR SIR: You are invited to come to this office for communications which regard you personally.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter may be received in evidence as Valenti exhibit No. 1 of this date.

(The letter was received and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 1 of this date.")

Mr. VALENTI. When the gentleman went to the office of this consul he was told that the consul had found out that this man was engaged—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). How do you know that? Do you have an affidavit in support of that?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes; I have an affidavit by this man.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you read the affidavit.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir. He was told he was engaged in political propaganda against the Fascist regime and if he did not behave he would be deported to Italy; he would have his citizenship papers revoked.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the affidavit.

Mr. VALENTI. This is the affidavit.

(Mr. Valenti thereupon read an affidavit which was marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 2 of this date.")

Mr. VALENTI. Then we have an affidavit of the wife of Pellani, Mrs. Leonora Pellani.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read that affidavit.

Mr. VALENTI. The affidavit is as follows:

Mrs. Leonora Pellani, of Nettleton, Pa., being duly sworn, said:

"My husband, Gavino Pellani, received a letter from Consul Angelo V. Jannelli, of Johnstown, March 17, this year. The letter was dated March 16. He asked my husband to visit him in the consulate offices in the Swank Building, Johnstown, Pa. My husband could not go. He is a miner. But I was worried. In fact, I couldn't sleep for 2 nights. I thought something happened to my family in Italy. So I went in his place March 20, with my son-in-law, Paul Cnbeta.

"Consul Jannelli had no news of my family. He sent my son-in-law out of the room and began threatening to have my husband deported for collecting money for Spain. He read me a letter, which my husband had sent to the Anti-Fascist Committee in New York, along with the sum of \$23, which he and Antonio Caraglio, another Nettleton miner, collected last December.

"That letter must have been stolen.

"The consul said: 'Your man has been collecting money for Communists.'

"I said, 'My man collected money to help poor people and orphans buy clothes.'

"The consul said: 'Don't you know you belong to the United States and must not help people of other countries. If you help the Loyalist government, you are a Communist.'

"I said: 'My man is not a Communist. He is a Democrat. He is a citizen of the United States.'

"Consul Jannelli was getting angry. His voice was growing louder. He said my husband must write a letter, saying he was sorry he had collected the money; if my husband refused, the consul said he could have him deported to Italy. He said the Labor Department gave him authority in such cases.

"I said he couldn't do that. My husband is a citizen. But the consul said he could have my husband's citizenship papers taken away.

"The consul was getting angrier all the time. He said the Italian Government could make trouble for my people in the old country, if we displeased Mussolini there.

"I know the place you come from in the old country,' he said. 'The Italian Government can watch you in this country and watch your mother in the old country.'

"My husband is a citizen of the United States and a member of the United Mine Workers of America.

"I make this statement of my own free will.

(Signed) LEONORA (her X mark) PELLANI."

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

County of Cambria, ss:

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 30th day of July, A. D. 1938.

[SEAL]

DOMENICK GELOTTE,
Justice of the Peace.

My commission expires the first Monday in January 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. You offer this affidavit in evidence?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 3 of this date."

(The affidavit above referred to was received and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 3 of this date.")

Mr. VALENTI. Then I have another letter by the consul general at Philadelphia, written to a certain Bellone Valerio on the 2d of April 1937. The letter is in Italian. This is what it says:

With reference to a preceding correspondence, I invite you to inform me if "Comazionale" is still residing in the same place and if and in what kind of political activity he engages.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter may be received and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 4."

(The letter above referred to was received and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 4 of this date.")

The CHAIRMAN. I notice that the affidavit which was received and marked "Exhibit No. 2" does not have a notarial seal on it.

Mr. VALENTI. I thought that it did, Mr. Chairman. I thought there was another sheet attached to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without the notarial seal we cannot receive it, and therefore it will be withdrawn.

(Exhibit No. 2 thereupon was withdrawn.)

Mr. VALENTI. I should like you to pay some attention to the wording of that letter by the consul in Philadelphia. He wants to know if that particular person engages in politics, and what kind of politics.

The CHAIRMAN. And he wrote that to whom?

Mr. VALENTI. To Valerio. The name is on the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. And he wanted to know if that particular individual referred to in the letter engages in politics, and, if so, what kind of politics?

Mr. VALENTI. Exactly. Now, here we have a letter by the Consul Decicco, of New Haven, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. Addressed to whom?

Mr. VALENTI. Addressed to all Italian-American fraternal societies.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in Italian?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you translate it slowly, so that we will understand it?

Mr. VALENTI. He says this:

There are a big number of Italian-American societies in the State of Connecticut. It is necessary that this office be in possession of the names and addresses of all those who belong to such Italian-American societies.

Therefore I would appreciate it very much if you will send me the complete list of the names and the addresses of those who belong to your particular society.

That is the consul of the Italian Government.

By the way, most of the members who belong to fraternal societies are American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. You offer this letter?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as Valenti Exhibit No. 5 of this date.

(The letter referred to was received and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 5 of this date.")

Mr. VALENTI. In order for your committee to realize how the Italian consuls engage in the organization of the Fascist Black Shirts in this country, I want to introduce this form of application which is used by the Fascists when they apply to become members of the Black Shirts.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that as a matter of fact?

Mr. VALENTI. Absolutely; this is used.

The CHAIRMAN. You swear to that of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Translate it for us.

Mr. VALENTI. This is the front page of it:

Fascist branches abroad.

Branch of -----

Name -----

Then they have the years blocked out in a line here—1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, and so forth.

Then they want to know from the applicant if he was in the war; if he has been O. K.'d by the secretary of that particular branch.

They want to find out his age, of course, and how much he has paid to be admitted. There is also a space for the name of the secretary.

On the back there are lines drawn for the consul of that particular town to O. K. the applicant before he is admitted, which means that every prospective member who applies to be admitted to the Italian Fascist branches must be O. K.'d by the local Italian consul before he becomes a member of the Fascist Black Shirts.

The CHAIRMAN. This is offered as Exhibit No. 6?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes.

(The document referred to was marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 6 of this date.")

Mr. VALENTI. These are the form cards that they use when they have meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you translate it for us?

Mr. VALENTI. This says:

Association of Italian Fascists Abroad, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y.

Then they invite the member to come and listen to Angelo Flavio Guidi, who is a known Fascist agent. I do not know whether it is of any value to this committee, but I offer it as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as exhibit No. 7.

(The card referred to was marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 7," of this date.)

Mr. VALENTI. May I proceed with my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. VALENTI. In the United States there is also a branch of the dreaded Italian Government secret police, known as the O. V. R. A., which corresponds to the G. P. U. of Nazi Germany.

This is a spy organization which calls at the homes of American citizens of Italian descent and attempts to frighten them whenever they have participated in activities which do not conform to Fascist Government policy. This organization is directly linked to the Italian

consular service in the United States and is obviously under instructions of the Italian Ambassador in Washington.

At this point I wish to state that should this committee desire direct evidence from American citizens who have been victims of this vicious practice, I am in a position to submit a confidential list of names and addresses of such persons.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point let me ask why do you make these names and addresses confidential?

Mr. VALENTI. Because those who have been molested are afraid that their relatives residing in Italy will suffer if their names are made public.

The CHAIRMAN. So they have asked you not to make them public?

Mr. VALENTI. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are prepared to give the names of these people to this committee?

Mr. VALENTI. Should this committee assure me that the lives of these Italian-American citizens are guaranteed and that they will not be molested by Italian Fascists either here or in their homeland.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. VALENTI. These American citizens are willing to testify before this committee, provided that they are given assurance of secrecy regarding their appearance and testimony, inasmuch as they fear reprisals against their relatives still living in Italy.

This matter is so serious that I believe it should be called to the attention of the Department of Justice for the purpose of a thorough investigation for the protection of these American citizens against this type of manhandling by foreign agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to give to the Department of Justice the names of these American citizens?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who have been threatened?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And who are in fear of reprisals?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; I am always ready, provided these people are assured that they will be safe.

The CHAIRMAN. You wish to keep their names secret?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. VALENTI. Four known agents of the O. V. R. A. who are operating in this country are the following: Capt. Carlo Vinti, New York City; Pietro Pupino Carbonelli, New York City; Count Fachetti Guiglia, New York City; and Ubaldo Guidi, Boston.

The spreading of Fascist propaganda by consular officials has been witnessed by thousands of American citizens of Italian descent at many places, including Madison Square Garden, Carnegie Hall, Columbus Circle, and Morristown, N. J.

One of the most important fields of activities by Fascist interests in this country is the growing youth movement of Italian Fascist organizations, which is being carried out under the guise of education.

This movement is centered around the "Dante Aligherie Society," with headquarters in the same building in which the Italian consul of New York has offices, Rockefeller Center.

Its director is Prof. Mario Gianni.

This society spends thousands of dollars in free distribution of pamphlets, books, and prizes to pupils. The most important and grave aspect of this society is that of the inroad it has succeeded in making in the American parochial and public schools.

So powerful is the influence that it exerts over our American educational system that its director is in a position to enlist numerous groups of children and bring them over to Italy each year ostensibly for their vacations, but in reality to be imbued with Fascist doctrines.

The pamphlets distributed freely by this society are of pure Fascist propaganda nature, containing such material as speeches by Mussolini, achievements of the Fascist regime, and the military grandeur of the Italian Army and Navy, the colonial conquest, and so on.

Of serious concern to all loyal American citizens of Italian extraction is the fact that some of our parochial and public schools are being flooded with textbooks of Fascist origin.

These books are ostensibly for the purpose of teaching solely the Italian language. However, close examination of these books will show that they are clever and insidious vehicles of Fascist propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to introduce some of those books?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. VALENTI. We start with this, which is elementary.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go further, let us make this definite. What proof do you have that that book is used in any of the parochial or public schools?

Mr. VALENTI. We know of—

The CHAIRMAN. You say "we"; state who you mean. Let us get down to facts.

Mr. VALENTI. I know, personally, of American citizens of Italian descent who sent their children to parochial schools, or night classes in public schools, in New York, and San Francisco, Calif., and when they want to study Italian, to begin with, they are given these books.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And under your oath as a witness, you are swearing that to be a fact?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir. These books are printed in Italy. The heading here is, "Books for the Italian Classes Abroad."

Here is a page in which a young Fascist is portrayed, saying that he salutes his flag and he always thinks of his far-away fatherland. "God assist, now and forever, Italy." "God help me to become a good Italian."

Now, you want to go to the higher schools in Brooklyn and New York for those who want to learn Italian.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you proceed, let us put this book in evidence. This first book will be received as Valenti Exhibit No. 8 of this date.

(The book referred to was marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 8, of this date.")

The CHAIRMAN. This book [indicating] is used in the high schools of Brooklyn, N. Y.?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; those two books are.

The CHAIRMAN. Explain how you got this book.

Mr. VALENTI. I got it from a family that lives in Brooklyn.

The CHAIRMAN. It says, "Abraham Lincoln High School, Ocean Parkway and West Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y." That is printed or stamped on the inside of the book.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; and on the next page you will see stamped "Board of Education, New York City."

The CHAIRMAN. It is stamped "Public School No. —, Borough No. —." Then it shows the names of Italian-Americans, which you do not want to disclose.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you not want to disclose them?

Mr. VALENTI. Because they are afraid. Once their names appear in the newspapers, their relatives in Italy will suffer.

The CHAIRMAN. You promised not to reveal their names?

Mr. VALENTI. Not only that, but I promised to give the books back.

The CHAIRMAN. On the next page there is stamped "Property Board of Education, City of New York, June 17, 1937."

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, New York, Chicago, London, Atlanta, San Francisco, and Dallas. Suppose you read some extracts from the book to illustrate its meaning.

Mr. VALENTI. On page 7 of this book, entitled "Nel Paese Del Sole"—Russo—the Duce, Benito Mussolini, is portrayed in a very charming pose. On the preceding page (6) the Fascist hymn, *Liorinezpa*, is called a beautiful hymn. It says that the *Liorinezpa*, which means youth, is the most beautiful song of the Fascist.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else in that?

Mr. VALENTI. Not so far as I know. With this book there is further evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us look at the other book. This other book also bears the stamp "Abraham Lincoln High School, Ocean Parkway and West Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y." That is printed on the inside.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Also, "Board of Education, City of New York, Public School No. —, Borough No. —." Then it gives the names of some Italian-Americans, but, for the same reason you have stated, you want to keep them secret.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The title of the book is "Andiamo in Italia." It is stamped "September 8, 1937, City of New York," and is written by Marinoni and Passarelli, both of the University of Arkansas. It appears that A. Marinoni and L. A. Passarelli are the authors of the book and that it is published in New York by Henry Holt & Co.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The books are written in Italian.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Read some extracts from it.

Mr. VALENTI. Reading from page 38, we find a propaganda recital on the rebirth of Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. Without commenting on it, read what it says.

Mr. VALENTI. It says this, that "All the liberal and democratic governments which preceded the Fascist one were incapable of keeping order." The labor unions and the strikes are branded as disruptive,

and the Black Shirts are praised for having seized the Government of Italy by force. Also the corporate state is glorified, as is the voice of Mussolini, to which all must now listen.

On page 156 the student reads that the governments which preceded the Fascist were impotent to solve the Vatican problem, and that only the government of Mussolini, all new and all daring, could accomplish the great thing, and that now the Pope and the Italian Government are at peace.

The CHAIRMAN. The title of one of the books is *Andiamo in Italia*, by Marinoni and Passarelli. I am simply identifying the books so they may be secured from the Congressional Library. You say you promised to return the books.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The title of the other book is *Nel Paese Del Sole*, by Russo. What does that title mean?

Mr. VALENTI. In the Country of the Sun.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. VALENTI. The Fascist government also ships into the United States for distribution through Fascist organizations in this country hundreds of decorations, medals, ribbons, and the like, all conveying the spirit of Fascist symbols and rituals.

This point again recalls the similarity between the Fascist and Nazi organizations in this country. The Nazi groups, like these, distribute books, pamphlets, and prizes from Nazi Germany.

As for the annual excursions for American school children to Italy, it should be made distinctly clear that once these youths arrive on Italian shores they are regarded as part and parcel of the Fascist youth and military organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. VALENTI. I will prove that to you.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You will introduce that evidence later on.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All of these statements you are making here you will substantiate by proof?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have some photographs to introduce.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

As guests of the Italian Government, these American children are given Fascist uniforms and taken to training camps, where they are to be seen in military formations, drills, and exercises. Here they remain a month or so under the full surveillance of the Italian Government.

They also participate in services, meetings, and parades on the streets of Rome, Genoa, and other cities. During the parades these children are given an American flag to display to the Italian populace, not with the idea of paying homage to the American flag, but to give the impression that even the great democracy of the United States stands side by side with the Fascist Italy.

It should be noted that the organizer and leading figure in these annual excursions of American children to Italy is Professor Gianni.

Of particular importance is the fact that these trips are financed by the Fascist government, including the salary and expenses for its agent, Professor Gianni.

These American children in some cases return from Italy to the United States dressed in Fascist uniforms and always imbued with Fascist spirit and ideology.

It, therefore, becomes apparent that some day in the not too distant future America will be faced with a serious minority problem similar in character to that of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia.

These American children, like those of the German-American Bund, are being raised in foreign ideals and will soon grow to manhood as loyal citizens to Fascist and Nazi governments, even though they were born under the Stars and Stripes and hold citizenship in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take up these photographs, one by one. First, I want to ask about the photographs: How did you secure possession of these photographs?

Mr. VALENTI. They had been printed in some magazine of a military character in Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. You took them from the magazines.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; they were sent to me by confidential reporters that we have in Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. They appeared in official magazines published in Italy?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir. Here is one showing a group of American school children from Detroit, Mich., photographed on their return from Italy, where they spent their vacation time in the Fascist camps. The children are dressed in Fascist uniforms, as Balillas (young Fascists). In their group is the local consular agent, G. Ungarelli.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 9, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next photograph shows a group of American school boys, coming back from their trip to Italy. The boys give the Fascist salute to the consul of the Italian Government in Pittsburgh, Pa., Cav. Siroana.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 10, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next photograph shows a group of American school boys, who are guests of the Italian Government, doing exercises in the Fascist camp at Cortina d'Ampezzo.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 11, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next is a photograph showing American boys of the parochial school in Fascist uniform, marching to the tomb of the unknown soldier in Rome. Italian Government officers lead the children. This shows the leaders, Prof. Mario Giani and Flavis Guidi. By the way, these children are shown wearing black shirts. When they get these children to Italy they are given the uniform.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the leaders indicated by figures?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; Prof. Mario Giani is indicated by the figure 1 and Glavis Guidi by the figure 2.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 12, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next photograph shows a large group of American school boys in the uniform of Balilla (Fascist youth) photographed in De Ferrari Fountain Square, in Genoa.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 13, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next is a photograph of American school girls, who are guests of the Italian Government, in the attire of young Fascist misses, carrying Fascist banners in Camp Dux, in Rome. When they land here from their trip they are in civilian clothes.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 14, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next photograph shows a group of 192 boys of parochial schools in the United States, coming back from Italy. Prof. Mario Giani, their leader, is shown in the group.

The CHAIRMAN. How is he designated there?

Mr. VALENTI. By the figure 1.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 15, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. I want to give some evidence as to the dates when the children were taken to Italy, and the names of the ships.

I am not in a position as yet to know how many school children from the United States went this year on the vacation to the Fascist training camps. I do know that this enlistment of American children of Italian-American parents has been going on for several years. I have with me photographs of groups of school children from Detroit, Mich. (1), and Pittsburgh, Pa. (2), who went to Italy in 1934 and on their return to our shores they are greeted by consular officials of the Italian Government.

The year 1937 broke the record in the shipping of our American boys and girls to the Fascist training camps in Italy.

Here are a few facts:

On July 17, 1937, on the *Rex* sailed a group of 95 children, parochial school, class A; they landed in Genoa the 25th day of July. They returned to the United States on the *Saturnia* the 26th of August. On July 17 on the *Rex* sailed a group of 95 children, parochial school, class B. They landed in Genoa. Returned on the *Saturnia* the 26th of August.

On July 31, 1937, on the *Conte di Savoia* sailed a group of 72 school girls—public schools. They landed in Genoa on August 8, 1937. Returned to the United States on the *Conte di Savoia* on the 9th of September. On July 31, on the *Conte di Savoia*, sailed a group of 159 boys—public school. Landed in Genoa on August 8. Returned on the *Rex* on the 2d of September.

The next photograph shows Italian Black Shirts of the "Circolo Morgantini," in Harlem (New York City), participating in a Nazi celebration in Camp Siegfried in Yaphank, Long Island, on Sunday, August 29, 1937. The chief of the Black Shirt squad is John Finzio. This Black Shirt organization is identical in character with the German-American Bund.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 16, October 4, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. There has already been introduced in evidence a number of photographs showing Fascist Black Shirts meeting with the Nazis or German-American Bunds. That has been proven.

Mr. VALENTI. This is a piece of evidence showing a number of scenes at a monster 10,000 black-shirted celebration in the Fascist Camp Dux in Morristown, N. J. In the celebration the general con-

sul of the Italian Government in New York, Gaetano Vecchiotti; the Fascist agent, Count Facchetti Guiglia; the leader of the Squadristi, Pietro Pupino Carbonelli, and other Fascist officials participated, all of them, including Consul Vecchiotti, wearing black shirts.

(The photograph referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 17, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The Black Shirt organizations are identical in character to the storm troops of the German-American Bund, with whom they have been seen associating and marching in public places. Both of these organizations are strong-arm detachments for their respective movements.

The Italian Black Shirts, like the bund storm troops, have many war veterans and aliens in their ranks.

The strongest force of Black Shirts operates in the Harlem section of New York City, where they parade on the streets.

There are from 10,000 to 15,000 Black Shirt uniforms being worn today in the United States, with posts of the organizations located in all major cities of the United States.

During the Ethiopian conquest the Fascist representatives in the United States enlisted some 1,000 Americans of Italian descent for military service in the Italian campaign. Many of these Americans returned to the United States in Fascist uniforms and have remained here since.

As might be expected, many of them today are actively preaching fascism and organizing Fascist branches in this country.

Among some of those who served fascism in this activity are the following: Angelo Gloria, Ganci, Pisani, Scancarella, Ricci, Ferdinando, Macaluso, Adjutant Algana, Lt. Giacomo Bonavita, Francconeri, Squad Chief Umberto Barbani Valeri, Mariconi, and Gentile.

These Italian Fascists are all members of the military formation known as the "Squadristi."

Here is a photostat copy of the New York Times showing Fascists leaving the United States to join Mussolini's army.

The CHAIRMAN. The description of this exhibit is as follows:

The New York Times of December 20, 1935, page 34, giving an account of the departure of a large group of Italians from the United States to join Mussolini's army fighting against Ethiopia. The Italians left on the steamship *Rca* from the port of New York on December 19, 1935. The exhibit also carries a photograph of the departing volunteers.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 19, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next, exhibit No. 19, is a photostat copy of *Progresso Italo-Americano* (a Fascist organ) of January 14, 1937. Page 2 carries a story relating to the return to the United States of Angelo Gloria, an artist, who left this country and enlisted in Mussolini's army in the Ethiopian adventure. The story is illustrated with the photograph of Angelo Gloria "Who returns here after having performed his duty."

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 19, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. The next is a photostat copy of *Progresso Italo-Americano* (a Fascist organ) of October 23, 1936, page 3, carrying the story of the return to the United States of a group of Italian Fascists who had left these shores and enlisted in Mussolini's army in Ethiopia.

The story is illustrated with a photograph of the returning Fascists in black shirts. It also contains the names of the "heroic" fighters. They are: Giacomo Bonavita, Ferdinando Macaluso. Aiutante di Battaglia Alagna, Capo Squadra Barbant, Cianci, Pisani, Scancarella, Ricci, Franconieri, Valeri, Moriconi, Gentile.

Please note that most of the above-named Fascist heroes are engaged in Fascist propaganda in the United States.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Valenti Exhibit No. 20, October 4, 1938.")

Mr. VALENTI. There are thousands upon thousands of pieces of Fascist propaganda shipped from Italy to the United States and then distributed throughout this country. Much of this Fascist propaganda is distributed through the consular offices and through the Circoli Italiani all 'Estero (Italian Circles in Foreign Lands).

Propaganda is also being carried on by the agents of the Italian Fascist Government through numerous publications, radio stations, schools, churches, as well as through the theater.

There are seven dailies published in the Italian language in the United States. All of these are Fascist publications and under direct guidance from Rome.

In the editorial department of each one of these seven newspapers there is an agent of the Fascist Government who supervises the editorial policy to make certain that these publications do not deviate from Fascist lines.

For instance, at the *Progresso Italiano Americano*, the largest daily newspaper published in the Italian language and owned by an American citizen, Generoso Pope, there is one Dr. Vincenzo Comiti. He is an agent of the Italian Fascist Government. It is his job to see that the daily newspaper renders 100 percent loyalty to the Italian Fascist Government.

By the way, this gentleman was preceded by a gentleman named Angelo Flavio Guidi, who is now in Rome. They seem to change them.

The *Progresso*, as well as the other six Fascist dailies, receive free wire service from Rome under the Fascist ministry of press and propaganda.

In addition to the *Progresso*, the publications are as follows: *Il Corriere d'America*, New York; *Il Popolo Italiano*, Philadelphia; *l'Italia*, Chicago; *l'Italia*, San Francisco; *La Notzia*, Boston; and *La Voce del Popolo*, San Francisco.

Then there are more than 100 periodicals, weekly newspapers, magazines, bulletins, and so on, all of which are openly pro-Fascist.

The radio stations which mostly identify themselves with the organizations which disseminate Fascist propaganda are WBNX, WBIL, WOV, WHOM, all operating in and in the vicinity of New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point, you have some phonograph records, with recordings of speeches that have been made over these radio stations.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; and I wish we had a phonograph here. They would give you a good time. I have taken these records while the Fascist propaganda was going on. They never play *The Star-Spangled Banner*, but they always play the Fascist hymn *Liorinezpa*. They praise the Fascist government and speak against and attack the Government we have here.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, there was received a letter from a lady in New York, whose name I am asked not to reveal. Do you know that lady [indicating]? It is not an Italian name.

Mr. VALENTI. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. In it she speaks of the same things you are referring to here. She has listened to the broadcasts. These are broadcasts of the Fascists—is that true?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The Fascist government in Italy is also shipping into the United States a steady stream of motion-picture films of a propaganda character. Most of these films are projected at the notoriously Fascist moving-picture house, the Cinema Roma, on Broadway in New York City.

A number of Fascist propaganda films are also shown in the meetings of Italian Fascist organizations and in Italian churches throughout the United States.

The Fascist government also sends to the United States Fascist speakers, frequently under the guise of commerce and education. Their real purposes, of course, being to spread foreign propaganda.

These speakers make appearances at American colleges, universities, and before American-Italian societies.

Their expenses are paid for by the Italian Government out of its fund for propaganda abroad.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. VALENTI. It is published in Italian papers themselves. It was increased in 1934.

The ends to which the Fascist movement in the United States will go to support the Italian Government is vividly portrayed in the fact that during the Fascist conquest of Ethiopia the American Fascist movement raised \$1,000,000 supposedly for the Italian Red Cross but actually for the military campaign of the aggressor.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that to be a fact?

Mr. VALENTI. They sent the money through the consuls.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know they raised a million dollars?

Mr. VALENTI. It was published in the Fascist papers.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that it was really for the military campaign?

Mr. VALENTI. They sent it through the consuls. They did not use it for the Red Cross; that I am sure.

From what I say next you will find out why I wrote that.

In addition, the American Fascists, with Italian consuls participating, collected thousands of dollars worth of articles containing gold and silver, such as earrings, matrimonial rings, watch chains, and gold fillings from their teeth. This precious metal was shipped to Rome.

You don't think they sent those to the Red Cross?

The CHAIRMAN. I recall a meeting that was held in Washington about that time, at which American-Italians were present, and in which the paper reported that various gifts and offerings were made in the form of jewelry and various articles, and shipped to Italy to aid in the conquest of Ethiopia.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you acquainted with that big mass meeting that they held in Washington?

Mr. VALENTI. I happened to be here that day, but I could not be present at the meeting, of course.

A branch of the American Fascist movement also resorted to the clever method of collecting copper plates for the Italian Government to help offset the sanctions imposed upon it by the League of Nations. These plates were printed and sold in the form of post cards. On these copper cards were inscribed:

Before the altar of the fatherland we place this offer and our devotion.

Other similar copper cards bore the following inscription:

This sheet of copper which we offer to the fatherland symbolizes the faith of the Italians in America.

After the sale of these copper cards in the United States they were mailed to Italy, and there they were melted for purposes of ammunition.

Whatever became of the money raised in the United States from the sale of the copper cards, American-Italians were never told.

Now, I can offer some evidence.

These [indicating] are the cards that were used in the Ethiopian War. They sold them to the Italians here at 15 or 25 cents apiece. We do not know what became of the money they exacted, but they told them they should mail them to Italy so that the Mussolini government could use them for melting into ammunition.

The CHAIRMAN. You say "they." Who are "they"?

Mr. VALENTI. The Mussolini government.

(The copper plates referred to were marked, respectively, "Valenti Exhibit No. 21" and "Valenti Exhibit No. 22.")

The CHAIRMAN. Will you translate this one?

Mr. VALENTI (reading):

This sheet of copper which we offer to the fatherland symbolizes the faith of the Italians in America.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you translate the next?

Mr. VALENTI (reading):

Before the altar of the fatherland we offer our devotion.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you translate the next one?

Mr. VALENTI. This [indicating] is the same as that [indicating].

The American clothing trade is a fertile field for Fascist agents to raise funds. In this trade field, both in the management and labor ends, are many American-Italians.

Periodically Fascist agents descend on these American citizens and milk them of funds for purposes of Fascist propaganda in the United States. These Fascist agents have succeeded here in raising thousands of dollars from both employers and workers in exchange for printed greetings and messages of devotion to Musolini.

Here is the evidence [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Just a second before you introduce that. What proof have you of Fascist activity in the labor unions of this country?

Mr. VALENTI. This is one.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. VALENTI. They raise their funds through the workers. They are allowed by the manufacturers to enter the shops and ask con-

tributions from the workers. Here is a book which they call, "A Vow of Fealty to Mussolini"—(thousands of pages, voluminous, heavy. It must have cost thousands of dollars, and it contains besides—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Wait a minute. It says what?

Mr. VALENTI. "A vow of fealty"—

The CHAIRMAN. To Italy?

Mr. VALENTI. To Mussolini; not to Italy. It says, "For Il Duce and Italy," and on the front page you will see, "A Vow of Fealty to Mussolini."

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Where is this book published?

Mr. VALENTI. In New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. It says, "New York, 1937, the Year 15 of the Fascist Era"?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; of the Fascist era.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the last word there?

Mr. VALENTI. "The Year of the Empire."

The CHAIRMAN. Who publishes this book?

Mr. VALENTI. That [indicating] is the name of the company.

The CHAIRMAN. Right here [indicating]?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes. It says:

Copyright reserved. Illustrations executed by Lydia Seccia. Printed by the Economic Printing Service of New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the name of the publisher of this book—the Economic Printing Service?

Mr. VALENTI. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on the third page is a portrait of Mussolini, is it not?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it say over here [indicating]?

Mr. VALENTI. It is his own autograph: "Mussolini, Rome, the 9th of May, the 14th Year."

The CHAIRMAN. What does it say at the bottom?

Mr. VALENTI. The Founder of the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN. And this book contains what?

Mr. VALENTI. Names of manufacturers in the clothing industry, contractors, designers, foremen, also workers. There are thousands of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a second. Let me get this straight. I notice that it purports to contain letters from certain Italian-Americans.

Mr. VALENTI. Of devotion to Mussolini; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you could read a few of these letters from American-Italians. Pick them out and read a few of them, so that the record can show them. Pick them out at random.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir [reading]:

As each immigrant—

The CHAIRMAN. What page is that on?

Mr. VALENTI. Page 138.

As each immigrant feels in his heart the sentiment of the continuous progress of the empire, which is destined to become powerful, I give my salute and my devotion to you, Duce of Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. Read a few more so that we can get the general tenor of them.

Mr. VALENTI. Here is another one:

We love our fatherland.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. That other letter; by whom is it signed?

Mr. VALENTI. It is signed by Angelino di Costanzo.

The CHAIRMAN. Read another, giving the page and name.

Mr. VALENTI (reading):

In the disorder in which Italy found itself when it was governed by unstable government, Italy has found now the power to redeem itself and become one of the first nations of the world, thanks to Mussolini.

This is signed, "Nicholas Santoriello."

The CHAIRMAN. There appear to be hundreds of letters.

Mr. VALENTI. Thousands, we will say.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; say a thousand.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of letters in this book?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Written by Italian-Americans?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the general tenor of the letters is a tribute to Mussolini?

Mr. VALENTI. To Mussolini; expressions of devotion to Mussolini, yes; also—

The CHAIRMAN. What else?

Mr. VALENTI. Manufacturers of clothing, of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, who signed this same message of devotion to Mussolini. Their names are there.

The CHAIRMAN. And these manufacturers of clothing are American citizens?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have testimonials of regard and devotion to Mussolini?

Mr. VALENTI. Not only that, but they gave money to it.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that they contributed?

Mr. VALENTI. Two of them came to me and avowed it, and said they were sorry to have done it. If you will allow me, I will send the names from my office tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. What else does this book contain besides the letters of testimonial to Mussolini?

Mr. VALENTI. It is all propaganda glorifying Mussolini in Italy and Ethiopia and foreseeing that Italy will become the leading nation in the world under Mussolini's guidance.

The CHAIRMAN. We offer this as an exhibit. The committee will have to keep this.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes; I will give it to you.

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

Mr. VALENTI. It should be pointed out that some of our domestic professional money raisers in this country are pikers compared to this foreign type of extortion.

One of the said notes in all this Fascist activity in the United States is the fact that many of the Italian-Americans who are engaging in subversive activities are actually on relief rolls or employed by W. P. A. and other Government agencies.

Here we have the spectacle of men and women who are American citizens or aliens and earning their bread from the hands of the Federal Government, while at the same time working quietly to undermine and destroy the very democracy that is feeding, sheltering, and clothing them.

Many signs point to the fact that the American Fascist movement is marching side by side with the American Nazi movement and the ranks of hundreds of other minor un-American organizations toward the common goal of a united front for a desired upheaval and destruction of our American form of democratic government.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you a few questions.

How long have you been engaged in conducting an investigation of fascistic activities in the United States?

Mr. VALENTI. For more than 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you collaborated with other Italian-Americans in this work?

Mr. VALENTI. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the testimony you have given the fruit of a common effort on the part of a number of members who have been working with you?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; from Detroit, for instance, I have affidavits by Catholic priests and Protestant ministers professing being defeated in their activities because they do not subscribe to these Mussolini activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in order to discredit your testimony and make light of it, they undertake to accuse you of Communist beliefs?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have made perfectly clear to this committee that that is perfectly unfounded; that you are not and never were a Communist?

Mr. VALENTI. I never was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. And do not believe in communism?

Mr. VALENTI. As I told you in the beginning, I believe thoroughly in upholding the principles upon which this great republic of ours is founded; that is, democracy and liberty.

The CHAIRMAN. And you realize that fascism is diametrically opposed to American representative democracy?

Mr. VALENTI. The American form of government, yes. And I have been fighting it for 13 years. That is why they call me anarchist and Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in addition to this evidence that you have, you and those who have worked with you have collected other evidence, have you not?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have mentioned the names of a number of American-Italians here, and you have brought some grave charges with respect to consular activities. It is therefore only fair that the chairman make the statement that any of those whose names have

been mentioned by you will be accorded a full opportunity to appear before this committee and disprove what you say.

Mr. VALENTI. I wish they would do that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the proper way of disproving this testimony—to appear before this committee; and that applies to all others, organizations and individuals—if what you say is not true.

Mr. VALENTI. That is what we call fair play in America. In Italy it would not be possible, but in America it should be possible.

The CHAIRMAN. If what you have said is not true, then the proper way for such organizations and individuals to begin their barrage for the purpose of discrediting your testimony is to appear before this committee under oath and show it is not true; and if they do that, their testimony will be received in the proper spirit. What this committee wants from any and every one is the facts, whatever those facts may be, and whoever those facts may affect.

Now, these photographs: You have not completed the introduction of all these, have you?

Mr. VALENTI. Unless you want this, too [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. What is this?

Mr. VALENTI. This shows Prof. Mario Gianni, of Brooklyn.

The CHAIRMAN. It says, "On the occasion of the blessing of the banner of something."

Mr. VALENTI. Yes; the blessing of the banner of "Circolo Culturale Italiano Patria."

This [indicating] is Prof. Mario Gianni, and some of them are in Fascist uniform.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other photographs here that you want to offer in substantiation of your testimony?

Mr. VALENTI. Not that I know of, so far.

The CHAIRMAN. You will leave that phonographic record for the committee?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir; I will make that a present to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it say on the outside?

Mr. VALENTI. It was taken October 23, 1936, by W. H. O. N., "The Italian Program." It contains Fascist propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you said here that the American clothing trade is a fertile field for Fascist agents to raise funds.

Mr. VALENTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. "In this trade field, both in the management and labor ends, are many American-Italians."

What is their objective for working in the trade field among the labor unions?

Mr. VALENTI. In the first place, they have the message to give to the people employed there. You must realize that there are a great number of American-Italians employed in the clothing industry. In the second place, they have the financial means to collect. As you see from the book, they exacted money not only from the manufacturers, contractors, and foremen, but also from the workers.

The CHAIRMAN. One of their excuses for organizing fascist activities and movements in the United States is to combat communism, is it not?

Mr. VALENTI. That is what they say; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, those who are opposed to communism should resort to Americanism and the principles of Americanism to combat it and not resort to some other alien philosophy, which is just as bad; is not that a fact?

Mr. VALENTI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the very fact that they resort to another alien philosophy to combat communism is an indication that they are more interested in the success of the fascistic program than they are in the success of the American program.

Mr. VALENTI. That is true. We should employ our own methods in America.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

The committee will adjourn until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, October 5, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

We have some more witnesses who will be here today, but we will be unable to hear them this morning. We will hear them tomorrow.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN C. METCALFE, SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR FOR THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN AC- TIVITIES

The CHAIRMAN. Before you begin your statement, Mr. Metcalfe, I will ask you if you heard the testimony here yesterday?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to investigate whether or not the charges that were made yesterday are something new?

Mr. METCALFE. Broadly, I would say no. They were not new in this respect, that such things happened before to our knowledge. There have been complaints of that, particularly with reference to interference by Italian consular officials with reference to American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to examine the report of the last committee, or the McCormack committee that investigated un-American activities?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there submitted to that committee similar charges or statements?

Mr. METCALFE. Very similar charges were made before the McCormack committee which investigated un-American activities, I believe, in 1934. In the report of that committee there are cited charges very similar to those that were made yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. What did that committee do with those charges?

Mr. METCALFE. It took the documentary evidence, particularly the affidavits, and so forth, with the testimony of the witnesses that was taken at the time, and all of that material was submitted to the State Department for a complete investigation by the State Department of those charges.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the McCormack committee recommended that the State Department investigate those charges.

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not found anything that indicates that the State Department did investigate the charges, or did anything about them?

Mr. METCALFE. I have had no occasion to investigate that end of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will follow that up and see just what was done by the State Department with reference to those charges.

You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. METCALFE. When this committee held its hearing on August 12 we presented evidence to show the connection between the German-American Bund in this country and the Auslandsdeutschen Institute at Stuttgart, Germany.

On September 29 this investigator stated that 50 Americans had taken part in the annual meeting of this organization of Germans living abroad held at Stuttgart on August 27 of this year.

We now place in evidence the first page of a newspaper, *Der Montag*, published in Berlin, Germany, dated August 29, 1938.

Printing a dispatch from Stuttgart, this newspaper states:

Der Treueschwurder vielen tausende Auslandsdeutschen auf den Fuehrer and die nationalen Lieder beschlossen die eindrucksvolle Feierstunde.

The English translation is:

The oath to the Fuehrer of the many thousands of Germans living abroad and national songs closed the impressive festivities.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 1, October 5, 1938.")

Mr. METCALFE. I also offer in evidence a photograph of the same Auslandsdeutschen Institute, held at Stuttgart, and in this picture Rudolph Hess, who is, of course, one of the Fuehrer's right-hand men, is present in the gathering. You will note the very militaristic character of the celebration.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 2, October 5, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Rudolph Hess?

Mr. METCALFE. He is an administrator of the Third Reich, under Hitler. He is follower No. 2, and is one of the men they hope will succeed Hitler.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the term "O. D. men"?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; it means "order of service." It is commonly known as the storm troops in this country. We have had a great deal of evidence to show just exactly what these storm troops are, how they function, and what their activities are. We have had that in previous testimony. We showed that the German-American Bund contended that they were merely ushers at gatherings, but, actually, of course, they were something entirely different. We do have evidence of a great many of the activities of this strong-arm detachment of the German-American Bund, which, as pointed out yesterday, is very similar to the Black Shirt divisions of the Fascist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

MR. METCALFE. Repeatedly we have been told that there is no connection between the German-American Bund and the Nazi government or its political subdivisions—repeatedly we have been told that no allegiance to Adolf Hitler is required, and yet here we have an officially inspired newspaper published in Germany telling us that an oath of fealty was taken.

The newspaper refers to this year's meeting as the VI Reich Congress of the Germans in Foreign Countries, with delegates attending from many countries throughout the world.

Plans were formulated secretly at the national convention of the bund in New York in July 1937 to set up pistol and rifle ranges for all storm troops of the German-American Bund.

National Fuehrer Fritz Kuhn and other leaders publicly have ridiculed suggestions "there are machine guns behind every tree at our camps." But behind the scenes plans are being pushed to include shooting practice in the military training of the silver-shirted storm troops.

Local units in Philadelphia, Buffalo, Reading, Pa., and Detroit now have target ranges. The Deutschhorst camp of the Philadelphia post uses heavy .22-caliber rifles which are cocked like regulation army guns.

Troops come out to the camp to drill and shoot at night during the summer. They use the official 50-yard, small bore, rifle target of the National Rifle Association.

Reading, Pa., troops have a range on the Schneider farm. Prizes are awarded to the best marksman.

The Detroit range is a small affair at Camp Efdende, 9 miles north of Pontiac, Mich.

A shooting range at the East Aurora youth camp of the Buffalo, N. Y., unit is a favorite "recreation" spot for members of the Deutscher Legion, German war veterans' organization, which includes many bund members.

Henry Lage, fuehrer of the San Francisco post, revealed to this investigator, who became a storm trooper, that—

A number of west coast bund posts have "prize shooting" contests to help train our men in the use of guns.

A carnival that moved into Camp Siegfried, Yaphank, Long Island, for the bund's German day celebration, August 29, included a target range that was extremely popular with O. D. men.

I have here a photograph taken at that time which shows storm troopers in this target practice which I reinforce as other testimony that has been offered.

The **CHAIRMAN.** You may have that marked as an exhibit for the record.

(The photograph was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 3, October 5, 1938.")

MR. METCALFE. The announcement that storm troopers would be trained to shoot and would soon have special identification passes was made dramatically by Fuehrer H. Schwarzmann, of the Astoria, Long Island, orstgruppe (post) the night of July 12.

I want to announce to you—

he said in German—

that it was decided in secret session of bund officials at the national convention that arrangements are being made to set up pistol and rifle ranges for all O. D. men.

You will be trained how to shoot and to take care of guns.

In conjunction with this order, it has been decided to issue passes to all O. D. men. These passes will be like regular international passports. They will contain a passport picture of the trooper. Each man also will be fingerprinted. A copy of his fingerprints will be a part of his passport. All this will be done as quickly as possible.

This investigator was a member of the Astoria post and a storm trooper.

I want to make it perfectly clear, because sometimes there is a misunderstanding, that when I was in the German-American Bund I was there as a newspaper reporter investigating the activities of the bund, and not because I wanted to be a member of the bund.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a card of membership?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; and it was introduced in evidence?

The CHAIRMAN. Of these various conferences you made daily reports. You reduced everything immediately to writing?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir; sometimes more than once a day.

Fuehrer Schwarzmann had assigned Fred Moore, a fellow trooper, to interpret anything this investigator did not understand, and after the session Moore said:

We must have the passports so that when we are moved about the country or happen to be anywhere outside our own post, we shall have no difficulty in identifying ourselves. No one, of course, shall be permitted to shoot at any time unless he has his pass with him. We shall be trained by some of our experienced O. D. men.

It may be recalled that it was shown here that storm troops, or many of them, are expert rifle shots, gunsmiths, machine gunners, and so forth. Many of them served in the German Army during the World War, and have since come to the United States.

Moore further said:

The bund is going to try to make arrangements to use the police pistol ranges at first. We don't know yet if we are going to be able to get permission to do so. Later, we'll have our own ranges.

A week later Schwarzmann, in a personal conversation with this investigator, explained further about target practice and passports.

It has all been quietly arranged already—

he said—

to have the O. D. men use the National Guard armories for shooting practice. We don't have to bother with them. We have a right as a national organization to shooting practice.

Of course, you understand we are not going to carry guns around with us. All we want to do is to train the O. D. so that they know everything about all the kinds of guns and know how to shoot well. Don't worry about it. It will be taken care of all right.

Training of storm troops in both drilling and shooting is relatively easy, since there are many German war veterans active in the bund.

The "Deutsche Frontkaempferschaft" (front-line fighters) is an allied organization. The O. D. ranks include gunsmiths, machine gunners, and expert rifle shots. They will be drafted to train the younger men.

Mrs. Ted Schubert, wife of a Manhattan post storm trooper and admitted alien, stated to this investigator on July 18 at Camp Nordland that New York and New Jersey authorities probably would not permit bund storm troopers to have or shoot guns at rifle ranges.

She stated further as follows:

But that won't make any difference. Ted and many of the other boys get all they want anyhow. Many of the storm troops have joined different companies of the National Guard. Nobody there knows about it. So they get all the training with guns that they want. We should worry whether or not they will let us use any shooting places.

In other words, they have joined under assumed names, and so on.

Later that same day an Astoria post storm trooper told this investigator the following:

The police will never give us permission to use ranges. Don't let that worry you. The bund will find a place for us all right. But certainly you won't use the camps for that. Everybody would expect us to do just that.

We'll have some places right in New York City. And the police and others will never find us. You know I like to shoot. In fact, I'm buying an automatic pistol for my own use just for this purpose.

I would like to introduce in evidence some of the targets that I obtained at the bund camps or at the rifle ranges. Here [indicating] is one from Pennsylvania, and here is another one.

The CHAIRMAN. This one is manufactured exclusively by the National Target & Supply Co., 1255 Twenty-fifth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

(The target was received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 4, October 5, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. The other one is made by Von Lengerke & Antoine, 33 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

(The target referred to was received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 5, October 5, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Another target you have submitted has printed on its, "National Rifle Association."

(The target referred to was received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 6, October 5, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. METCALFE. In Cleveland, Ohio, there is a German rifle club. This rifle club participated in the German day celebration of the German Central Organization, which is made up of various, but not all, German-American societies in the Cleveland area and is reputedly controlled by the German-American Bund.

The German central organization, known as the Deutsche Zentrale, has an annual membership fee of \$1.10 and a life membership fee of \$10. The organization holds its affairs at a place known as German Farm, on York Road, Palma, near Cleveland.

In conjunction with the shooting tournament held under the auspices of the bund-controlled Zentrale, a program was published. This program is, herewith, presented as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. This program has printed on it:

German Rifle Club, third annual small-bore rifle tournament, May 23, 1937, at the German Farm, York Road, Palma, Cleveland, Ohio.

(The program was received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 7, October 5, 1938.")

Mr. METCALFE. Among the various events, the shooting tournament featured a special international postal match with a picked team of shooters, of Berlin, Germany, and those of the German Rifle Club of Cleveland. Targets in this match were exchanged for comparative scoring.

Officers of the German Rifle Club are: E. B. Nenhoff, president; G. Claus, vice president; J. H. Kasper, secretary; P. Nebel, treasurer; and L. A. Herrington, executive officer.

The tournament, held on the sports field of the Zentrale, was staged under the rules of the National Rifle Association.

On the back page of this pamphlet announcing the rifle club tournament is an advertisement for guns and ammunition sales, by the Hart Arms Co., of 2185 East Second Street, Cleveland.

It is significant that no other groups of a social character, supposedly, engage in this kind of activity.

It might also be pointed out here that Roy Zachary, field marshal of the Silver Shirts, which are headed by William Dudley Pelley, with national headquarters at Asheville, N. C., has been going around the United States instructing members of the Silver Legion to arm themselves.

At the opening day of testimony before this committee it was pointed out that Zachary had made a speech of this character in Chicago a few days before the opening of hearings by this committee. Since then Zachary has made other speeches before Silver Shirt organizations in which he has again urged them to arm for an impending revolution. In these speeches he has told them to go out and get guns, plenty of ammunition, store this material in their homes. He has urged each individual to get from two to five thousand rounds of ammunition.

In connection with these facts, it should be pointed out that the Silver Shirts are close allies of the German-American Bund, and that frequently the membership of these two organizations overlaps: at least to some extent. Again, these organizations have met jointly on various occasions—in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other large metropolitan cities of the United States.

It should also be set forth here that police departments in these cities, particularly in Pittsburgh, in Cleveland, and Chicago, have been very cooperative in the current investigation being conducted by this committee. Police chiefs, their assistants, in these cities are virtually unanimous in the opinion that while the subversive forces are a definite menace to their respective communities, they are in a position to do little about it unless legislation is forthcoming through Congress that would definitely curb un-American activities.

These police officials point out that a large number of subversive leaders around the United States are known to them and that most of these leaders could be picked up on short notice. They point out, however, that whenever they pick up the troublemakers, there is little that law-enforcing agencies can do to punish them under existing conditions which lack laws with teeth in them.

The Amerikadeutscher Volksbund, United States voice of nazi-ism, has been seeking to consolidate all Fascist elements in America, with their vari-colored shirts, into one great movement which the Hitler-inspired bund is to lead.

The bund marches with the Italian Black Shirts and Ukrainian Brown Shirts. Leaders of these groups have revealed plans to enlist the support of other Fascist-inclined groups.

At the same time Newton Jenkins, perennially hopeful political candidate of Chicago, attempted to unite "nationalist" groups in a third party while the bund was looking for a leader of its third-party movement.

Jenkins has addressed many bund meetings and has been referred to as a "great American" and "Der Fuehrer der Dritten Partei" (leader of the third party).

"America needs men and women like Hitler to stir her from her lethargy," says an article in a paper called American Nationalism published by Jenkins.

"The American-German Bund is a fine, patriotic American organization," another article says. It adds that Fritz Kuhn, national leader of the bund, "is a real American."

I would like to introduce in evidence at this point copies of the Jenkins publication.

The CHAIRMAN. You might put all of them together in one group, or as one exhibit.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 8, October 5, 1938.")

Mr. METCALFE. Jenkins was a speaker at the 1937 national convention of the bund in New York over the July 4th week end.

"You are doing the right thing at the right time," he declared.

"I am thoroughly familiar with your high ideals. We must win the hearts of all American-Germans in order to develop a great free nation."

From the speaker's stand, set like a pulpit high above a platform facing the broad expanse of drill field at Camp Siegfried, near Yaphank, L. I., Jenkins looked down on rows of American Nazi storm troops and black-shirted Italian-American Fascists. This investigator was disguised as one of the storm troops.

"I am not of German stock and don't speak German, but I believe your organization is working for a better America and I am for you," the Chicago lawyer-politician declared. "There are such things in the United States as the C. I. O. which are working against true Americans. We should all work together to stamp out these evils."

The bund program of affiliation with other so-called "patriotic American" groups was discussed at secret convention sessions which preceded the July 4th celebration at Camp Siegfried, at which Jenkins spoke. Jenkins delivered his "message" after troops paraded across the drill field while the crowd of 5,000 "American-Germans" stretched their arms in a Hitler salute to the Nazi swastika and the American flag.

Later, Fuehrer Herman Schwarzmann, of the Astoria, N. Y., post, told this investigator that Jenkins planned to unite "125 national organizations" under his third-party banner.

"American-Germans will be at the top of this merger," Schwarzmann declared. "Bundesfuehrer Kuhn will be one of the chief leaders of the organization. Jenkins is the organizer of the movement."

Ukrainians in greenish-brown shirts marched with white- and silver-shirted American Nazis at the bund's German Day celebration in Harms Park, Chicago, September 5.

The July 4, 1937, celebration at Camp Siegfried marked the first appearance of Italian Black Shirts at a bund festival in the east. They were led by Josef Santi, New York commander of the Liktor Assozion, and their salutes to Mussolini and Hitler drew loud heils from the crowd.

Black Shirts and a group of Italian World War veterans displayed their new-found unity with the bund at Camp Nordland, near Andover, N. J., July 18. Their leader, Commander Salvatore Caridi, Union City, N. J., received a great cheer when he advocated a "punch in the nose" for those Americans who disagree with Mussolini or Hitler.

John Finzio, New York, led the Circolo Mario Morgantini, another Black Shirt group, at the Long Island German Day celebration at Camp Siegfried, August 29.

N. A. Melnikoff, president of the Russian National League of America, was a speaker and said his organization would work with the bund.

Jenkins' plans did not place the bund at the top of the merger, he told this investigator, although he did have words of praise for Fritz Gissibl, founder of the Friends of New Germany, which became the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund in 1936, and who is now a Nazi official in Germany.

At one time the bund did have a great leader,

Jenkins said.

He was Fritz Gissibl, brother of Peter and a dynamic personality. He knew how to organize. But the Government got after him after several years. And when he could not get citizenship papers, he went back to Germany.

I might at this point introduce two photographs, one of the office of Jenkins, where he is interviewed, and another picture of Jenkins attending a German-American Bund meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get those photographs?

Mr. METCALFE. They were obtained by a newspaper photographer at my instruction.

The CHAIRMAN. Both photographs?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir. You will notice the storm troops in this picture.

(The photographs referred to were received in evidence and marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 9, October 5, 1938.")

Mr. METCALFE. Jenkins told of the publication of his newspaper, American Nationalism, first issue of which appeared dated in July 1937.

"I published this paper in the hope of stirring up thought along the lines of a real, militant nationalist movement in the United States," he said. "I put \$600 into the first issue. Of course, that's not much money."

The banner article in Jenkins' paper announced formation of the American National Political Action Clubs, "called Anpac for short."

In accepting the direction of the Anpac—

the article said—

Mr. Jenkins made the following statement:

"It is high time for the American people to call a halt on the planned confusion into which the Nation has been plunged. Our churches have been

permeated with strange doctrine. Our colleges have been invaded by irresponsible individuals who practice their twisted, screwy ideas upon our children. Many of our newspapers and magazines have gravitated into improper hands.

"I accept the leadership of this movement which is devoted to the cause of our country. I do it, recognizing that the odds are strong against us at the outset. Someone must undertake it, however, and have faith to believe the debasing influences all around us cannot possibly reflect the true sentiment of our great country.

"The opposition is now overwhelming, but in time reason may again be enthroned and we will wonder why we were silent so long * * *."

Adolph Hitler a great statesman * * * The world is indebted to Mussolini.

Thus, American Nationalism made its bid for the support of Fascist sympathizers.

America needs men and women like Hitler to stir her from her lethargy—the Hitler article said:

She needs them to restore again in the minds of all the glory of our Republic. Grave issues must be met. Constructive programs must be galvanized into reality.

Jenkins was one of the speakers at the German Day celebration in Kenosha, Wis., August 8, for which the city council refused the use of Washington Park.

The celebration was held at bund headquarters and Jenkins repeated his praise of the organization and of Fuehrer Kuhn.

That photograph which was introduced in evidence a moment ago was taken at that particular time.

He criticized newspaper accounts of German-American activity, declaring they did not present the true story and shouted to reporters and photographers, "You can put that in your newspaper, Mr. Reporter."

Chicago bund members, including their then leader, Peter Gissibl, spoke highly of Jenkins and praised the speech when they returned home that night.

Later, in a private conversation, Fritz Heberling, leader of the Chicago Deutscher Volksbund—for German citizens only—expressed opposition to Jenkins because—

He makes compliments to everybody and he will not say definitely who he is for.

Rudolph Heupel, one of the most active Detroit bund members and an intelligent conversationalist, was even more critical of Jenkins. Heupel invited this investigator, whom he knew as a bund storm trooper, to his home at 1926 Pasadena Avenue, and talked frankly of bund affairs.

Jenkins has been here several times to talk to us—

Heupel said—

but I don't think so much of him or his ideas. His plan to merge all the different Fascist organizations along with his third party is not brilliant. I don't think it can be done at this time. These groups are still too young. They are not large enough. Why, if we united in a fight right now we would be wiped out.

California bund members believed the alinement with Jenkins will do much to aid their cause politically in this country.

What we need to do is to get all the groups behind this Mr. Jenkins from Chicago—

Herr Vogt, a Los Angeles bund member, told this investigator.

He's got the right idea. The Italian Black Shirts would join with us, too. We've got to get a big political party started. And the Silver Shirts are with us. They even had one of their speakers here at bund headquarters once. That's the way to do it.

Sure—

said Willie Kendzia, secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles bund—then there wouldn't be that King Kong in New York—LaGuardia.

That's the trouble—

put in Dr. Buschardi, introduced as the bund's official doctor.

No matter who you would be for, he's against you. The New York elections are a perfect example. It's the same way here. I don't know much about Jenkins, he's never come out here to talk to us. But he certainly has the right idea. The bund must back him in this movement.

There are many other organizations around the country with which we can find a common ground. It is on this common ground that they must be brought together to form a powerful third party. It's the only way to fight our enemies.

Yes—

agreed Herr Klempel, another bund member.

and it must be an American organization, not a German one like the bund. With Mr. Jenkins at the head, it will look American. Then we should have a paper like Mr. Jenkins puts out, and very diplomatically, little by little, work our propaganda into it.

California bund leaders also told this investigator that they were "in close touch" with the Gold Shirts of Mexico, who reportedly were planning a Fascist revolution.

Hans Diebel, Los Angeles bund member, declared two Mexican Army officers, one a general, visited bund headquarters in Los Angeles late in July.

Arno Risse, who speaks Spanish as well as German and English, was in charge of California bund headquarters in the Deutsches Haus, 634 West Fifteenth Street, Los Angeles, while Herman Schwinn, western fuehrer, was in Germany conferring with Nazi officials.

Risse, leader of the San Gabriel post, told this investigator:

The Klan, Silver Shirts, and Gold Shirts are working with us out here. The Gold Shirts of Mexico have something like 100,000 members and are getting set for a revolution. It won't be long before the trouble starts. After that will come trouble in the United States.

Jenkins made his first speech before German-Americans at a Milwaukee meeting of the Friends of New Germany, predecessor of the bund. He was introduced as a great American and received a tremendous ovation. When the Friends of New Germany participated in a huge celebration at the Chicago stadium in 1934 the 30,000 in attendance were handed bund literature commending Jenkins for his stand against their enemies.

After the meeting Jenkins started appearing at bund meetings throughout the country, culminating in his appearance at the organization's national convention and the private announcement of the Fascist merger.

Jenkins maintains a law office at 39 South LaSalle Street, Chicago.

Jenkins' paper also carries an article defending Hitler against attacks by clergymen. It says:

Adolf Hitler is probably doing more to keep Christianity going than are many of the preachers and priests who assail him. Were it not for Hitler

and the powerful rank and file political organization which governs Germany the church probably would not be doing business in Germany today.

If the reds had beaten Hitler out, the churches, Protestant and Catholic, in red Germany, would be like the churches in red Spain.

The world-wide racial propaganda against Hitler, accompanied by a little sugar here and there to help the church deficit, is making a spectacle of churches and church leaders. The public should know who is behind the statements issued by clergymen denouncing Hitler.

Newton Jenkins, on last July 9, denied to this investigator that he had any connections with the German-American Bund.

That is despite all the evidence that was shown him—photographs and so on. He admitted, however, that on a number of occasions he had talked before the organization, declaring he could see nothing wrong in that. He said that furthermore, he saw nothing wrong in the bund or its leaders or members.

He said that the stories which newspapers had printed about him were nothing but a pack of lies.

On another occasion, however, to be exact, September 8, 1937, Jenkins stated to this investigator, as follows:

I am in favor of a dictatorship for the United States. I think that Hitler and Mussolini have the right idea. We need that sort of nationalistic government over here.

But let me make clear that I think the word "dictatorship" is greatly misused. In Germany and Italy there is not just one man running things, as the papers would have you believe. Hitler and Mussolini are merely symbols of their respective great nations.

Despite the denials by Newton Jenkins that there is any connection between his office and the German-American Bund, it is interesting to note that he employs in his own office a young Fascist spy who has attempted to trace the movements of this investigator.

This young man's name is Frank Cudello.

On an outside tip this investigator obtained information that the German-American Bund knew he had joined this committee as an investigator and had left Chicago for Washington. A trail of investigation led directly to the office of Newton Jenkins and there to Cudello.

On questioning Cudello he at first denied attempting to trace this investigator's moves, but finally admitted that this charge was true.

Cudello claims to have been born in this country and that he is an American citizen, but that he has been in Europe for some years. He said he returned from Italy about 2 years ago.

He admitted having phoned the leader of the German-American Bund about this investigator's movements and that in the past he had visited the bund headquarters.

Cudello denied that he was a Black Shirt member or a member of the Italian Fascisti Party.

The bund believes Klansmen will be among the host of "Kameraden" who will join it in a battle to the death against its enemies when their "Tag" arrives. Herman Schwartzmann, leader of the Astoria, N. Y., post of the bund, told his storm troopers after drill night of July 10 as follows:

We have plenty of help from other sources. When the time for action comes our ranks will swell overnight. There are many "Kameraden" waiting to join us at that moment. As soon as the trouble comes they will leap into our ranks to help fight our enemies.

Later that some night Schwartzmann told this investigator as follows:

The bund is growing very fast. We have more than doubled our membership in the past year. But we have many thousands of others who are with us, even though they are not members for one reason or another. But they'll join us when the time comes that we need them.

The Ku Klux Klan, although not so strong just now, is getting bigger again. The only trouble with them is that they are against almost everything. But they have some good ideas and might become very helpful. Once we are united we should come out in the open and fight against our enemies. That's the way Hitler did. The only way we'll ever get the public worked up is not to have secret meetings, but to come out in the open and denounce the menace. The majority of Americans will be with us and will join our movements to wipe out the enemy. The reason the Klan failed was because everything was in secret. We must not make that mistake, and we won't.

In this connection it may be noted that James Hicks, of Chicago, one of the chief officials in organizing the Klan some 10 years ago or more, told this investigator that the Klan today has risen again to a membership of 500,000.

He stated that this Klan membership figure is within 10,000 of being absolutely correct. He stated further that of the 500,000 Klansmen in America today more than 300,000 are in the South.

Josef Santi, leader of the Italian Black Shirts in the United States, stated to this investigator July 4 at Camp Siegfried as follows:

The Black Shirts organized back in 1922 and some of our first members are still with us. But at the very outset we encountered some serious obstacles, particularly hand-to-hand fights with our foes, in New York City.

The most serious outbreak at that time was the assassination of several of our members. They were stabbed in the back while appearing on the street in uniform. They never had a chance. They were standing alone and talking. The rest of us were not with them at the moment. They were waiting for us. We had gone somewhere for newspapers. Suddenly these enemies leaped up behind them and dug knives into their backs.

OUR BLACK SHIRTS DIE

This created quite a reaction at the time. Our members did not appear much in public with their uniforms after that. We remained out of sight, meeting quietly in each other's homes. But our movement kept growing. Finally, in 1929, we chartered our organization as the Lictor Society, Inc., for every State of the Union. We decided at that time something had to be done to wipe out our enemies in this country. They were getting too strong and a menace to the public with their revolutionary ideals. We felt that we should be more like Mussolini, come right out in the open and fight for our ideals.

Since then we have organized 35 chapters in the United States and we are growing very fast.

It is important that we join with the bund against our common enemy. We are fighting along the same line in the United States as Hitler and Mussolini have joined hands in Europe.

I'm glad that we have come to the conclusion that we are now strong enough to really come out in the open.

Likewise, at the Los Angeles headquarters of the bund, this investigator was informed that Italian Black Shirts, Silver Shirts, and Klansmen were aiding the German-American Bund movement on the coast. Leaders also professed an alliance with the Mexican Gold Shirts.

Arno Risse, acting as head of the Los Angeles Post of the bund in the absence of Herman Schwinn, west coast leader, stated to this investigator on August 1 as follows:

We are in constant touch with the Klan, Silver Shirts, and Gold Shirts out here.

Some of our members are also Klansmen and some also belong to the Silver Shirts. These organizations are not so strong any more, but they are quite active along the Pacific coast. We work together because our aims are very similar in many ways.

There are also Russian Nazis here. They have units all over the country, just like the Italian Black Shirts. We are also tied in with them. Trotsky's coming to Mexico had a hidden motive. He came there for a purpose. Trotsky is behind the Gold Shirt movement in Mexico. The Russian Nazis are with them.

Hans Diebel, another official of the Los Angeles post, made similar statements to this investigator that same evening.

Diebel stated to this investigator as follows:

The Silver Shirt leaders drop in here every once in a while. No one except three or four of us know who they are. When they come here we have a few casual drinks with them and then quietly retire to our office for conference. We are constantly in touch with them and work closely together.

We are also acquainted with the commander of the Gold Shirts in Mexico and help them in their plans. No one knows this. They are very powerful in Mexico and are preparing to do a thorough job.

Henry Lage, as leader of the San Francisco bund post, on the night of August 5 attended a meeting of the Oakland, Calif., post and stated to this investigator as follows:

We get some support from the Silver Shirts and the Klansmen. But they are not as strong as they used to be. So their help doesn't amount to much any more. I know this to be a fact, because I have attended a number of their meetings out here.

Fritz Kuhn, national leader of the bund, stated to this investigator on the evening of August 17, while in the private office of his headquarters in New York City, as follows:

I am convinced that feeling against our enemies is rising everywhere in the United States. One reason why I know that this feeling is growing is because besides my many bund contacts I have some very important contacts with organizations in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Asheville, N. C.

It should be noted here that the Klan is reported to be very active in Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, and that Asheville, N. C., is the national headquarters of the Silver Shirts.

Henry Ringler, an official of the Pittsburgh storm troops, stated on August 26 to this investigator that the Italian Black Shirts of Pittsburgh are extremely cordial to the bund; and that while they have not yet marched openly with them, they were expected to do so in the future.

Ringler also stated that the Silver Shirts in Pittsburgh are cooperating with the bund in that area.

Anton Kessler, leader of the St. Louis post, stated to this investigator that the Silver Shirts, Klan, and Italian Black Shirts organizations are doing their part to help the St. Louis post of the bund.

Kessler stated further as follows:

In fact, one of my former storm troopers is now the organizer for the Silver Shirts in this area.

Hans Neubeck, leader of the Buffalo bund post, stated to this investigator on August 20 that his organization had been informed of the Gold Shirts of Mexico and that he understood that trouble was brewing in Mexico in the form of a slowly forming new revolution in that country.

He stated further that the only groups cooperating directly with the Buffalo post of the German-American Bund were the Silver

Shirts, Italian Black Shirts, and the German Legion, a war veteran's organization, some members of which are also bund members.

It should be noted here that William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts, stated in his own magazine called "Liberation" under date of July 28, 1938, in part, as follows:

It is a fact which posterity will attest, that Chief Pelley of the Silver Shirts was the first man in the United States to step out openly in support of Adolf Hitler and his German Nazi program. Hitler became German Chancellor on the 31st of January 1933. This publication appeared on the 18th of the ensuing February, openly and unashamedly endorsing the Fuehrer and his program * * *.

And I have here a copy of the magazine, which I will introduce in evidence. You will notice the swastika emblem.

The CHAIRMAN. I want that to go into the record in its entirety.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

(The paper referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 10, October 5, 1938.")

Mr. METCALFE. Pelley goes on to state that, however, he has never received any German money for his activities, that his position is taken as a matter of principle.

He states further that while the Silver Shirts "have taken a sympathetic and fraternal attitude toward its purposes" (the bund) as well as its leaders and its membership, his organization does not endorse and approve everything that is done by the German bund or similar organizations.

Other efforts to combine pro-Fascist organizations in this country will be revealed in another hearing.

Before closing, I would like to introduce some additional documentary evidence from the Silver Shirts.

Here are two sheets which I picked up at the headquarters of the Los Angeles bund—Silver Shirt literature.

Here is an account of the Silver Shirt meeting at Chicago that was referred to on the opening day.

Here is a confidential invitation of the Silver Shirts to meet in Chicago.

Here is another invitation under the signature of the secretary.

Here is an invitation to a meeting of the Silver Shirts, mailed directly, to attend their meeting.

Here is a copy of the front page of the Liberation magazine, the official publication of the Silver Shirts.

These are additional copies of this Silver Shirt magazine, and leaflets setting forth the Silver Shirt principles.

The CHAIRMAN. Put these into the record as an exhibit, as a group.

Mr. METCALFE. Here is one of their booklets that are sold at their meetings; and here is a confidential invitation to attend a meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Place them all in a folder and let them all go in as one group.

(The documents referred to were marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 11, October 5, 1938.")

Mr. METCALFE. In addition to that, I have here a copy of the Weckruf, an official publication of the German-American Bund, a weekly newspaper, giving a laudatory account of an article, and so forth, which appeared in the Chicago Tribune with reference to Newton

Jenkins—in support of Newton Jenkins—showing the direct link there, even in their own publication.

The CHAIRMAN. Place that in as a separate exhibit.

(The paper referred to was marked "John C. Metcalfe Exhibit No. 12, October 5, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Metcalfe, you will recall that last week there was offered in evidence a circular announcing the celebration of the occupation of the Sudeten territory. After that pamphlet was offered in evidence, and the fact was known, what official statement came from the bund?

Mr. METCALFE. The German-American Bund, I believe, through James Wheeler Hill, one of its high officials, officially denied that such celebrations were being planned or would take place. In other quarters word came to us, from sources that have no connections at all with the German-American Bund, that we must be seriously mistaken about this, because there was a New York schedule on the same day as the German Day celebration; that apparently we had been confused by the evidence which we had at hand. However, we insisted that we were right.

It is a matter of public record today that the statements that were made here last week with reference to the Sudeten celebration planned by the German-American Bund in some 10 different locations actually did take place, just as we had predicted they would take place, and in the localities where we had mentioned it, and that these were separate celebrations, not in connection with the German Day celebration which was held at Madison Square Garden, and that these were celebrations of the German-American Bund with the Sudeten Germans, who were attending as guests of honor. And I think it is a well-known fact as to what happened and the riots, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The newspapers report that the vast majority, practically all of the old-line German-American societies in the United States, refused to permit the bund to participate in the celebration of the German Day festivities; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not that bear out the statement you have made many times that the overwhelming majority of German-American citizens in this country are opposed to the bund and its activities?

Mr. METCALFE. I think it definitely bears out the statements made here that there is a sharp difference between—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I think that ought to be made clear; and likewise with reference to the people of Italian descent in America.

Mr. METCALFE. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. So that there will be no false impression going out to condemn the activities of a class by the activities of a minority.

Mr. METCALFE. That is a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. But that an overwhelming majority of our people, of every nationality, are patriotic in their feelings toward America.

Mr. METCALFE. And in that same connection it might be of interest to note that in the German Day celebration in New York all of the—I think it would be a broad statement, perhaps, to say all of the papers—but most of the papers did point out very clearly that this was the first time that the German consular officials declined the invi-

tations and did not attend, again lending credence to our previous statements as to the fact that they had in the past always attended these meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not that demonstrate very conclusively that the American people of German descent, the overwhelming majority of them, are distinctly opposed to this movement, and through their own efforts have placed their stamp of disapproval upon them?

Mr. METCALFE. Very definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. And, on the other hand, is it not demonstrated conclusively in connection with the fascistic movement, that an overwhelming majority of the citizens of Italian descent would likewise follow the precedent set by the people of German descent and place the stamp of their disapproval upon any movement opposing American principles of government?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In your contacts, you have had some occasion to investigate the Italian fascistic group in the United States, have you not?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have discussed the matter and have had conversations with certain leaders in the fascistic movement?

Mr. METCALFE. Not only that, but even with the Italian consuls. I have talked in the past with Italian consuls, with reference to the Black Shirt movements.

The CHAIRMAN. From your investigation and your conclusions, what did you find with reference to the attitude generally of people of Italian descent with regard to these movements?

Mr. METCALFE. Well, the large majority of the Italian-Americans, just like the large majority of the German-Americans, are definitely opposed to any form of nazi-ism or fascism in this country, and are very loyal adherents to a democratic form of government; and they even resent the interferences by the German-American Bund and its allied groups and those who are aiding the movements and stirring up racial hatreds and religious hatreds, and are preaching pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist propaganda. These people believe in Americanism, and they do not want anything to do with anything that is outside of the scope of Americanism.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the greatest care and caution must be observed in order not to leave any general impression under which, or through which, large classes of people, whether they are identified as an economic group, a racial group, or a religious group, can be sweepingly condemned on account of the deeds or misdeeds or views or activities of a minority of the class?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee wishes to make that plain, because otherwise injustice might be done to a great many people in this country who are not in sympathy with either the Communist, the Fascist, or the Nazi movements.

Mr. METCALFE. I think that the affidavits, for instance, that were introduced here, show that the people themselves resent—and as shown by the offer that was made to have individuals come here and testify—that they were all definitely opposed to this interference.

The CHAIRMAN. And, after all, the greatest corrective relief will come voluntarily from the people themselves, in doing exactly what the people from Germany said here the other day?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In letting the country know that they disapprove of it, that they disavow it, and in themselves putting an end to such movements?

Mr. METCALFE. I think another evidence of that is found in a number of letters which I have received over a period of months from German-Americans and Italian-Americans, all of whom are bitterly opposed to any form of nazi-ism or fascism, or any indoctrination of those ideals in American lives.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow at 10:30.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, October 6, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present also: Mr. Healey.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Will you be sworn, Mr. Gingrich?

TESTIMONY OF ARNOLD GINGRICH

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. GINGRICH. Arnold Gingrich.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Gingrich?

Mr. GINGRICH. 919 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mr. GINGRICH. Since 1925.

The CHAIRMAN. What business are you engaged in at the present time?

Mr. GINGRICH. Magazine publishing.

The CHAIRMAN. What magazine do you publish?

Mr. GINGRICH. I am the editor of the **Ken** magazine; also the *Esquire* and the *Coronet*.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been connected with those publications?

Mr. GINGRICH. Since their inception.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with your magazines you have had occasion to make considerable investigation with reference to Nazi, Fascist, and Communist activities in the United States, have you not?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I had occasion recently to read an editorial in your magazine expressing the viewpoint that you and your magazine are opposed to every "ism": that you are opposed to communism, fascism, and nazi-ism. I am asking you this preliminary to your statement: What is your attitude in that regard?

Mr. GINGRICH. I am glad to have an opportunity to express myself on that point, particularly in view of the fact that some of the testi-

mony to be introduced later ought to be qualified by a statement of attitude toward these matters that are under investigation.

The *Ken* magazine is opposed equally to the threat of dictatorship, both from the left and from the right, regardless of what label may be attached to these threats to our democracy. Whether they are called communism or fascism, we are equally opposed, regardless of whether this pressure comes from the left or from the right.

I would like, if I may ask your indulgence, to record a personal opinion on this matter, to point out that democracy in America is now on the defensive; that it is, of course, in that respect only sharing democracy's status all over the world. Anybody who can read without moving his lips realizes that democracies at the present moment are showing what looks like a case of sprained, if not a broken, back; so that here in America, individuals—if I may say so, members of your committee—as well as publications like ourselves, who are endeavoring to strengthen the resistance of democracy, find themselves in a position where they must take an equally opposed attitude toward both sides of the street.

Now, some rumbling has been heard of the possibility of there being a formation of a legal party of these various groups on the right—reactionary groups, possibly under the name of a Nationalist or a Fascist Party. We would be opposed, and would fight, the admission of such interests when bound together on a legal basis, because the democracy is only opening the doors to these groups who take advantage of a democracy's liberties and use the democratic system to get in; but the record shows all over the world that once they do get into this position they immediately kill the very thing that allowed them to come into power.

At the same time that raises another question. One is the matter of, How shall we close the front door—the open infiltration, as has been brought out in this committee's meetings, of foreign propaganda, foreign flavored "isms"? But there is also the matter of the back door, equally—an open path for the destruction of a democracy.

Now, I fully realize that at the present time the Communist Party is a legal organization, but I would certainly suggest that, based on the record all over the world, notably in Russia, and equally in Spain, communism also brings about a similar total destruction of democratic liberties, and that quite possibly it is time, not only to consider barring the front door, but to close up the back door that has been open for so long.

The CHAIRMAN. I had occasion to read an article written by Dorothy Thompson, expressing the thought that nations abroad are now pursuing different tactics in warfare than heretofore; that they now infiltrate an opposing country or some other nation with propaganda and weaken it, and through that method make that country powerless to resist aggressions, such as happened in the Sudeten territory and in various other countries that could be mentioned. What is your observation on that?

Mr. GINGRICH. It is our observation and belief that the same thing at present is wide open in America and, furthermore, going beyond the mere matter of opinion, I have with me some materials tending to show how there has been deliberate, planned organization of such infiltration methods for this country.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, when we consider what is happening abroad, we cannot minimize the serious threat which presents itself to this country; is not that a fact?

Mr. GINGRICH. Entirely true.

The CHAIRMAN. And to a large extent the same tactics and strategy and plans are now being used in this country, by subversive forces, that were successfully used across the waters, and resulted in many instances either in the overthrow of the independence of the country or the weakening of it to the point that democracy could not defend itself?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is entirely true, to an extent that the American public has never yet realized.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I gather from your preliminary statement that you join with the vast majority of Americans in believing that the best way to combat communism is not by fascism, but by Americanism, with its present form of government, and with its guarantees to minorities; is not that a fact?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is entirely a fact; and, furthermore, both sides have used confusionist tactics in trying to smear the middle of the road from their two opposite extremes. Perhaps there ought to be a moratorium on such words as "Fascist" and "Communist." Perhaps they should not be used in this country, because they are being used so much too loosely.

The CHAIRMAN. What you mean is that there are certain conservative factors which would brand everyone with a liberal thought different from theirs as a Communist; but, on the other hand, there are certain so-called liberals who would brand all opponents as Tories or reactionaries, or as Fascists or by some other opprobrious name, and that therefore great care must be taken to distinguish between what is Communist and what is Fascist and what is no more nor less than an honest difference of opinion with reference to some economic or social theory; is not that a fact?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes, sir; and all those who in the nature of their work are led to investigate both sides are inevitably accused by each of these extremes as representing the point of view of the opposition. In other words, they are trying to force on us here in America a Chinaman's choice. If you are not a Communist, you are a Fascist; if you are not a Fascist, you are a Communist. It may be compared to a broad highway which has two narrow footpaths on each side, and there is an endeavor to shoulder us all off the broad main highway that we want to travel on, and to force us to take the footpath here, and if we are not there, then to take the other side.

The CHAIRMAN. That is demonstrated very forcibly by the fact, which the Chair has observed so clearly, that there are certain people in America who are interested in the investigation of communism, but do not want fascism or nazi-ism investigated. On the other hand, there are those who want fascism and nazi-ism investigated, but do not want to investigate communism; and there are some who, when we are investigating communism, brand us as "red hunters," and then when we devote our attention to equally important subjects, we are called Fascists; showing that there is the beginning of some sort of cleavage in the United States along European lines, which is a bad and unwholesome condition. Is not that a fact?

Mr. GINGRICH. We have shared the same experience.

The CHAIRMAN. Now proceed with your statement, Mr. Gingrich, and at the conclusion I will have some questions to ask you with reference to some of the stories that have appeared in your magazine in which you charge that certain industrialists were encouraging Nazi and Fascist activities in the United States. But in the meantime you may proceed.

Mr. GINGRICH. Your investigator, John C. Metcalfe, called on me at my office in Chicago about the 25th of August asking to see any documentation I might be willing to show him in support of some charges made in the August 25 issue of Ken magazine in an article entitled "Prelude to American Fascism." After seeing some of this material your investigator expressed the opinion that it was matter meriting the attention of this committee. Subsequently I was subpoenaed and ordered to have in readiness any and all material in my possession pertinent to the subjects which this committee is investigating.

Specific mention was made in the subpoena of an article in the September 8 issue of Ken entitled "Exposing Native U. S. Plotters."

Inasmuch as virtually every issue of Ken magazine has carried material directly paralleling the interests of this committee devoted to exposure of un-American activities by Communist, Fascist, and Nazi forces in this country, I must ask the committee's indulgence for cases in which material I may present will be either overlapping or duplicating the subject matter of previous testimony. I have for that reason taken the liberty of omitting from my testimony any mention of numerous articles pertaining to the activities of foreign consuls, propaganda activities, and so forth, except in cases where I felt that our material introduced points that have not yet been brought to the committee's attention.

In other words, this material thus withheld largely substantiates the evidence which has already been testified to before this committee by other witnesses and investigators.

Ken has made thorough investigations of Communist as well as Nazi and Fascist activities in its desire to expose all alien efforts that threaten and endanger the structure of our democracy.

We hope that your committee will not compel us to present our Communist material at this time owing to the fact that articles carrying this information are now in process of preparation and are due to be released at an early date.

To take up the first article on which I was questioned by your investigator, with your permission I now introduce in evidence a photostatic copy of a letter written by Spencer J. Warwick, the Ohio commander of the Silver Shirt Legion, to Miss Susan Sterling, which is the alias of a German-American woman named Elsie Teuer.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a genuine photostatic copy of an original letter?

Mr. GINGRICH. I will give you the photostat for examination.
[Reading:]

SHARON, PA., November 30, 1936.

DEAR LADY: Just a few lines to tell you that my heart is heavy and my spirit is weary and that I'm thinking you ought to know why—at least to some extent. I also want to tell our staunch and fine sister, Alice Tucker West (God bless her!), and to her I will send a carbon copy of this missive, simultaneously with yours.

Without further preamble on my part let me advise you that there are further and important changes to be made in the work of the liberation. You will see announced shortly in Pelley's Weekly, that the legion is "at ease." You will also be advised that the records are being "washed up." However, there will be a few hand-picked legion heavyweights at work underneath the surface who will be keeping the legion fires glowing. They will have the job of holding all gains and solidifying them while the chief—

Meaning Pelley—

is working out a financial program that will take the strain off the very thin purses of the legion membership. It is not right, he says, that a true patriotic gesture and mentorship should be financed by those doing the work when this country has the sources for the wherewithal to do it for them. He will assume the full personal responsibility for this, and when the glowing embers are fanned to a great blaze by circumstance, then we will know that all of our work has not been done in vain in any particular.

So the chief is declaring a recess in all activities of the legion.

I might interpolate, Mr. Chairman, that the word "legion" as used throughout applies to the Silver Shirt Legion.

The CHAIRMAN. It has no reference whatever to the American Legion?

MR. GINGRICH. No. That is why I made the point. [Reading:]

We are to go under cover and to do any work that we can as opportunity offers, but not to make such an opportunity nor to seek it.

There are a great many things in connection with this that I want to tell you all, and I will do this as soon as I can. I hope to see the chief any time now and get further information concerning the future of the legion. In the meantime you can draw a free breath and get caught up on the avalanche of matter that has been fed to our people in such quantities that they could not absorb it.

In the meantime I will communicate with Dr. Doran anent this matter, and until he officially discloses what we are about I shall trust you not to disclose what I have written herein to any person whatsoever. The mere fact that you can suspect something is equivalent to going over the chairman's head, and that I refuse to do.

I am leaving here tomorrow for Delaware, Columbus, and Cincinnati, and expect to be in Cleveland about the middle of next week.

Until we shall meet again,

Greetings and godspeed,

(Signed) SPENCER J. WARWICK.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see the photostatic copy, will you?

(The paper referred to was handed to the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. This is a photostatic copy that has come into your possession as a result of your investigation?

MR. GINGRICH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We offer that in evidence as Gingrich exhibit No. 1.

(The letter referred to was marked "Gingrich Exhibit No. 1, October 6, 1938.")

MR. GINGRICH. In explanation of that letter, the Dr. Doron referred to is Dr. C. L. Doron, an osteopath with offices at 424 Truman Building, Cleveland. He is alleged to have been the head of the Silver Shirts in Cleveland.

The "chief" is, of course, William Dudley Pelley, the commander and founder of the Silver Shirt Legion.

The Alice Tucker mentioned in the first paragraph is Mrs. Alice Tucker West, original organizer of the Silver Shirts in Cleveland in 1933, and at that time she frequently hinted at "an understanding with Berlin."

We now introduce a photostatic copy of another letter written by Warwick to Miss Sterling, from Asheville, N. C., which is the seat of the Silver Shirt movement, dated July 15, 1937.

Miss SUSAN STERLING,
16211 Detroit Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio.

DEAR LADY: I had expected to contact you last week after coming down from Michigan, but it was quite necessary for the chief and I to return to Asheville, and it may be such that it will be 2 or 3 weeks before I get back up your way. Whether or not the chief will be along is problematical.

I have acquainted him with the good work you are doing up there, and he rejoices with me in it.

We hope when we come that you will be able to ascertain whether Mr. Girdler and Mr. Wyser will be in Cleveland, so that we can have a private conference with them. I also would like to call a meeting of the Silver Shirts themselves and show them the movie for which we have so long been waiting, concerning the Cavalcade and the junket of the SS on the west coast last fall.

"SS" presumably being the Fascist terminology for storm troopers.
[Continuing:]

Many important changes are being made here at headquarters regarding the activities and the publications that will be acquainted to you, and official notices of the same are being sent out so that you will be appraised of them, perhaps even by this time.

I would particularly like to have the chief meet Mr. Pierce (please give my regards to good ol' Dad Pierce), and hope to arrange to see him when he is in Cleveland rather than in Pittsburgh.

Tentative plans call for a trip down to Texas and then back up through Ohio and then over to New England.

I am sorry that I will be unable to attend the dinner in honor of General Fries, but I know that you will extend to the General my regards and good wishes. I am glad that he is coming up into Ohio at this time and I know that General Hard and General Light will give him a great deal to think about. I have been telling Larry Brown, who is now here in Bob Summerville's place, about the book written by the General this spring, and I wonder if you would send one down here, if you have any more copies, as mine is in storage in Newcastle.

I might note in passing, too, that Captain Geiger was in command of the troops in Warren and had some conferences with our SS, Howard Luse.

I know that Mrs. West will rejoice that Larry is finding himself and good health in the mountains here, and the 3 weeks that he has been here sees a marvelous change for the better in him, both morally and physically. He is a new man.

Please remember me to all my friends in Cleveland and tell them that I hold them in remembrance too, impatiently doing other things until I can come again to see you all.

With all best wishes to you personally and with kindest regards to all the rest, I am,

Sincerely,

SPENCER J. WARWICK.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the photostatic copy of that letter?

Mr. GINGRICH. I have the photostatic copy of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you also secured as the result of your investigations?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes, sir [handing a paper to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. We offer that letter in evidence as Gingrich exhibit No. 2.

(The letter referred to was marked "Gingrich Exhibit No. 2, October 6, 1938.")

Mr. GINGRICH. I am sorry; there will have to be a correction in both these letters. That "SS" applies to "Silver Shirts." I was confused by the resemblance to the Nazi Fascist term.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this?

Mr. GINGRICH. I had occasion to make a correction, Mr. Chairman. I was confused momentarily by the resemblance to the Nazi terminology in the capital letters "SS." It obviously refers to Silver Shirts, which constitutes a correction in one interpolation I made in reading the letter.

In explanation of this second letter, I would like to record that Messrs. Girdler and Wysor are officials of the Republic Steel Corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, the letter refers to Mr. Girdler and Mr. Wysor. It does not give their initials, but it says, "in Cleveland," does it not? It refers to a meeting in Cleveland?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes; it refers to a meeting in Cleveland. As a matter of fact, it expresses the hope that they will be in Cleveland for a meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. What I was trying to get is the source of your information with reference to the statement that these two men are the men who are officials of the Republic Steel Corporation.

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You are assuming that from the name and the fact that they were meeting in Cleveland?

Mr. GINGRICH. We would have to have more basis for our assumption than that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You have more in addition to that?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes, sir; we have.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. GINGRICH. I would like to raise that point—that none of these names are in any case introduced unless there is an inherent reason for their being mentioned, for explanation of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. We will go into that later.

Mr. GINGRICH. I will cover the other names which are used in the letter, simply for purposes of clarification of this document.

The General Fries referred to in this letter is Maj. Gen. Amos B. Fries, United States Army, retired, who addressed the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce on July 22, 1937, under the auspices of the Association of Leagues, whose executive secretary, Miss Sterling, was at the time this letter was written.

Bob Summerville, mentioned in the letter, was formerly editor of the Pelley publications. Those publications are referred to in the letter.

The Liberation is a Pelley publication.

You will note also the reference to Mr. Pierce as "Good ol' Dad Pierce."

It is hoped that the foregoing evidence is of value to this committee with reference to its desire to determine any link between industrialists and Nazi and fascist movements in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point it might be well to clarify the fact that in your publication you have a story in which you charged that certain industrialists were linked with the fascist movement in the United States. That story was published in your magazine, was it not?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. With the names of the men?

Mr. GINGRICH. With the names.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any denial of that, or any effort to sue your magazine for libel?

Mr. GINGRICH. There was no denial except in the case of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, which wrote us saying that they had—that their records did not show—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). We do not want to get into the question of the names yet. What I want to clarify is this: That the information you had is based upon the testimony which this committee is trying to secure of Mr. Miller—

Mr. GINGRICH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is now connected with the Scripps-Howard newspapers in Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The truth or falsity of the statements will be dependent upon his testimony, and what I mean is that he is the one to furnish the testimony?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes, sir. He was the investigator in the case who assembled this material; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this committee has undertaken to secure that testimony. We have been unsuccessful in doing so up to this date; but we will have a subpoena issued for him and bring him before the committee, and he can supply the committee with the direct evidence; is that a fact?

Mr. GINGRICH. I am morally certain that that is the case, based on letters that I can give you from Mr. Miller and from Miss Barbara Baker, who was the secretary—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Then the next person who has direct information based upon personal knowledge of these facts is Miss Baker, who was the secretary to—

Mr. GINGRICH. Miss Sterling.

The CHAIRMAN. To Miss Sterling?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. She is in Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have letters from both of them. Will you please let me have those letters?

Mr. GINGRICH. Here are two letters from William Miller and a letter from Miss Barbara Baker [handing papers to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. While your magazine made these statements, you are not testifying with reference to that here, because you recognize, as does the chair, that testimony of this nature should be on the basis of personal knowledge and based upon the facts; is that not true?

Mr. GINGRICH. I would leave it on that basis; but it is subject to confirmation and, of course, it is only offered upon the assumption that such confirmation is available, and I believe it is.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will get the direct proof from those who have the information and can swear to it.

Mr. GINGRICH. At the same time it should be made clear that Ken magazine takes the same position as that of this committee and the National Association of Manufacturers in its desire to ferret out any individual industrialist who may have supported, financially and otherwise, any un-American and subversive activities.

Your committee has also requested pertinent information relative to the September 8 issue of *Ken*, entitled "Exposing Native United States Plotters," in which we charge:

The real inside job for the bunds is not mere propaganda and conversion to Nazi ideology, but a military organization for sabotage and espionage in the United States in the event of European war, whether we are neutral or not. For this ticklish work the leaders are too smart to use suspected aliens but rely on native Americans.

Support for this charge is contained in a series of confidential letters that were exchanged by various individuals involved in this plot and signed only with pseudo names. These letters were intended to be destroyed. They were, however, turned over to the Navy intelligence at San Diego, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. You know those letters are now in the hands of the Navy Intelligence?

Mr. GINGRICH. Those letters are now in the possession of Navy intelligence in San Diego.

A key figure in this exchange of correspondence, which involved the smuggling of arms across the Mexican border as well as the planned purchases of United States standard surplus arms and ammunition, with the knowledge of not only the German-American Bund, but also of individuals at the Italian Embassy in Washington, was Henry D. Allen, of 2860 Nina Street, Pasadena, Calif.

Allen was an active worker in the Silver Shirt movement, one of the first fascist organizations to appear in the United States. He was one of the organizers of the American White Guardsmen, or American White Guards, with headquarters at Los Angeles.

Allen has operated with the leaders of the German-American Bund and helped Ingram Hughes, founder of the American Nationalist Party, another fascist organization.

He attended picnics and was seen at many outings in the company of Dr. Gyssling, German consul at Los Angeles, and Dr. von Killinger, German consul at San Francisco.

Allen has a criminal record extending over 28 years with eight entries concerning forgery.

I desire to introduce another exhibit in substantiation of Allen's known criminal and fascist career.

I have here to introduce into the record in support of that a story from the Los Angeles Examiner, of June 13, 1938. This is a news story concerning his arrest, and at the same time it gives his entire record, showing that it is a matter of common knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. That exhibit will be received and marked "Exhibit No. 3."

(The exhibit referred to was marked "Gingrich Exhibit No. 3, October 6, 1938," and reads as follows:)

[From the Los Angeles Examiner, Los Angeles, June 13, 1938]

EX-FELON BARED AS L. A. ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA CHIEF

MAP ON PERSON HINTS TIEUP WITH ALIEN POWER—U. S. QUIZ

The man responsible for showering Los Angeles with vicious anti-Jewish circulars was identified yesterday by the Los Angeles Examiner as Henry D. Allen, ex-convict who served terms in San Quentin and Folsom penitentiaries.

The disclosure was made after Allen, member of the Silver Shirts organization, had been arrested in San Diego on a felony charge, as the result of which, the Examiner learned, he is under investigation by G-men and the Naval Intelligence Bureau.

PAPERS SEIZED

Papers found in his possession, including a closely guarded map understood to indicate connections with a foreign power, were seized by Special Agent W. H. Osborne of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Commander Deardoff of the Naval Intelligence.

These papers, the contents of which were said to be of a highly sensational nature and were reported to the State Department, have been sent to Washington, the Examiner was informed. Special intelligence officers are checking the information contained in the documents with data seized recently in the Government's campaign against espionage.

The startling disclosures yesterday came as Allen faces preliminary hearing in municipal court here tomorrow on a felony charge brought by District Attorney Buron Fitts' office, in connection with Allen's alleged illegal registration as a voter.

And, at the same time, the Examiner learned that dismissal of the San Diego charge against Allen for possession of a deadly weapon, is to be subject of a sweeping grand jury investigation.

The distribution of anti-Jewish literature here several weeks ago was done by a squad of youths directed by Allen, who threw thousands of highly inflammatory circulars, attacking the Jewish race and the Roosevelt administration, from windows of downtown buildings, including the one in which the German consulate is located.

At the same time additional thousands of circulars were thrown over the downtown district and Hollywood from a mystery plane which bore no identifying marks.

Allen was arrested in San Diego last April 22 for possession of a "billy club" at Fifth Street and Broadway. In Allen's possession at the time, according to Detective Sergeant Ralph Whitney, "red" squad head, also was a brief case containing throwaway sheets attacking the Jews and other papers.

CLUB FOUND IN CAR

Naval intelligence officers and G-men immediately seized the other papers, among which, the examiner learned, was a map designating the best spots to attack the United States.

The billy club, according to police, was found when officers searched his car in a downtown parking lot, and Allen was identified as the man who had parked the car.

Only in jail a short time, Allen, pending hearing, was released on his own recognizance by Municipal Judge Dean Sherry.

On June 7, when Allen reappeared in court, he was represented by Thomas Whelan, who resigned as district attorney of San Diego County a short time after Allen's arrest.

Allen told Judge Eugene Daney the car he was driving was loaned to him by a friend and that he knew nothing of the club.

CHARGES DISMISSED

But Sergeant Whitney presented a witness, Paul Yodan, who had charge of a parking lot at Third and Figueroa Streets here.

Yodan testified he knew Allen and had seen him drive the same car into his parking lot during March and April.

And, said Yodan, he had seen the same billy club in the car on all occasions.

Judge Daney dismissed the charges on the basis of Allen's alibi. Deputy District Attorney Ed Goodman, noted for his work against subversive elements, announced plans for a grand jury investigation.

Arrested at the same time with Allen were Fred Gideon Curtin, 345 West Lexington, Glendale; Charles Markin, 606½ South Brand, Glendale; and Charles F. Olson, 60 Argonnest, Long Beach.

Police claimed they were picked up here and given several dollars to throw anti-Semitic handbills from San Diego buildings. Accused of distributing handbills without a permit, they paid \$10 fines.

Allen is to appear in court here tomorrow for preliminary hearing on a charge of violating section 42 of the State penal code. The complaint prepared by Fitts' office charges he registered as a county voter "knowing himself not entitled to such registration."

LOST RIGHT TO VOTE

It was learned the basis for the charge is that Allen lost his civil right to vote because he had served terms in San Quentin and Folsom penitentiaries.

The complaint was filed by Deputy George Stahlman and was signed by Joseph Roos, 1439 North Curson Street, with Allen posting \$1,000 surety bond to guarantee his appearance in court.

Witnesses against him include Deputy Registrar of Voters I. J. Ward, Chief Investigator John Klein, of the district attorney's office, and Investigator Jack Cushman. The offense is punishable by from 1 to 3 years in prison.

Recently a national publication printed uncontradicted statements that Allen is the liaison man through whom Gen. Nicholas Rodriguez, head of the Mexican Gold Shirts and close friend of the rebel Gen. Saturnino Cedillo, kept in touch with Hermann Schwinn, United States west coast director of Nazi activities, with headquarters in the Deutsches Haus here.

The publication also stated that Allen, acting on orders of Schwinn, contacted Ramon F. Iturbe, member of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, a man who is said to be in frequent contact with Mexican Fascist elements.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. GINGRICH. Allen has been particularly close to Hermann Schwinn, western leader of the German-American Bund, George Deatherage, head of the American Nationalist Confederation, which at one time had its headquarters in Palo Alto, Calif., and C. F. Ingalls, of 2702 Bush Street, San Francisco, both native Americans who have long been identified with Nazi and Fascist movements on the Pacific coast.

Our investigations show that in correspondence Schwinn's code name is Laura and that Ingalls' is Clayton and Allen's is Rosenthal.

I want now to introduce also a letter written by F. W. Clark.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Clark?

Mr. GINGRICH. Of Tacoma, Wash. He is the secretary of the Christian Party of Washington, Pierce County Central Committee, 329 Provident Building, Tacoma, Wash.

Clark was in charge of the western division of the National Gentile League and called himself commander in chief of the League of War Veteran Guardsmen. He was also founder of the National Liberty Party, a pseudo-Fascist organization, and at one time was member of Silver Shirts.

The following is an excerpt of a letter by this same Clark to a Mrs. Lois de Lafayette Washburn on the stationery of the Christian Party of Washington, Pierce County Central Committee, 329 Provident Building, Tacoma, Wash.

The CHAIRMAN. You have that letter?

Mr. GINGRICH. I have that letter; yes. It says:

Warning: Mrs. Washburn—

The CHAIRMAN. You are reading certain excerpts from that letter?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes; in cases where the language goes to what seems to me to be counter to the public interest, I am omitting that.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that some of the language in there is of such a character that you are omitting that, but putting the entire letter in the record?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes; the entire letter is going into the record, but I am only quoting certain selected portions of the letter, as follows:

You are very apt to be visited by a Mr. Roy Zachery, formerly of Seattle, Wash., and right-hand man of William D. Pelley, in the State of Washington, and now "field marshal" for the Silver Shirts, under William D. Pelley.

In the event you are visited by this person, who is the person who sunk daggers into the heart of one Frank W. Clark, commander in chief, the League of War Veteran Guardsmen, which has been reported by a member of the league, operator 48a.

The person, Mr. Zachery, should be closely questioned, as follows:

"Did you not advise one Frank W. Clark, of Tacoma, Wash., that when a Mr. Pelley came to the State of Washington, that he (Pelley) had 1,000 trained and rifle-armed guards that he was going to bring into the State of Washington as his personal guard, and did not these so-called guards turn out to be just 2 men from North Carolina, and a number of men to the extent of about 20 from the State of California? Why did you lie in the beginning? Was this not to enthrone Mr. Clark to enter into your Silver Shirt ranks?"

"Did you, or did you not, Mr. Zachery, while admittedly the State commander or organizer of the State of Washington Silver Shirts, sojourn from leadership of such ranks for a period of time, and did resort to promoting of 'oil stocks,' using Christian Party members for such promotion, to buy up the oil stocks?"

The CHAIRMAN. That letter will be marked "Exhibit No. 4."
(The letter referred to was marked "Gingrich Exhibit No. 4, October 6, 1938," and reads as follows:)

GINGRICH EXHIBIT No. 4, OCTOBER 6, 1938

You are very apt to be visited by a Mr. Roy Zachery, formerly of Seattle, Wash., and right-hand man of William D. Pelley, in the State of Washington, and now "field marshal" for the Silver Shirts under William D. Pelley.

In the event you are visited by this person, who is the person who sunk daggers into the heart of one Frank W. Clark, commander in chief, the League of War Veteran Guardsmen, which has been reported by a member of the league, operator 48a.

The person, Mr. Zachery, should be closely questioned as follows:

"Did you not advise one Frank W. Clark, of Tacoma, Wash., that when a Mr. Pelley came to the State of Washington that he (Pelley) had 1,000 trained and rifle-armed guards that he was going to bring into the State of Washington as his personal guard, and did not these so-called guards turn out to be just 2 men from North Carolina, and a number of men to the extent of about 20 from the State of California? Why did you lie in the beginning? Was this not to enthrone Mr. Clark to enter into your Silver Shirt ranks?"

"Did you, or did you not, Mr. Zachery, while admittedly the State commander or organizer of the State of Washington Silver Shirts, sojourn from leadership of such ranks for a period of time, and did resort to promoting of oil stocks, using Christian Party members for such promotion, to buy up the oil stocks?"

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. GINGRICH. In further substantiation of our article's contention that the bunds are coming to rely more and more upon native-born Americans rather than on suspect aliens or naturalized citizens, I introduce in testimony the following extract from a letter written by Edward James Smythe, chairman of the National Committee Against Communism, to Ernst Goerner, a known Nazi propagandist, dated June 27, 1937. [Reading:]

* * * where do you get the information that I am fighting the Nazi Government? * * * why, my boy, I receive more information from that country than any other man in America. * * * would you like to see some letters that I get from Germany?—confidential ones, at that * * * and I happen to be an American of Scotch-Irish extraction and was a sergeant major in the late World War * * * on the Allied side * * * for your information and to keep the record straight * * * I look upon Hitler that the second Jesus Christ of the modern world.

And further, let me say this, and you can copy this and tell the world what I say * * * the Nazi movement in this country run by certain Germans is nothing but a racket * * * run by certain "gentlemen" as a money-making scheme, and I can name them anytime you want the names * * * the names are already in Berlin a long time ago, for I caused them to be sent over there, and these same gentlemen are well known at the German Embassy in Washington, D. C.; they used me plenty until I got wise to them, so you see, Goerner, you have been grossly misinformed.

Here, again, I am quoting only a portion of the letter, although the entire letter is introduced as an exhibit in my testimony, and I offer it as an exhibit at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter will be marked "Exhibit No. 5."

(The letter referred to was marked "Gingrich Exhibit No. 5, October 6, 1938," and reads as follows:)

GINGRICH EXHIBIT No. 5, OCTOBER 6, 1938

It is war against our country, our homes, our churches, the Constitution, and the God of our forefathers

Keep America Safe for Americans

AMERICAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Officers: Edward James Smythe, chairman; Rev. A. E. Van-Antwerpen, first vice chairman; Rev. Carl C. Underhill, second vice chairman; Rev. William Robinson, third vice chairman; Dr. William A. Davenport, treasurer; L. C. D. Eckman, C. P. A. comptroller; Gerald M. McSweeney, executive secretary; George E. McKenzie, assistant secretary; Prof. Gilbert P. Brown, historian; Mr. Bob Farrell, press and publicity; Hon. George N. Westervelt, counsel to committee; Harry P. Cruickshank, commander, war veterans division; Dr. Hans M. Daxlander, social-economic research; Mr. James Giboney, propaganda; Rev. Charles E. Benedict, radio division; Miss Dean V. Willets, chairman, women's volunteer division; Mrs. Clara Kahn, chairman women's fraternal division; Rev. Paul J. Kolesnikoff, field service; Rev. John B. Cowan, New Jersey unit; Mrs. Harriet M. Ashley, social division; Mr. Norman Sonberg, aviation unit; Edward A. Curley, membership; John J. McWalters, legislation; John Mottershead, ways and means; Mr. John Lundy, civic service unit; Mr. Charles Rowlands, finance; Mr. Larry Vozzo, Mr. Frank Henry, Mr. Jack Patron, Mr. James A. McAvoy, investigation.

Citizens Committee (organizing not completed).—Mr. Victor Bond, Mr. George Balinowich, Mrs. N. A. Coolidge, Mr. John A. Allin, Rev. Allen D. Gates, Chief Red Wing, Miss L. Huntington, Mr. Dick Hutelins, Rev. William H. Hall, Mr. Ernst Goerner, Mr. Felix Jedegewski, Mr. Joseph McGurie, Mr. E. W. Limekogl, Mr. Alfred Kunzie, Mr. Alfred Lee, Mr. Joseph Jackson, Mr. John McNulty, Mr. John McNamee, Mr. Frank Milton, Mr. Stephen McDonald, Mr. Elbert Marces, Mr. Louis Martin, Mr. J. R. Oliver, Mr. Jack Noll, Rev. E. S. J. Patterson, Mr. Al Reheinstatler, Mr. Edwin School, Mr. C. R. Sullivan, Mr. Louis Schmidt, Rev. H. Walters, Mr. Joseph Vogelman, Mr. Ralph Voight.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST COMMUNISM,

Washington, D. C., June 27, 1937.

Mr. ERNST GOERNER,

Milwaukee, Wis.

MY DEAR GOERNER: Your letter received and contents noted . . . why in hell don't you come right out like a man and state what friend of yours wrote you in reference to this committee?

Your name has been on this letterhead for over three years now, and at that time you agreed to come along with me, if you have forgotten this I shall be happy to send you a photostat of your letter . . . however as we are getting up a new letterhead with additional names on it off comes your name and jolly good luck to you and it.

For your information and get this into your skull—I am the oldest leader in this crusade in America and I told you that as long back as four years ago . . . when you were sending me a lot of crazy letters relative to the Jew-Communist situation further we have no Jews in this committee whether they be Christianized, modernized or just plain revolutionary international Jews . . . now is that plain enough for you or can you read English . . . according to Webster?

Of course I am sore . . . you like a lot of other rats have not the guts to tell me the name of the other rat that wrote you in regards to me and this committee . . . your letter is not the first about Mrs. Clara Kahn . . . every fanatic and lunatic outside (and I think many on the inside) have injected themselves

into this Patriotic crusade picking names as Jews . . . I have heard them even say that Attorney Wise that defended Edmondson was a Jew . . . and in the last analysis who are you anyway? and where do you get the information that I am fighting the "Nazi" Government? . . . why my boy I receive more information from that country than any other man in America . . . would you like to see some letters that I get from Germany? confidential ones at that . . . and I happen to be an American of Scotch-Irish extraction and was a Sergeant-Major in the late World War . . . on the Allied side . . . for your information and to keep the record straight . . . I look upon Hitler that the second *Jesus Christ* of the modern World.

And further let me say this and you can copy this and tell the World what I say . . . the "Nazi" movement in this Country run by certain Germans is nothing but a racket . . . now get this straight I repeat it for you . . . that it is nothing but a racket . . . run by certain "gentlemen" as a money making scheme and I can name them anytime you want the names . . . the names are already in Berlin a long time ago for I caused them to be sent over there and these same gentlemen are well known at the German Embassy in Washington, D. C., they used me plenty until I got wise to them, so you see Goerner you have been grossly misinformed.

Now for your information I have gotten many letters about you over the years but I don't fall for the old "Divide and Rule" I know that you have and still are doing good work . . . and that you have the enemy worried to death . . . and I know that they don't like me or this committee for we sell no pamphlets, circulars, booklets, or any other kind of patriotic propaganda and they wonder where we get our funds from in order to do the great amount of work we are doing throughout the country, and we pay no attention to such letters that come from *rats* pointing the finger on a brother crusader . . . we are far to *smart* for that.

Now if you have guts tell me who wrote you, or forever keep your peace insofar as I am concerned, I have stated my case in the language of a man I fear no one inside or outside of this work and I can stand the gaff . . . but I hate *lice* that *crawl* or *rats* that *hide* in holes so drive them out into the open is my closing advice to you.

I know more about Free-Masonry than you do or ever will, and all you know is that it is the agency for the International Jew, that is not enough, I have gotten more Masons to leave the order by asking them certain questions that you could count on your fingers and toes, if you want some information along this line I shall be happy to pass it along to you.

In closing let me say that as long as I am the head of this organization I am not for sale to the Jews or anyone else, and I will never betray those that have placed their trust in me. I don't associate with Jews whether those Jews be Christianized, modernized, or just plain international revolutionary Jews, whether they have changed their names and religions that means nothing to me . . . I look upon a *Jew* as the *born enemy* of the *Christian race*, a *parasite of the human family*.

Major Lord was kicked out of this committee last Tuesday evening at a special meeting held here in New York . . . and branded a traitor, and so I say farewell . . . and don't fall for all phony letters from madmen in this line of work.

Most sincerely yours,

EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE, *Chairman.*

If your Freedom and Democracy means anything now is the time to defend it

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. GINGRICH. The subject of foreign propaganda in the United States, on which we have gathered bales of evidence, has already been so well covered in previous sessions that it seems unnecessary to introduce any more into the record. So I will pass over specific exhibits collected in the compilation of various articles, but would like to bring up one point that has not hitherto had the committee's attention.

It is less than a year since German espionage began to make a major effort in the United States. Within the past year one section of the Gestapo, Service Section No. 2, under the direction of Colonel Nicolai, has added three new departments, Nos. 23, 24, and 25. all three specifically devoted to espionage in the United States.

Department 23 specializes in economic espionage, the obtaining of American manufacturing and industrial secrets.

Department 24 specializes in military intelligence.

Department 25 specializes in Nazi propaganda.

Of what type this propaganda will be, and how it will affect the United States, can be learned from pamphlet No. 7 of the Instructions for Our Friends Overseas—a small brochure printed in a total edition of 500 copies and given only to reliable agents. A short excerpt will amply convey the spirit of this “armed propaganda.”

German propaganda in the United States must be handled more tactfully than it has been done before. It will not be possible to subsidize American newspapers except in very rare cases—and only newspapers of minor importance.

The fundamental aim must always be to discredit conditions in the United States and thus make life in Germany seem enviable by contrast. It will therefore be to the best interests of the Reich to cooperate secretly with all persons or groups who criticize the American system, regardless on what ground. The line to be taken in all such cases is to exaggerate the strength of Germany and to contrast it with the weakness of democracies. * * *

It is difficult to disagree with the author of these “instructions”: Germany is really strong, and the democracies are really weak as long as they permit the German Gestapo to provoke the whole world, including the United States, with propaganda, espionage, and sabotage.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you want to add to your statement?

Mr. GINGRICH. I do not believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for the testimony you have submitted on this subject.

Before you leave, as I understand it, you are willing to give the committee all the information you have secured from your investigation?

Mr. GINGRICH. Yes, entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that these two persons you have named, Mr. Miller and Miss Baker, are able to substantiate the statements made in your magazine?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Of their own personal knowledge?

Mr. GINGRICH. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The investigator informs me that it will be impossible to get these two witnesses here for at least 2 weeks, but after 2 weeks you can get them here?

Mr. METCALFE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Metcalfe, there is one phase of this matter that was mentioned in your previous testimony, to which I want to refer.

This committee has received a list of some 200 organizations that have been charged with engaging in subversive activities, together with certain pamphlets and literature that are supposed to furnish proof of the fact that these organizations are engaged in such activity: is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen the list and have gone over with the chairman the names of the organizations and such material as has been presented to the committee relative to them?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In the case of some of these organizations, there is evidence that would apparently bring them within the jurisdiction of this committee; is not that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, on their letterheads and literature there is the swastika emblem and statements that show a strong belief in nazi-ism.

Mr. METCALFE. Nazi-ism or fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. As to other organizations the evidence is not clear, and the Chair has instructed you to investigate them more carefully, and to confer with, or interview, the directors of such organizations, and to secure from them such information in the nature of names of contributors and activities in which they are engaged, that will enable this committee to consider the question as to whether or not these organizations have been engaged in some activities that will warrant their classification as un-American.

Mr. METCALFE. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the desire of the committee is not to persecute anyone, or be engaged in any snooping expedition, but to get the facts. The information you now have, together with what you can secure, or that you hope you can secure, will place you in a position to give the committee the facts, and at the same time to determine what are not the facts.

I mention that because in previous testimony these organizations have been mentioned, and it is felt that absolute justice should be done, and their names should not be dragged in except upon credible evidence that we have in regard to some organizations and not with regard to other organizations.

Mr. METCALFE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. If these organizations desire to cooperate with the committee in its desire to get the facts and the truth, and not in any attempt to smear them, they will be glad to furnish you with the information you desire.

Manifestly, the committee finds it very difficult to issue subpoenas duces tecum to 200 organizations for their records, and to secure an accounting, involving in some cases a long, legal battle, within the short time left to us and with the limited funds at our disposal.

The Chair is assuming that the organizations that are thoroughly American, that are not guilty of activities along Fascist or Nazi lines, with which some of them have been charged, will be more than glad to cooperate with you and give you this information, especially in view of the charge that has been made, that some industrialists have encouraged some of these movements.

So that we will withhold further evidence on that phase of the investigation until you have had an opportunity to make a complete and thorough investigation, making it as complete and thorough as you can do so in the limited time, and with the limited means at the disposal of the committee.

Mr. METCALFE. Do I understand that you are particularly interested with reference to the membership of these organizations, and the contributors, if there are any, to the functioning of these organizations, as to the actual and true activities of the organizations under question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. None of the information they give will be made public except where there is clear evidence that they are engaged in subversive activities.

In other words, it is not the province of this committee to go into any other phase except that.

If they are engaged in the right sort of business, they have nothing to fear in cooperating with you as an investigator.

What we particularly would like to have is information with respect to certain organizations that you are familiar with, concerning which we have certain pamphlets and literature that smack of fascism and nazi-ism.

What we would like to have is the names of the contributors to such organizations, something about what is done with the funds that are secured, and to what extent some of the propaganda, of which we have secured numerous examples, has been disseminated by these organizations.

MR. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now stand adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Federal Building, Detroit, Mich.

The committee met at 1.40 o'clock p. m., Hon Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

Present also: Hon. Harold G. Mosier.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair wishes to make a preliminary statement that what this committee is concerned with are facts, and not with conclusions or opinions. As we have stated many times in previous hearings, any individual or organization whose name is involved in any of these hearings in the way of an attack will be accorded a full opportunity to appear before the committee and under oath to refute any charge of attack that has been made.

Mr. Howe, you as an investigator of this committee, having been assigned to this territory, and having spent considerable time investigating the situation, the committee is going to call upon you to say to the committee what you expect to show as the result of your investigations through witnesses who will appear here to testify.

TESTIMONY OF CHESTER HOWE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. HOWE. Well, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, your investigator expects to show, through reputable witnesses, that un-American activities in this territory have cost the taxpayers and the consumers of the Nation hundreds of thousands of dollars. We expect to show that the sit-down strikes originated here—

Mr. MOSIER (interposing). You say "originated here?"

Mr. HOWE. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. You mean here in Michigan?

Mr. HOWE. Yes, sir; in Michigan. I do not mean in the city of Detroit, in the State of Michigan. We expect to show that the sit-down strikes originated here and were instigated by well-known Communist agitators who, with sound cars, encouraged lawlessness. We expect to prove that the average American workman who desired to go to work, was forbidden at the command of members of the Communist Party. Should this committee desire, we can investigate the internal strife in the labor unions which many of the highest officers claim is communistically inspired.

At one time agitators, for an alien cause, shut down all activities in the capital of this State, Lansing, which they called a "labor holiday." It was merely a gesture to prove their power and small business men throughout the city of Lansing were forced to close their shops, traffic was not allowed on the streets and the reputable citizens were cowed by the demonstration of thousands of outside agitators brought there for that purpose.

We shall present before the committee, the recruiting of American boys to fight for Loyalist Spain, the methods of coercion used to send these boys to fight a foreign battle. This is one phase that I request the committee members pay particular attention to as there is a possibility that the Neutrality Act of the United States has been violated. Should the committee so find, I suggest that the United States attorney be requested to bring indictments before the United States grand jury.

We shall call particular attention to the nonenforcement of present immigration laws now on our books. Specific cases where warrants of deportation have not been served on some of the most active party members will be brought to your attention.

We expect to show, through reputable witnesses, that many school teachers have Communist leanings by attending meetings and making contributions to a cause alien to this Nation. The wives of some of the most prominent agitators in the United States are teachers in the Detroit public schools and attend meetings with or without their husbands and at every opportunity forward the cause of un-Americanism to the children of the State.

We expect to show that the Communist Party does advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence and that many reputable people attend meetings of affiliates of this party unknowingly because of a charitable or humanitarian instinct. Your investigator has found that the appeal of party leaders is subtle and usually hidden behind the name of an organization or a charitable cause, to which the American people have never failed to rally.

We expect to show that the majority of the people who have enlisted and given their aid to un-American activities, have done so through ignorance of the facts or through misleading propaganda which has been subtly put out by the few radical leaders in the Nation.

If the committee is ready, we shall call the first witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The first phase we will go into will be the Spanish Loyalist question. Following that we expect to go into the sit-down strike phase of the investigation, only from the phase of communism. This committee is charged with the responsibility or duty of investigating un-American activities and propaganda. We have heard considerable testimony with reference to Nazi activities and Fascist activities. We have also heard considerable testimony with reference to communistic activities. We, of course, are not concerned with labor disputes. It is not our province to go into internal strife, only insofar as communistic influence or control is definitely shown.

The next witness is Mr. McGillis.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. MCGILLIS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McGillis, before you begin your statement, your name is what?

Mr. MCGILLIS. My name is John D. McGillis.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. McGillis?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I live in the city of Ferndale, a suburb of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in this vicinity?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I was born in the State of Michigan and have lived in this vicinity for 30 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty years?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been active in Americanization work in connection with any organization?

Mr. MCGILLIS. As secretary of the Detroit Council 305, of the Knights of Columbus, it has been part of my work to investigate un-American activities. I have been asked to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you done it?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Has your investigation been extensive or slight?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Well, I would not say that it has been extensive, nor has it been slight. It has been more intensive at times, and yet there are some phases that we have not investigated intensively.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to investigate the recruiting of American youth for the Loyalist cause in Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You have talked to various recruits?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Those who were sent over there?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to check up on their stories?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And their statements to you?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the statements that you make, as far as can be, will be verified by the direct testimony of the witnesses who will appear before this committee?

Mr. MCGILLIS. They will be verified by witnesses before this committee if the committee will hear the witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to have the benefit of any information that you can give the committee.

Mr. MCGILLIS. All right, sir. Thank you, sir..

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. MCGILLIS. It may be interesting to the committee to know off-hand how the Knights of Columbus became interested in this work. We became interested primarily because of the activity of the Communist Party all over the world, and especially as it pertains to the Catholic Church. Naturally we are interested from that angle, and then after we got into it we found that it was very necessary to become interested as American citizens. We were asked by our supreme office at New Haven, Conn., we here in Detroit, to investigate the

activities of Robert Minor and others who were visiting Detroit in the interests of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Robert Minor is now in Spain, is he not, or do you know?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I do not know. He has been in Spain a number of times, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. As I recall, there was testimony before this committee on previous committee hearings that Robert Minor occupied an important position in the armed forces, or, rather, in the Comisar Division of the armed forces in Spain. You do not know anything about that?

Mr. MCGILLIS. No. I know he was making a lecture tour of the country at the time we first became interested in this.

Mr. MOSIER. About when was that, Mr. McGillis?

Mr. MCGILLIS. About 2 years ago. In making these investigations it was natural that we should find certain Detroiters interested in promoting the cause of communism. We were astounded to learn of the many seemingly reputable organizations who were actually a part of the "united front" of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, one of the strategies of the Communist Party we have found has been to organize front organizations with high-sounding titles and names for the purpose of luring people into their ranks, but they retain control of the board of directors.

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is correct. We have found the same thing in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had before us for our consideration some so-called front organizations in which the majority, if not all of the directors and those who occupied strategic positions, are well-known Communists. So they either formed an organization in the beginning and have had control, or through indirect ways have controlled the members, or else they enter an organization already formed and capture control of it.

Mr. MCGILLIS. We have found the same thing in Detroit. Mr. Congressman. We found that many of these organizations, apparently interested in raising funds for what seemed to be worthy causes were, among other things, actually engaged in what we believed to be a violation of Federal laws by recruiting American boys for service in the Spanish civil war. We have investigated other phases of un-American activities in Detroit, and there will be other testimony brought out, and other witnesses produced, to substantiate the testimony, but at this particular time I would like to go into the Spanish situation, or so-called Spanish situation.

The CHAIRMAN. We think it is better to develop each phase at one time rather than to confuse the issues. So that is the reason we want you to confine yourself at this time to the Spanish Loyalist situation, so that we can have the additional evidence and, when we pass that phase, we will go into another.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

William Wright, 19 years of age, a native of South Carolina, found himself stranded in Detroit. It was necessary for him to apply for public aid, and he was assigned to the Fisher Lodge, which is a lodge for homeless men, supported by the city and by the State. While living there he made the acquaintance of a person or persons unknown to me, but who put him in contact with Philip Raymond.

the Michigan State organizer for the Communist Party. After having Wright take a physical examination in the offices of Dr. Eugene M. Shafarman, 5320 John R Street, Detroit, Raymond sent Wright to New York, from which point he was to embark for Spain. Something went wrong with the arrangements and Wright was returned to Detroit and again took up residence at the Fisher Lodge. Later he was provided with funds, and in May of this year sailed on the steamship *Manhattan* for Paris, and the day after he arrived in Spain, or in France, he was flown to Barcelona, Spain, and has written a letter back to an acquaintance in Detroit to that effect. His present whereabouts are unknown, but we do know that on July 23 of this year he was in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that fact, from the letter that was received?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; he wrote a letter on that date, stating that—for the past few days we have been preparing for action and, in all probability, we shall be in the front lines by the time this letter reaches you.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that an original letter?

Mr. MCGILLIS. This is a copy of the letter. The committee may have the original letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen the original letter?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. We can have that letter?

Mr. MCGILLIS. You may have the original letter, if you wish.

At the present time—

he says—

there are more than 30 comrades from Detroit, and the majority of us are in the same company—Company 4, Abraham Lincoln Battalion, Infantry, Thirty-fifth Division of Spanish Republican Army.

He continues—

I hope you won't mind if I conclude this letter—as there are many things I have to do in the next few hours. Please let me hear from you soon. My address is as follows: William Wright, Plaza Altozona, 17.1, Barcelona, Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you get us the original of this letter?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I will. The reason I have not the original is that through our informant, to whom our letter was addressed, we kept track of some of Wright's movements up until this time.

The CHAIRMAN. You can testify under your oath that this is a true and correct copy of the original letter that you yourself know of and know was sent from Spain to a certain destination here?

Mr. MCGILLIS. In Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. That was received here?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir. The committee may have the original letter. I will be glad to see that it is furnished.

The CHAIRMAN. We will offer this or the original letter as exhibit 1 for the record.

(The letter above referred to was marked "Witness McGillis (Detroit) Exhibit No. 1" and filed with the committee, being a letter of date "Somewhere in Spain" July 23, 1938.)

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. McGillis, may I ask a question or two? On investigation you say that you found that Mr. Wright was put into contact with Philip Raymond. Do you know whether or not

Raymond—or, rather, let us put it this way—what inducements did Raymond offer Wright, do you know, to get him to go to Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I would sooner not testify about that, Congressman, because I got it second-hand. I have first-hand information on other witnesses.

Mr. MOSIER. All right.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I know what inducements were offered Wright, but I did not talk to Wright personally, and do not have the word from him direct.

Mr. MOSIER. But you have it as it pertains to other boys who went, or who were talked to about going to Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, you have in your statement that Wright took a physical examination at the offices of Dr. Eugene Shafarman. Did this Dr. Shafarman examine any other boys who went to Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, he did; and I shall, as I proceed, give you further information on that.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know who paid Dr. Shafarman for his examination? Was it Raymond, or who?

Mr. MCGILLIS. In the cases we know of we do not know who paid Dr. Shafarman. We do know that the boys did not pay the doctor, nor did they know who paid the doctor, nor did they know whether or not the doctor was paid.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have any information that would lead to the conclusion that Dr. Shafarman pursued a line of examination with these boys to show that he was a part of the general plan to recruit boys, examine them, and send them to Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; and in the case of one of the boys whom I will mention a little later, and a boy whose testimony I believe should be received from this witness chair, he will be glad to tell the conversation with Dr. Shafarman which indicated that he was a part of the movement, in that he said "we are doing these things."

Mr. MOSIER. All right.

Mr. MCGILLIS. And this witness will be glad to testify as to the exact conversation.

Not included in what was not prepared as a statement, but was prepared more to be notes to which I could refer, is the case of James Kenneth Yochum. I have here a membership card in the Communist Party, made out to William Young, which was the party name of James Kenneth Yochum, who came to Detroit from Medvale, Pa., became a member of the Communist Party, became interested in their activities, and later was examined by Dr. Shafarman and is now known to be fighting in Spain under the name of Kenneth Yokum. Members of the Communist Party must operate under an alias, and after they have been in the party they are given a party name.

(The book above referred to was marked "Witness McGillis (Detroit) Exhibit No. 2" and filed with the committee, being the membership book in the Communist Party of the United States of America of William Young.)

Mrs. Padgett, 4816 Trumbull Avenue, Detroit, was very disturbed some time ago that her son Paul, 18 years of age, who lived with her at that address, was making preparations to go to Spain to fight. Paul was born and raised right here in the city of Detroit. He is

a graduate of our Northeastern High School. He had been unable to find steady employment and was quite concerned because he was unable to assist his mother in earning a livelihood. He made the acquaintance of some members of the Young Communist League, attended meetings at 942 East Canfield, and became one of the Y. C. L. Mary Paige, also known in party circles as "Sock" Paige, became his intimate friend and endeavored to induce him to attend their school at Mena, Ark. In the offices of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, located at 1504 Broadway, Padgett learned that he could secure transportation and make other necessary arrangements to join the Spanish Loyalist Army by talking with Phil Raymond in the offices of the Michigan headquarters of the Communist Party, located at 5969 Fourteenth Street. Young Paul talked to Raymond, who told him that he would make the arrangements and instructed him to go to the offices of Dr. Eugene Shafarman, 5320 John R. Street.

There he was examined by Dr. Frederick C. Lendrum who, incidentally, was a candidate for coroner at our latest election and failed of nomination. He was also sent to see Dr. Verne C. Piazza, a dentist, with offices on the corner of Forest and Mount Elliott. Dr. Piazza pulled two of his teeth and filled others. He paid neither of these doctors. Neither asked him for money, and to this day he does not know who paid them for their services. Padgett returned to Raymond's office and was told by Raymond that they were having some difficulty in securing passports, and in order for him to leave at once it would be necessary that they fake a passport by using another name. This Padgett hesitated to do, and his hesitation saved him from becoming "lost" in the Spanish war. I present to the committee an affidavit signed by Padgett confirming these facts.

The CHAIRMAN. This affidavit will be marked "Exhibit 3."

(The affidavit above referred to was marked "Witness McGillis (Detroit) Exhibit No. 3" and filed with the committee, being an affidavit signed "Paul Padgett," 4816 Trumbull Avenue, Detroit, Mich., dated June 22, 1938.)

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. McGillis, may I ask you a question?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Mr. Padgett still in Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes. I think he should appear before this committee as a witness.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you think he will be available to the committee as a witness?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; he is available.

Mr. MOSIER. If you know, will you state to the committee, from your examination, what you found with reference to the problem which presented itself to these Communists obtaining passports for these boys? How was that problem solved, if you know, as a general proposition, based upon your findings in your examination?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Frankly, I am not prepared to state. The investigation is still being conducted on that phase of it, and I am not prepared to state at this moment how they did secure the passports.

The CHAIRMAN. We have evidence already telling exactly how they secured their passports.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I could state my opinion.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know any of these boys who obtained a passport in his own name to go to fight in Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. No; I do not.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it not true that in all cases the passports were obtained in the name of someone else?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I do not know.

Mr. MOSIER. You do not know that?

Mr. MCGILLIS. No, sir.

Emmet O. Collier, for 3 years an employee of the Dodge Motor Car Co., out of work and looking for adventure, decided that he might find it in the Spanish war. He had at one time enlisted in the United States Army, deserted in a period of despondency, and later given himself up and served a term for desertion. The offices of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spain and the North American Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy are located at 912 Charlevoix Building.

In this office Collier met Sol Green, an official of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spain, who discussed with him the war in Spain and the possibility of enlisting. Green directed him to Robert Taylor, secretary of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and to Pat Daniels, the organizer for this outfit. Daniels' real name is Daniel Shugrue, but he carried on all his Detroit activities under the alias of Pat Daniels. At the present time he is working in other parts of the country under his own name. Both Daniels and Taylor are members of the Communist Party, and both are supposed to have served in the Spanish war. Collier discussed the matter with these two, and on the following day he was taken by them to Phil Raymond at the Communist headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this not Mr. Collier sitting over there [indicating]?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir; this is Mr. Emmett Collier.

The CHAIRMAN. After you conclude your testimony we may call Mr. Collier on that matter.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Raymond gave Collier a note to Dr. Shafarman, who gave him a thorough physical examination, and handed him a note to take back to Phil Raymond. The note stated, "This boy is O. K." Collier went back to Raymond but didn't hand him the note. Here is the note on Dr. Shafarman's stationery.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whose signature it is—whose handwriting?

Mr. MCGILLIS. No; I do not know the handwriting, Mr. Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. We will let that go in as exhibit 4.

(The note above referred to was marked "Witness McGillis (Detroit) Exhibit No. 4" and filed with the committee, being a note on a prescription slip of Dr. Eugene M. Shafarman, bearing the notation, "This boy is O. K.")

Mr. MOSIER. "Gene" is Dr. Shafarman's first name?

Mr. MCGILLIS. His first name is Eugene.

Mr. MOSIER. Eugene?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Eugene M.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know who paid Dr. Shafarman for this examination, Mr. McGillis?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he usually sign his name "Gene." or do you know that?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That I do not know. I believe it will be possible, if the committee thinks it is necessary, to verify the handwriting through the signature of Dr. Shafarman on certain board of health instruments which he has signed in connection with examinations given on men going to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if the doctor denies this testimony or disputes the authenticity of this signature or this writing he is at liberty to appear before the committee under oath and deny it.

Mr. MOSIER. Just let me ask you another question: Did you say that Dr. Shafarman had signed something in connection with charges to the city for other examinations?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; I did.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he examine other recruits for Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he send a bill to the city for that, the city of Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. No; not for examining recruits, but he sent a bill to the city of Detroit for services rendered in connection with an examination for giving a tuberculin test. He billed the city of Detroit and collected from the city of Detroit on these boys who were sent to Spain.

Mr. MOSIER. He would give them a tuberculin test?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And then charge the city of Detroit for that work?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And the city of Detroit paid it?

Mr. MCGILLIS. In many cases; yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that a part of the records of the city of Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; that is a part of the records of the city of Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. Which will be available to this committee?

Mr. MCGILLIS. They will be available and will be introduced in evidence. This form, incidentally, is a special form, a board of health form which must be signed by the doctor and signed by the patient, both stating—both the doctor and the patient stating—that the patient is unable to pay for that service.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Continuing from where I left off: A slight investigation into this phase has disclosed that Shafarman has not only, and other doctors have not only, given these examinations to these boys going to Spain, but have given them to other people prominent in communistic activities in Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, let us develop that just a moment, Mr. McGillis. That is interesting to me.

There are other doctors who gave an examination, did they, in their line of business, to these boys who were going to Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. No—

Mr. MOSIER. Well, where did they have their teeth examined?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Well, we know, in this case we have just talked about, Dr. Piazza examined the teeth.

Mr. MOSIER. Who was Dr. Piazza?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I do not know the gentleman. He is listed in the Detroit directory and does have an office on the corner of Forest and Mount Elliott.

Mr. MOSIER. And did you, from your examination, discover whether he had made examinations of any boys other than Collier?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Not to my personal knowledge; no.

Mr. MOSIER. Are there any other doctors at all, except Shafarman and Piazza, in this connection?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Dr. Lendrum.

Mr. MOSIER. For what did he examine them?

Mr. MCGILLIS. He examined Padgett for the Communist Party—Padgett, who was going to Spain. Now, these other doctors—there will be testimony brought out later that affects other phases of the communistic activity other than the Spanish activity; that is why I am not bringing it in here this afternoon.

Mr. MOSIER. All right.

Mr. MCGILLIS. The names of other doctors will be introduced then.

Mr. MOSIER. Did any of these other doctors get their fees paid by the city of Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. And that will be shown in future testimony?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That will, and future testimony will also show that people who, apparently, had an income, received this examination; at least, their signature is on the board of health card, and that will be introduced here—men who were known to have had an income at the time they took the examination—a man I do not mind mentioning by name, if the committee cares to hear it, a man of prominence in the labor activity, Walter Reuther and his wife; Victor Reuther and his wife; and Phil Raymond and many others who will be brought into the testimony.

Mr. MOSIER. Yet they signed a slip—

Mr. MCGILLIS. Stating they were unable to pay.

Mr. MOSIER. Stating they were unable to pay?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And in those circumstances, under the law of the city of Detroit, the city paid the bill to the doctor?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, at that point: How do you know those facts to be true?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I have seen photostat copies of the cards in the files of the Board of Health of the City of Detroit, and those will be introduced here.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know those photostat copies are correct?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Because I know the cards were taken out of the records of the Board of Health of the City of Detroit. There will be forgeries that will be developed. There has been an investigation, and Mayor Reading has been cooperating in this; and, without knowing it, as I see it, Mayor Reading may think it necessary to conduct his own investigation into that particular department.

To get back to Collier, because we were not away from him—

Mr. MOSIER. I think I interrupted you, Mr. McGillis, in the middle of your testimony.

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is quite all right, Congressman.

After Collier had had his examination, he went back to Raymond, who handed him \$12 for bus fare to New York and gave him a note to a man named Manny, and gave him an address which, as Collier remembers it, was on Second Avenue in New York. Collier went directly to Manny as soon as he arrived in New York. Manny asked Collier if he had brought with him his birth certificate.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, right at that point: Testimony before this committee from other recruits mentioned Manny's name, likewise, coming from Boston, Mass. They were instructed to go to Manny.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I am glad to learn that.

The CHAIRMAN. I mentioned that, because that, apparently, ties in with testimony we previously received from an entirely different section of the country.

Go ahead.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Manny asked Collier if he had brought with him his birth certificate. When informed by Collier that he had not, Manny gave Collier \$3 for food and told him to go over to the World Tours, in the Flatiron Building, New York, where he would be given a bus ticket back to Detroit. He was also given a note to hand to Phil Raymond on his return to Detroit.

Collier remained in New York for a few days and, upon his return to Detroit, took up residence with Taylor and Shugrue and, while living with them, became a member of the Communist Party. Here is a photostatic copy of his membership book, Collier's membership book [exhibiting], in the Communist Party, and the original is available for the committee, if it desires it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this will go in the record as exhibit No. 5, and the original can be supplied later.

(The photostatic copy above referred to was marked "McGillis (Detroit), Exhibit No. 5" and filed with the committee, being a photostatic copy of membership book issued in the name of Emmett O. Collier.)

Mr. MCGILLIS. Collier took part in the activities of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the day unit of the Communist Party. In this connection, I present a statement signed by Collier telling of some of his activities and naming other Detroiters who were members of the day unit.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Collier is here and we will hear his own testimony. Does that complete your statement with reference to the present matter, or do you have some more?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, Congressman. I believe that the record should also include this newspaper story from the Jackson, Mich., Citizen-Patriot, on August 10, 1938, in connection with recruiting.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to have the newspaperman who wrote that before us.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I understand he will be before this committee as a witness.

The CHAIRMAN. That is purely hearsay and, while there is a good deal of latitude allowed, necessarily, in the conduct of these investigations and we do not conduct them like they do in court, in any congressional investigation, nevertheless, we try, as much as possible, to stay within the rules and, if we can get the man, we talk to the man.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I would suggest that the committee, by all means, talk to the man. He is available and is willing to testify before the committee.

Now these are not rare cases, as before this committee will be presented names and incidents which will possibly prove them to be the rule, rather than the exception.

That concludes my statement with regard to the recruiting angle and, if the committee desires to hear Collier at this point, I shall be glad to relinquish the chair and then, later, tell of some of the organizations, which the committee has undoubtedly heard about in other parts of the country, who are active in Detroit in raising funds and other communistic activities in connection with the Spanish civil war.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with those organizations: Do you know whether or not there are well-known Communists on the boards of directors, or who hold strategic positions in those organizations?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes. Take the case of the International Workers Order in Detroit. Joseph Schiffer—

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we cover that later, as we are really getting into another phase, and before we get into the other phase suppose we have Mr. Collier testify and finish up with the Spanish Loyalist recruiting, and then go into the other organizations.

Mr. MCGILLIS. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But, in connection with the organizations, what I am interested in finding out is whether or not your investigation in this area has disclosed that these organizations have well-known Communists on their boards of directors, or in strategic positions, who invariably denounce fascism and nazi-ism, but are silent in reference to communism?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And they constantly parade with banners denouncing fascism and nazi-ism, but they are silent with reference to communism and, in some instances, openly approve it?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they adopt the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is to conceal their true identity and enlist well-meaning people under banners to give them added strength, which they could not secure except in the absence of investigation?

Mr. MCGILLIS. For the purpose of raising funds and conducting propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take those organizations up at a separate time, and suppose we have Mr. Collier at this point.

TESTIMONY OF EMMETT O. COLLIER, DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Emmett O. Collier?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. C-o-l-l-i-e-r?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are 28 years of age?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were born in what place?

Mr. COLLIER. De Funiak Springs, Fla.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come to Detroit?

Mr. COLLIER. At the age of 17 years.

The CHAIRMAN. In October 1928; is that right?

Mr. COLLIER. Approximately that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am using your statement, Mr. Collier, which was furnished me, in asking these questions. You made that statement to Mr. McGillis?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever enlist in the United States Army?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mr. COLLIER. Approximately April 13, 1931, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. April 13, 1931?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go?

Mr. COLLIER. Fort Hoyle, Md.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were discharged at Camp McCoy, Wis., September 29, 1932; is that right?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You returned to Detroit, and then you got a job?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get a job?

Mr. COLLIER. At the Book-Cadillac Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a father living?

Mr. COLLIER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a mother living?

Mr. COLLIER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any living relatives?

Mr. COLLIER. I have a brother, sir, in the Army at Fort Hoyle, Md., a sergeant, and a sister down in Sumter, Ga.

The CHAIRMAN. They are your only living relatives?

Mr. COLLIER. And I have a brother in Dearborn, at 6032 Gilbert, Dearborn.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean Dearborn, Mich.?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has it been since your father and mother died?

Mr. COLLIER. My father died at the age of 13, and my mother at the age of 5.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your age?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose, for the sake of brevity in getting your testimony, that I ask you with reference to your statement which was furnished me.

Your first job was at the Book-Cadillac Hotel, as an elevator operator, from June 1932, until February 1933; is that right?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You then returned to New York—you went to New York?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Stayed about a week and a half and came back to Detroit? Is that right?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You then worked at the Grant Hotel for about 3 weeks?

Mr. COLLIER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you joined a C. C. C. camp at Munissing, Mich., where you were learning to be a senior foreman?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This is really unimportant, but it is just to get the background.

You came back to Detroit, after that?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And worked at the Washington Boulevard Building for a couple of months?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in July, went to Milwaukee for 2 weeks?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you came back to the Leland Hotel in Detroit?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had an application in at the Dodge plant, and the week before Christmas were called to go to work; is that correct?

Mr. COLLIER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is as stated in your affidavit?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to you at the Dodge plant?

Mr. COLLIER. I quit, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you quit?

Mr. COLLIER. I was kind of disgusted with the United Automobile Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that really has no bearing on this particular inquiry. Anyway, you quit?

Mr. COLLIER. I quit.

The CHAIRMAN. It did not have anything to do with communism?

Mr. COLLIER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not interested in the union activity phase of it.

After you quit you went to work where?

Mr. COLLIER. I went to work tending the bar at the Hollywood, in West Fourth Street, about December 19, and I worked there until March 20, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. This year?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. From that point, when did you first become interested in the Spanish Loyalist cause?

Mr. COLLIER. I had been thinking about it a couple of weeks prior to about the 15th of May. I am not certain about the date, but about the 15th of May 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Just tell us from then on—in your own words—what took place.

Mr. COLLIER. I went up to see the Spanish consul in the Francis Palms Building to get information with regard to going over to

Spain, and it seems as though the Spanish consul was not in, and this girl up there—I do not know her name—told me they were not recruiting; that they needed arms more than men; but she said she would give my name and address to a couple of fellows who might have something to do with recruiting in Spain. She said, "We know they get over there somehow; but," she said, "how, I don't know." But she gave me their address.

The CHAIRMAN. Just at that point, in order to get the background: When you became interested in the Spanish Loyalist cause in Spain, were you attending any Communist meetings prior to your interest in this cause?

Mr. COLLIER. No, sir; I was not interested in the cause, sir. My situation was one purely of adventure.

The CHAIRMAN. At what point did you attend social gatherings and meetings in which the cause was mentioned? Was that before you enlisted, or after?

Mr. COLLIER. After I enlisted, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just continue on, then, with your statement.

Mr. COLLIER. So one of those addresses the girl in the Spanish office gave me was the address of Sol Green, in the Medical Bureau to Aid Spain, 912 Charlevoix Building. I went down and contacted Mr. Green. He wanted to know what I wanted. He took me in his private office. I was a little hesitant to talk. He said, "Never mind telling me; I know what is on your mind. Tell me all about yourself so I can have a record of you." So I explained to him about my dishonorable discharge from the United States Army, and Mr. Green said, "I will tell you," he said, "we know these fellows get over there somehow, but I don't know how they get over there; but," he said, "you go over and contact Pat Daniels and Robert Taylor—the names should not be hard to remember—at 1504 Broadway, room 306, at the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade."

So I went over there and contacted Pat Daniels and Bob Taylor, and they told me—they said, "We know what you want." And they told me about the prior conversation I had had with Sol Green, and I explained to him about my discharge, so that I know there was a call preceding me to Taylor from Green. So Daniels asked me was I interested in the class struggle. I told him I did not know what he was talking about. He says, "Well, are you a union man?" I said, "Yes; I carry a card in the bartenders' union." He says, "Well, you are all right, then." He says, "You go home and leave your name and address and," he says, "you will get a card in the mail telling you to report to such and such an address, if you really want to go."

So the next day I did not have anything to do and was just loafing around town, and I dropped in over there again. So Daniels says, "Let's go." So we all go down and get in the car, and Frankfeldt was driver, and he took me over to 5969 Fourteenth Street, where I contacted Phil Raymond, and Phil Raymond asked me if I knew what fascism meant. I told him I didn't know. He explained to me what fascism meant—the shooting of helpless women and children, and the ravishing of a country.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say anything about what communism meant?

Mr. COLLIER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not mention that?

MR. COLLIER. No, sir. So Phil Raymond questioned me and Daniels questioned me as regards my Army status. They wanted to know what I was in, what my commanding officer's name was, where I was in, where I was discharged at, how long I was in. He asked me about the different posts around this particular post I was in. It seemed as though Daniels had quite a line on our military posts all over the country, and he questioned me as to the number of posts around here and the names of them.

So Phil Raymond, after the conversation was over, gave me a note to Dr. E. M. Shafarman, on John R. Street. I do not remember his address at the present time. He says "You go over there to this fellow and, if there is anything wrong with you, he will find it out." So I go there and take one of the stiffest examinations I have ever taken anywhere. I asked Dr. Shafarman why he gave such a stiff examination. I said, "I never had such a stiff examination in the United States Army." Dr. Shafarman says, "My boy, it costs an awful lot of money to send you where you are going." He says, "It costs 'us' an awful lot of money." He says, "It costs us an awful lot of money to send you where you are going and," he says, "we want you to be in perfect physical condition to go there." So while I was there I take a tuberculin test and sign a blue card that had the heading "City of Detroit" on it, "Public Health Department," saying that I was unable to pay for this examination, the tuberculin test. And I also had a Wassermann test and also signed a card to that effect, too.

The CHAIRMAN. The same kind of a card?

MR. COLLIER. Yes, sir. My examination consisted of an X-ray of the chest, a Wassermann test, a tuberculin test, and I don't know what they call these things they go all over your body with and look all through your body—a fluoroscope—they went all over my body with the fluoroscope and, of course, he gave me the regular routine tests like urinalysis, and so forth, the same as you get in the Regular Army. Then he said, "You go home and come back Friday, and I will let you know the result of this examination." This was Tuesday. I went back the following Friday, and he gave me that note which you have up there.

MR. MOSIER. You mean the note which was introduced in evidence and which says, "This boy is O. K." and signed "Gene"?

MR. COLLIER. I saw Dr. E. M. Shafarman sign that note himself.

The CHAIRMAN. You saw Dr. Shafarman sign that note himself?

MR. COLLIER. I saw him.

The CHAIRMAN. And he signed it "Gene"?

MR. COLLIER. He signed it "Gene." He and Phil Raymond were pretty good pals and call each other "Phil" and "Gene."

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

MR. COLLIER. I have seen them together. They kid one another quite a bit. Sol Green is quite a pal of his, too.

So I took the note back to Phil Raymond at 5969 Fourteenth Street, the Communist headquarters. Phil Raymond was not in. This was Friday afternoon. They told me to come back Monday and contact Phil Raymond. Monday I came back, and there was another young fellow by the name of Rudy—is all the name I know—connected with the International Workers Order, on Grand Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. COLLIER. Rudy is his first name; I don't remember his last name. Rudy was going to New York, too, to go to Spain, and this Rudy—Phil was hesitant about sending him—this is what Rudy was telling me—because Rudy had been active in recruiting young fellows to go to Spain.

So, while I was there, Phil Raymond asked me what political party I was a member of. I told him "None," but "I voted Democratic." He says, "Always remember one thing; when you go over to Spain you are fighting for democracy," and he gave me \$12 and made me sign a receipt, and told me to stop off and get some pictures made, and he gave me the name of Mr. Manny, in New York. I am not certain whether the address was 189 or 489 Second Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. M-a-n-y?

Mr. COLLIER. No; M-a-n-n-y. There I contacted this Mr. Manny; and, right away, he wanted to know if I had a birth certificate. I said "No." He said—he bawled Phil Raymond out for everything he could think of for sending a man down without his birth certificate. He said it was possible to get men out, but at that particular time it was not possible to get men out without a birth certificate.

Mr. MOSIER. You mean to get them out of the country?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. So Mr. Manny gave me \$3 in cash and made me sign a receipt for it, for expense money back to Detroit. He also gave me a letter to take to the World Tours, Inc., in the Flatiron Building, New York City. There they gave me a bus ticket by the Greyhound Lines, by way of Cleveland, back to Detroit.

I had other ideas about coming back to Detroit. I realized the conditions were terribly tough here and thought I would stick around New York. So I spent the \$3 he gave me; then I sold the bus ticket for \$5.

In selling this bus ticket, some fellow overheard me talking and heard some fellow ask me where I got it, and I said "The Communist Party gave it to me; they sent me down to New York to go to Spain, and I could not get out," and this fellow wired the New York office—he was on the way to Philadelphia at the time, and he wired the New York office a description of me—so they knew all about it as soon as I got back to Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know he wired New York?

Mr. COLLIER. Because this fellow Rudy followed me by 2 days down to New York and back in 2 days, because he could not get out himself.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just a conclusion on your part that a wire was sent; you did not see the wire?

Mr. COLLIER. No; I did not see the wire.

Mr. MOSIER. At least you know that somebody at the bus station in New York asked you where you got the ticket, did he not?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And you told him you got it from the Communist Party?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And you sold the ticket there?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir; I sold it for \$5.

Mr. MOSIER. And when you get back to Detroit, you do know, of your own knowledge, they knew you had talked to someone in the bus station?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. And that you had sold your ticket?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. I hitchhiked my way back to Detroit. Then, when I came back to Detroit, I stayed with a friend of mine out on Telegraph Road for a couple of days and, in the meantime, sent Daniels and Taylor a postal card from Jamaica, Long Island, and told them I was heartbroke on it, that I could not get out of the country. So I called them up at Cadillac 4504 and they told me to drop down to see them. I was out at Hollywood in West Fourth, and I says: "I cannot trek it; my feet are all blistered." They sent the money out, and I sat around there for a little while. They asked me where I was going to stay. I said I did not know, that I did not have any place. They said: "Come over and stay with us; we are moving in an apartment at 4404 Brainard Street; you can come with us." I did not have anything else, so I went over there at 4404 Brainard Street and lived with them from approximately June 3 to August 10.

Mr. MOSIER. Of this year?

Mr. COLLIER. This year, 1938. While I was there, I was still trying to get my birth certificate from the State of Florida, writing all the time. Bob Taylor even financed my 50-cent fee for a birth certificate, for the cost of looking through the records, and they give me all my stamp money and everything, and I used their address.

So, in the event they sent it, I was talking to Tauno Sundsten. Tauno Sundsten was in the office alone with me, and he is a veteran of the Spanish war, and he says: "If you really are determined to go over there," he says, "your best bet is to join the Communist Party; because," he says, "it will make everything easier for you after you get over there." And he says, "Don't tell Pat Daniels or Bob Taylor that I told you, though."

So, when Daniels came back, I mentioned the fact—I says, "How about my joining up with the Communist Party?" And he says, "Espeta momento." That is the Spanish for "wait a minute." They used quite a few Spanish words in their conversation. So that day they took me over to the Communist Party and there I was introduced to Billy Allen, and Billy Allen has charge of this section I was in. I think it was section 5. And so I did not have any money. I think the dues was 10 cents for the unemployed, and Billy Allen took 10 cents out of his own pocket and paid it. I attended the meeting the following Wednesday at 11 o'clock, on Twelfth and Taylor, at the International Workers' Order, on the second floor. We met there for a couple of weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get your membership card when you paid 10 cents?

Mr. COLLIER. No, sir; it was a couple of weeks later when I got my membership card. I think I got my membership card the 25th of June.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a true and correct photostatic copy of your membership card [exhibiting exhibit No. 5.]?

Mr. COLLIER. Can I see it?

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen this?

Mr. COLLIER. I have not seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. Examine it and tell me whether that is a true and correct copy.

Mr. COLLIER. (after examining paper). Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This membership card says "1938 Membership Book No. 94516." Do you know what that number signifies?

Mr. COLLIER. I presume it is the serial number of all the books.

The CHAIRMAN. You just presume; you do not know?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want you to testify to something you do not know. Now it says, "district 7, section 5"?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. That was my section.

The CHAIRMAN. Then on the other page—well, we won't go into that now. Continue, now. That was 2 weeks after the initial meeting, was it not?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go there during the interim between that time?

Mr. COLLIER. No; not there; but they gave me a job driving for the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; so, as a result, I contacted all of the places they held meetings. In fact, I went with Daniels to several union meetings and several Communist meetings during the time I worked for the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and there I met practically all of the members of the Communist Party. I tended bar on Sundays out at their picnic grounds at Camp Liberty, on Twelve Mile Road and Halstead Road.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a Communist camp?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. I was bartender out there several times. I worked out there the 3d and 4th of July; I worked out there about a week before the Fourth of July, and I worked out there a couple of times after that. Then these meetings that we had a couple of mornings there, they were late getting down. We did not meet until 11 o'clock in the morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were these meetings?

Mr. COLLIER. On Twelfth and Taylor Streets, sir, in the International Workers Order's office.

The CHAIRMAN. How many met there when you were there?

Mr. COLLIER. Approximately 10 or 12, sir. I can name the most of them, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and name all you can.

Mr. COLLIER. Well, there was Pat Daniels—that is the alias for Seugrue; Bob Taylor, or Robert Taylor—

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know what his name was? Is that his real name?

Mr. COLLIER. I think it is his real name, because he has a sister in the U. O. P. W. A., here in this city, Grace Taylor.

Mr. MOSIER. What is that U. O. P. W. A.?

Mr. COLLIER. The United Office and Professional Workers' Association. There was Joseph Schiffer, proprietor of the Forest hand laundry on Woodward Avenue, near Forest; and there was Bruce Layton, from the Morning Freiheit—that is a Jewish morning paper; and Grace Lieberman. She is connected with the Committee to Aid the

Chinese people. There was also a Michael Kamm, who is a member of Labor's Nonpartisan League.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you name any more?

Mr. COLLIER. I am sorry, sir. I forget most of their names.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. You can take your time, if you wish to.

Mr. COLLIER. I think those names are in the record, the most of them that I have given.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, continue from where you left off. I believe you said that was a meeting 2 weeks after the first meeting?

Mr. COLLIER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the meeting in which you were given your membership card?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. I was automatically attached to the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, living with Bob Taylor and Pat Daniels; so, while I was with them, they kept me eating, and I drove them everywhere they wanted to go and did practically everything they asked me to do.

The CHAIRMAN. They were members of the Communist Party, likewise?

Mr. COLLIER. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you drove them where they wanted to go?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were some of the places you would go?

Mr. COLLIER. Most of our driving was from 1504 Broadway to 5969 Fourteenth Street.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that place?

Mr. COLLIER. That was the Communist Party headquarters, sir. Our other places we went—we went out to Weiss' house more than any. That is on Canfield. I do not remember the address, but I think you will find the address on there [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of a place is that?

Mr. COLLIER. Out there they store old clothing and tinfoil, canned milk, shoes, and so forth, to aid the Spanish movement. They have a big garage out there that is stacked full of stuff. In fact, I have taken clothes out there five or six times myself.

Other places we went was to a party on Third Street, and the parties they would have were to raise funds.

I tended bar at a house on Clairmount one night. The lady's name is Bess Schneiderman. They wanted to raise money for the Jewish unit of the Communist Party. This Bess Schneiderman is connected with the United Automobile Workers in the capacity of a nurse in the doctors' unit of the United Automobile Workers.

I also tended bar at—I am sorry; I cannot think of that doctor's name now—at 85 West Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, just go ahead.

Mr. COLLIER. I tended bar there at 85 West Chicago to raise money for the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and there I made out my own menus and everything for mixed drinks, and had complete charge of the mixing of drinks. They gave me a fellow to work with me. His name was Max Rosenstein. Incidentally, this Max Rosenstein has a son fighting with the Loyalist forces in Spain that is reported missing at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that to be a fact?

Mr. COLLIER. I know; I have talked with Mr. and Mrs. Rosenstein up at their house. She seems to be heartbroken over it. And I have seen the story in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. To what other places did you go?

Mr. COLLIER. At what other places did I work?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes: when you were driving them around. Any other places at all?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes; we contacted quite a few girl friends in different situations. There was Sandbank's house right off here from Alexander. I don't remember the street.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not care to go into anything now that does not relate to communistic activities.

Mr. MOSIER. May I ask you a question?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. At these meetings you attended, did you hear discussions about enlisting boys for the boyhood cause, at any time?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes; I heard—it is supposed to be a great honor to be able to go to Spain and fight for Loyalist Spain, in Communist circles. That is the way it was spread out to me.

Mr. MOSIER. And did they offer any money inducements to go there?

Mr. COLLIER. They did not offer me any money, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they tell you that by reason of your Army experience you might be more than a private when you got there?

Mr. COLLIER. They told me by virtue of my Army experience that I would probably be made a lieutenant as soon as I got there, at a thousand pesetas a month. Whatever a peseta is, I don't know.

Mr. MOSIER. At a thousand pesetas a month?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know what privates get over there?

Mr. COLLIER. Well, I was told that privates get 7 pesetas a day.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, did you ever hear Phil Raymond talk to any of these meetings?

Mr. COLLIER. No; not at any meeting, but I heard Phil Raymond talk at Carpathia hall, at the going-away banquet for Weinstone, and I heard Phil Raymond make an election speech out there.

Mr. MOSIER. Who was Weinstone?

Mr. COLLIER. I don't know who Weinstone was supposed to be. I guess Weinstone was secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan. I don't know just exactly his capacity; I know he was a big shot, though.

Mr. MOSIER. What was his first name?

Mr. COLLIER. William.

Mr. MOSIER. William Weinstone?

Mr. COLLIER. W. W. Weinstone.

Mr. MOSIER. And they gave him a dinner when he left Michigan?

Mr. COLLIER. Oh, quite a banquet. I attended that banquet.

Mr. MOSIER. How many were there, approximately?

Mr. COLLIER. Approximately 1,000.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you recognize in the audience any members of the Communist Party?

Mr. COLLIER. I sat with Billy Weiss, of the Young Communist League; I also sat with this Rudy, that I mentioned before; and Pat Daniels made a speech. He was introduced wrong, but he still

made a speech. Martini was taking pictures and Kowalski—he made a speech.

Mr. MOSIER. Who is Kowalski?

Mr. COLLIER. Kowalski is a big shot in the Communist Party at Hamtramck, at Yeaman's hall.

Mr. MOSIER. These men who made speeches—by the way, when was this dinner, approximately?

Mr. COLLIER. Approximately July 1.

Mr. MOSIER. This year, 1938?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. I would not be specific about that.

Mr. MOSIER. In those speeches that those men made, whom you say are members of the Communist Party, did they laud the Loyalist cause in Spain?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir; and this M. Bodeaux, who is a member of the Chamber of Deputies from France, was there.

Mr. MOSIER. He was present?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir; and he made quite a speech that had to be translated. I also sat with this Leuchtman girl—I do not remember her first name—and there was a girl from Windsor, Ontario. Her name is Edna Marks. She came over and went with Robert Taylor, Daniels, and myself out there; but she goes under the name of Ann Ross and Edna Ross.

Mr. MOSIER. Is she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COLLIER. In Windsor, sir, I don't know, myself, but they call her "Comrade." She is quite active in Communist circles in Windsor, I understand. She commutes frequently between Windsor and Detroit and buy clothes.

Mr. MOSIER. Does Phil Raymond have any other visible means of living, except through his work for the Communist Party?

Mr. COLLIER. I have been told that is all he does, is to work for the Communist Party. I have never seen him, with the exception of seeing him there at 5969 Fourteenth Street.

Mr. MOSIER. At this meeting of the Communist Party, was there a collection taken up, usually?

Mr. COLLIER. No. You have to pay your dues, and they assess you sometimes. From the time I went in there, to the time I disappeared, I have never paid a cent for anything.

Mr. MOSIER. But you do know they levy assessments on their members from time to time?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir; I do know there are assessments.

Mr. MOSIER. For various reasons?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. While you were familiar with their operations, did you know of any of them participating in any strikes in and around Detroit?

Mr. COLLIER. I do not remember the day, but there was one day around the city hall they had a protest to Mayor Reading where there was quite a few of them there—in fact, some of them wore the United Automobile Workers' caps and came back with the United Automobile Workers' caps, and two or three left their caps, and one of the boys who left a cap there was Frank Novakowski. He was arrested. He goes under the name of Frank Novak. He left his cap there. And there was one time, out at Camp Liberty, when they told us to go down and fill the council chambers one morning, in a protest.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you remember what the protest was about?

Mr. COLLIER. No; I don't remember what the protest was about.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you remember who told you that?

Mr. COLLIER. No; I could not say because they were talking over a loud speaker and there was a crowd all around—talking over the public address system.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you ever hear, at any of these meetings, any one of the members making a speech about joining the Loyalist forces?

Mr. COLLIER. No. That is all covered up, sir; it is more or less secretive in the way of doing it. They never know who is out at these meetings, you know, so they have to be rather careful about it.

Mr. MOSIER. When you talked to Phil Raymond and he gave you \$12 to go to New York, do you recall how the \$12 was divided? Was it twelve \$1 bills?

Mr. COLLIER. It was a \$5 bill, or two \$5 bills and two \$1 bills.

Mr. MOSIER. And did he give that to you himself?

Mr. COLLIER. Phil Raymond handed that to me. In fact, he borrowed it. I think he borrowed \$2 from Rudy.

Mr. MOSIER. Was it in his office at that place?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, at 5969 Fourteenth Street.

Mr. MOSIER. And he was handing that money to you?

Mr. COLLIER. He handed the money to me and told me to get a bus ticket, that the bus left in half an hour, I think.

Mr. MOSIER. To get a bus ticket to New York?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And there to see Manny?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes. He cautioned me not to talk to anyone on the way down, "because," he said, "you can get in a lot of trouble about that." After I got down to New York, I did not care; I was kind of disgusted then, and I did not care whether I talked or whether I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not Dr. Shafarman has any office in the Officers' Reserve Corps?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. While I was there I mentioned the fact—when I was taking this physical examination—I mentioned the fact my feet were flat. He says, "Well, you ought to know by now that we don't mind flat feet in the Army." I says, "You talk like you have been in the Army." "Oh," he says, "I am yet," and he points to a commission. I believe the commission was as a lieutenant—I don't remember—in the Medical Corps.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Reserve Officers' Corps?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the Michigan National Guard?

Mr. COLLIER. No; I think it is the Reserve Officers. It is signed by President Roosevelt.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know of any other boys who were examined by Dr. Shafarman?

Mr. COLLIER. Rudy.

Mr. MOSIER. Rudy was?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. He was examined at the same time you were?

Mr. COLLIER. No; not at the same time I was; but he got his slip at the same time I did. Daniels and Frankfeldt were. They were not examined; they had the TB test, and they signed the same kind of cards I did.

Mr. MOSIER. That is this card they were unable to pay the fee to the doctor?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir. They will take a piece of glass and scrape your arm like this [indicating], and put some fluid on it—

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to go into that detail. How long since has it been that you attended a Communist meeting?

Mr. COLLIER. Oh, approximately July 20.

The CHAIRMAN. You are no longer in good standing?

Mr. COLLIER. I don't know whether I am in good standing or not. I have just disappeared from them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they sent you any summons that you appear, or tried to get in communication with you?

Mr. COLLIER. No; they don't know where I am at.

The CHAIRMAN. While you attended these meetings you heard a good many conversations among the various members present; did you not?

Mr. COLLIER. Oh, yes; I was connected right with them, sir; I was in their confidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear any conversation dealing with any method by which strikes could be called, or be industrial warfare, or anything of that character?

Mr. COLLIER. Well, yes. That seemed to be their way of furthering the Communist movement, is to join up with the trade unions. In fact, it is necessary that every Communist belong to a trade union.

The CHAIRMAN. What are they supposed to do when they get in a trade union?

Mr. COLLIER. You are supposed to agitate just as much as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. For better wages or shorter hours, or are they content when they get better wages or shorter hours; does that satisfy their objective?

Mr. COLLIER. My own contention, sir—

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want your contention; we want what you found out.

Mr. COLLIER. All I know is they are taught to agitate in these trade unions, and to try to get key positions as much as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear the name "League for Peace and Democracy"?

Mr. COLLIER. American League for Peace and Democracy. I attended a meeting at the Book-Cadillac Hotel where a lady that is chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy "chaired" this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Did what?

Mr. COLLIER. She was chairman at this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any Communists present at that meeting?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes. There was Martini, Bob Taylor, Pat Daniels, myself, and Ellen Jones, and Manny and Green.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you all do at that meeting?

Mr. COLLIER. At that meeting they were trying to raise funds for the repatriation of the wounded boys in Spain—to bring them back. They were trying to raise \$2,500, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. So you learned, as a member of the Communist Party, that their strategy was to enter trade-union movements and obtain key positions?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And to agitate constantly?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To bring about strikes and unrest?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you learn the object of that was to improve the conditions of the working man, or was it rather to create strife and warfare?

Mr. COLLIER. Well, they claim it is to better the conditions of the working man.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear any members of the Communist Party advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. COLLIER. Well, I have heard them say they were doing an awful lot of work for the number of members they had, and, within the next year or two they were going to have 250,000 members.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. COLLIER. In the United States. At the present time, they told me, they have 96,000 members, and they say the 96,000 members they have in the Communist Party in the United States are doing an awful lot of great work. They mentioned to me if they get 250,000 members in the Communist Party, there will be a time when they will be able to control the United States of America and make it a "Soviet United States."

The CHAIRMAN. Did they speak of the fact when they seized control of Russia they had less than 2 percent of the entire population of Russia?

Mr. COLLIER. They told me the Communist Party had less than 10 percent; that less than 10 percent were Communists in Russia when they seized control of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Less than 10 percent were Communists in Russia?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When they seized control?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you anything about it being necessary to join their organizations with high-sounding titles and seize strategic positions?

Mr. COLLIER. Well, I didn't know very much about communism, but I asked Daniels. I tried to get him to explain the different workings of the organization. "Well," he said, "their main principle is to set up organizations under different names now," he said, "and control those organizations." I says, "Well, what are some that you control?" He said, "The American League for Peace and Democracy; the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Labor's Nonpartisan League." He says, "We also built the C. I. O. up."

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did they talk about a revolution at any time?

Mr. COLLIER. Well, that is all they can talk about, is revolution. In fact, I used to loaf around on the corner and those fellows would come up and kid me and said, "Well, you cannot start any revolutions here." That is one of their greetings—"You cannot start any revolutions here."

The CHAIRMAN. Did they say what blessings would come to the party members when they got in control?

Mr. COLLIER. Well, they said there would be a square deal for everybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever tell you anything about the necessity of obeying the orders of the Comintern from the Third International?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes; I was supposed to be a disciplined party member, but I am not very disciplined at any time. I have had quite a few arguments.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you understood, from their observations and instructions, that to be a good Communist you had to obey the orders that came from the Comintern in Russia?

Mr. COLLIER. Oh, yes; it is a known fact that we get out orders from Russia, about what to do in creating strife.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not Bob Taylor draws compensation from the Communist Party for being wounded in Spain?

Mr. COLLIER. No. Bob Taylor draws \$15 a week as salary as secretary of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. I do know that Tauno Sundsten—I have seen checks and have seen a letter where he was cut down to \$5 a week. He was getting \$10 a week compensation for being in Spain, but is now cut down to \$5 a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever tell you about sympathizers, those who were not actually party members, but fellow travelers?

Mr. COLLIER. Oh, they told me quite a bit. Do you mean for me to name some of their sympathizers?

The CHAIRMAN. No. In those meetings was there a discussion as to certain people who, while they are not party members, were known as sympathizers with the Communists?

Mr. COLLIER. Oh, yes. I can name them. I heard the conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. We might take up that phase later, and we can recall you at any time?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are willing to come and testify before the committee at any time?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, sir; at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate very much your willingness to testify. All that this committee is concerned with is the facts.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I was wondering about these pictures they took of me here. Do they have to go in the paper?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they have been taken now, but if you had said something in reference to it—

Mr. COLLIER. I am pretty well known around town, in these circles, and it is kind of dangerous.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is not dangerous to testify before this committee, because you will have the protection of the Federal Government. We have had witnesses to testify under similar conditions and we have told any witness he need have nothing to fear; that the full protection of the United States Government will be accorded every witness, and you will have nothing to fear. So if there is any intimidation, or anything else, if you will report it to this committee we will see that you have ample protection.

This concludes the testimony for this afternoon. We will meet in the morning at 10 o'clock sharp.

(Thereupon, at 3:25 p. m., the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, October 12, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

Federal Building, Detroit, Mich.

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

Present also: Hon. Harold G. Mosier.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Howe, bring on your first witness, please.

Mr. HOWE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the first witness will be a boy born in Detroit, by the name of Padgett, whose name was introduced here yesterday.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL PADGETT, DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is what?

Mr. PADGETT. Paul Padgett.

The CHAIRMAN. Paul Padgett?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to talk as loudly as you can, Paul, so that we can hear your testimony.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you, Paul?

Mr. PADGETT. I am 19 years old.

The CHAIRMAN. You have lived here in Detroit all of your life?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you frightened to testify?

Mr. PADGETT. No; I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been threatened?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes. Last night a couple came to the door and told my mother for me not to come down to the Federal Building any more.

The CHAIRMAN. To tell you not to show up any more?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your mother frightened?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; she is.

The CHAIRMAN. You know you will have the full protection of the Federal Government, do you not?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the names of the ones who showed up at your house?

Mr. PADGETT. No; I don't. My mother gave me a description of them, but she was pretty excited at the time and it was not very good; she could not describe them perfectly.

The CHAIRMAN. Paul, will you tell us, in your own words, what happened to you, what your experiences were, with reference to your ambition or intention to enlist in the Spanish Loyalist forces in Spain?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, it began around the first of the year. I was going around with a girl and I became acquainted with the Communist Party. I joined the Y. C. L. I got interested in going to Spain because I was out of work and did not want to be a burden on anyone at all; I wanted to take care of myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you became acquainted with the Communist Party: Whom did you become acquainted with? What were the names?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, certain people—Phil Raymond, Robert Taylor—he was over in Spain; he is an officer of the Lincoln Battalion—and other people; going to benefits and at meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to some party meetings?

Mr. PADGETT. I was at one party meeting at 942 East Canfield.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you became interested in going to Spain?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened then, after you met these people?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, one evening, at a meeting of the Y. C. L., I find out where to go.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Y. C. L.—the Young Communists League?

Mr. PADGETT. The Young Communists League; yes, sir. I went to see Phil Raymond and we talked. He gave me a note to see a doctor living on John R—Dr. Shafarman.

The CHAIRMAN. He gave you a note?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it in writing?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that note?

Mr. PADGETT. No; I have not. I gave that to Dr. Shafarman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read the note?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did it say?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, it was quite awhile ago. I don't remember very exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the substance of it?

Mr. PADGETT. That he should take care of me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you carry that note to the doctor?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir; to Dr. Shafarman. He took the note and told me to come back later in the evening. I went back later in the evening and I was given a physical examination by Dr. Lendrum.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when was that when you went to Dr. Shafarman's office; about what date?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, I think it was sometime in January. I could not say what the date was.

The CHAIRMAN. Sometime in January of this year?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see Dr. Shafarman yourself?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not on his vacation then?

Mr. PADGETT. No; he was not.

The CHAIRMAN. You handed him the note?

Mr. PADGETT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And he told you what?

Mr. PADGETT. He told me to come back in the evening, around 8 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. To come back in the evening?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At what time?

Mr. PADGETT. I think about 8 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go back that evening?

Mr. PADGETT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened then?

Mr. PADGETT. I was examined by Dr. Lendrum.

The CHAIRMAN. By Dr. Lendrum?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he give you a thorough examination?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir; a very strict examination.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, what is your address; where do you live?

Mr. PADGETT. At 4816 Trumbull.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is the doctor's address—Dr. Shafarman's address?

Mr. PADGETT. I don't remember the address. I think it is 55-something, John R.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to his offices?

Mr. PADGETT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And Dr. Lendrum was in the same offices?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, they are Dr. Shafarman's offices and several other doctors'. Dr. Lendrum was there in the evening.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he in Dr. Shafarman's office?

Mr. PADGETT. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. You went back in the evening?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a thorough examination?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, when you had the examination, what did Dr. Lendrum say to you?

Mr. PADGETT. That I was not quite O. K.; I seemed to be running a high temperature, and he told me to come back several times. Finally Dr. Lendrum, wondering what it was, he looked in my throat and said I had bad tonsils, and then he gave me a card to see Dr. Piazza on Mount Elliott and Forest.

The CHAIRMAN. After Dr. Lendrum examined you, you came back to see Dr. Shafarman?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And talked to Dr. Shafarman?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he told you your condition was not satisfactory?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, my teeth were bad.

The CHAIRMAN. Your teeth were bad?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then Dr. Shafarman told you to go to see whom?

Mr. PADGETT. Dr. Piazza, who is a dentist, to take care of my teeth.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the name of the building he is in?

Mr. PADGETT. I do not know the name of the building, but it is on Mount Elliott and Forest.

The CHAIRMAN. What else did Dr. Shafarman tell you?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, that was all for the present—I had to have my teeth taken care of and come back.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay Dr. Shafarman or Dr. Lendrum any money for their services?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir; not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you sign a blue slip; did they ask you to sign a blue slip?

Mr. PADGETT. I remember signing a slip; I don't know whether it was blue or yellow.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what kind of a slip did you understand it to be?

Mr. PADGETT. A slip for a TB test.

The CHAIRMAN. Was "City of Detroit" printed on the slip?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir; it was.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of your signing that slip?

Mr. PADGETT. I think for him to send in to the city, to be paid for the TB test.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Now, going back just a little: When Phil Raymond first talked to you about this, did he ever tell you what you would get in the way of compensation for going to Spain?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir; he didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever promise you anything?

Mr. PADGETT. Nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone ever promise you anything?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever hold out any inducements, to tell you why you should go?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, there was talk around the Y. C. L. by the Communists that it was to benefit the world and save the world from fascism. That was not the reason I was going; I wasn't going to fight for principles or ideals.

The CHAIRMAN. You were going for adventure and excitement; is that right?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, somewhat, and to relieve my mother of the burden I was upon her.

The CHAIRMAN. Your mother is a widow?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, not a widow; she is divorced.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a widow.

Mr. PADGETT. The same thing, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you help support your mother?

Mr. PADGETT. I do now.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not have a job and you wanted to get a job?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did they tell you you might become an officer or something of that sort?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, it was understood there was a chance for advancement, always.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did Phil Raymond tell you there was a chance for advancement?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone else tell you there was a chance for advancement?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, during the Y. C. L. meetings we heard about going to Spain. I talked to several people and heard that where communism exists there was always a better chance for a person who worked for Communist ideals.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear any speeches made at Y. C. L. meetings—Young Communist meetings?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, what type of speech?

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. PADGETT. What type of speech? They were always talking about something—making all kinds of speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the names of any who spoke?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, there was Johnny McAdoo, and one evening there came several fellows who were just about ready to leave for Spain. I just about forget most of the names now; it has been a long time since I have been around them.

The CHAIRMAN. And they made speeches about how glorious it would be to go over there and save Spain from fascism; is that right?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. After you had gone to Dr. Lendrum and Dr. Shafarman and had an examination, you made two trips to Dr. Shafarman?

Mr. PADGETT. Oh, it is probably more than that. I went back several times to have my temperature taken. It was running high.

The CHAIRMAN. You went back several times?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us more specifically how many times—three or four times?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; I imagine that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever say anything to the doctor about who was going to pay for this?

Mr. PADGETT. No; I didn't. It was just about understood it was going to be taken care of by the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a conclusion. How do you know that was understood?

Mr. PADGETT. I don't know for certain.

The CHAIRMAN. Then do not say something you do not know for certain. You understood you did not have to pay for it when you went?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were led to believe the Communists would pay for it; is that right?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How were you led to believe that? Did someone tell you that; did some Communist or Phil Raymond tell you that?

Mr. PADGETT. No. I talked to Taylor about what kind of an examination it was, whether it was very strict. He said it was not too strict. Well, it was just kind of understood they were to take care of it and not I.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not have any money?

Mr. PADGETT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They knew you were jobless?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And, therefore, could not pay for it?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Dr. Shafarman, Dr. Lendrum, or Dr. Piazza say anything to you about the Spanish cause?

Mr. PADGETT. No; but it was kind of talked of—not exactly talked of, but hinted at, that that was where we were going. They seemed to know it. Like about my teeth, he said they had to be taken care of now, because over there it would be much harder to take care of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What other statements were made besides that, which led you to believe they understood thoroughly where you were going? What did Dr. Shafarman say? That was Dr. Piazza you were testifying about who said you had better have your teeth taken care of now, because it would be harder later on when you got there?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Dr. Shafarman say anything about it at any time?

Mr. PADGETT. I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't remember?

Mr. PADGETT. No; sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Dr. Landrum say anything?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name; how do you spell it?

Mr. PADGETT. L-e-n-d-r-u-m, I believe, is the way it is spelled.

The CHAIRMAN. Lendrum?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. After you had gone to the doctors' offices, what did they finally tell you?

Mr. PADGETT. They finally said I was O. K., and I went back to see Phil Raymond.

The CHAIRMAN. You went back to see Phil Raymond?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what did you say to him?

Mr. PADGETT. I told him it was O. K. and I wanted to see about getting a passport. He told me to come back in about a week.

The CHAIRMAN. In about a week?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose?

Mr. PADGETT. To get money to go down and apply for a passport.

The CHAIRMAN. To get money?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was to supply the money?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you where he was getting the money?

Mr. PADGETT. No; he didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you anything else?

Mr. PADGETT. No; he didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come back in a week?

Mr. PADGETT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened then?

Mr. PADGETT. He told me they were having trouble about getting passports; that the Government was getting very strict about it; they were asking too many questions, wondering how working people had money to get passports. So he told me it would be much better to take one under a different name. At the time I was there, there was also a fellow by the name of John Wright and a fellow known as "Scotty"; another fellow known by the name of Murphy, and the three of them took false passports, but I refused. They went on to New York when I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. They took false passports under some other name?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you refused to apply for a passport or to accept a passport under a different name than your own; is that right?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you refused, what did he say to you?

Mr. PADGETT. He told me to think it over and come back.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you to think it over and come back?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But these other boys who were there—they accepted the passport and were sent to New York?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did anything else occur? Do you know how they went to New York?

Mr. PADGETT. I talked to John Wright as he came out of Phil Raymond's office. He told me he was leaving for New York that night. I don't know how they went.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any money passed between Phil Raymond and these other parties?

Mr. PADGETT. No; I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Phil Raymond say anything to you that he would pay your transportation to New York?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say "he" would pay it, or that the "Communists" would pay it?

Mr. PADGETT. I don't remember just who he said would pay it.

The CHAIRMAN. But he said it would be paid to Spain?

Mr. PADGETT. He said all my expenses would be taken care of.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say that he would see that was done?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But he did not tell you from whom he would get the money?

Mr. PADGETT. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But you know that all three of those other boys went to New York?

Mr. PADGETT. They did.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how they went—whether by bus or train?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir. I questioned John Wright later and he told me what happened, but I don't remember just how they went.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us stay away from hearsay. Now what else happened to you after that? Did you have any other experiences with reference to it?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir. I drifted away from the Communists and the Y. C. L., and have not been back since.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they tell you in the various Communist meetings about the purpose of the Communists?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, they told us to help organize people and some day there would be a revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Some day there would be a revolution?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you they wanted to organize among the young people—the youth?

Mr. PADGETT. That seemed to be their main purpose—to organize the youth.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they say they had any success in organizing in the schools—among the school students?

Mr. PADGETT. No; they didn't. They never mentioned the schools.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you about work in the labor-trade movement?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; it was quite commonly known that many of them were organizers in the unions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that yourself?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. That many of them were organizers in the unions?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir. There is one well-known Negro, Paul Kirk—

The CHAIRMAN. Paul who?

Mr. PADGETT. Paul Kirk—who was quite a well-known organizer of the U. A. W.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any others you can give the names of who were Communists, that you met in these meetings, that were organizers in the unions?

Mr. PADGETT. No; I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you graduate from high school here?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What high school?

Mr. PADGETT. Northeastern High School.

The CHAIRMAN. Northeastern High School?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet many young men at these Communist meetings?

Mr. PADGETT. Well the branch—the Young Communist League—that I belonged to, was in a Negro district.

The CHAIRMAN. Negroes were in it?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have many Negro members?

Mr. PADGETT. Many of them. I believe it amounted to about eighty-some.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the members?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they say anything about the progress they were making among the Negroes?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes. They often talked that it was one of their main objectives to organize the Negroes, and they were splitting the branch in two, because it was getting too big.

The CHAIRMAN. How big was that branch?

Mr. PADGETT. I believe they had eighty-some members, if I remember correctly.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever join the Communist Party?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir; I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you ever see anyone visit the Young Communist League, any of the meetings there, from outside of the officials or teachers, or anyone of that class?

Mr. PADGETT. At the Y. C. L. meeting one evening there was a young man making a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he?

Mr. PADGETT. I don't remember his name. I was not much interested.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of the Young Communists League?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you stop going to the meetings?

Mr. PADGETT. Oh, in about March.

The CHAIRMAN. About March?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any of them—any of the members—come to you to find out why you stopped going?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, they sent me several cards asking me to come to the meetings and I often ran into one or another of them and they asked me why I had not shown up.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you how they were going to bring on this revolution?

Mr. PADGETT. No; they didn't, except it was to organize the people and one day it would be just a natural revolution when that kind of people would take over.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you what kind of strategy or methods they would use?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you to agitate?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To picket or demonstrate?

Mr. PADGETT. Well, we were often asked to go on picket duty where there were strikes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not that is the general custom and practice of the Communists?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; it is. They often help the union, wherever they need pickets.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they go into the picket line whether they are employees involved in the strike or not?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anything else that you could add, that we have not questioned you about, with reference to Communist activities or with reference to the Spanish Loyalist situation?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir. I believe that is about all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the committee appreciates very much your willingness to testify, and we want to assure you if you receive any intimidation or any threats, if you will communicate with the committee, we will see that you receive ample protection. I thank you.

Mr. PADGETT. Thank you, sir.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. HOWE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the next witness will be Sgt. Leo Maciosek of the local Detroit police department.

TESTIMONY OF SGT. LEO MACIOSEK, POLICE DEPARTMENT, CITY OF DETROIT

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, Sergeant.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Leo Maciosek.

The CHAIRMAN. M-a-c-i-o-s-e-k?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the police department of the city of Detroit?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been connected with them?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. A little over 14 years.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I am assigned to the special investigation squad—a squad connected with the detective bureau of the Detroit police department.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you served in that capacity?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Since 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a part of your duties to investigate alien activities, or radical activities, in the city of Detroit?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have occasion from time to time to make such investigations?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have occasion to investigate the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the recruiting of soldiers or youth for the Spanish Loyalist cause?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. That is part of our assignment. One of our assignments is to keep track of Communist activities within the city of Detroit and in Greater Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you would mind telling me, in that connection, whether or not the police department, through a course of years, has had occasion to seize membership cards of Communists who have been arrested in raids, and so on, and so forth? Do you know whether that is true?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. We have some in our possession.

The CHAIRMAN. You had to surrender the originals; did you?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Sergeant, will you tell us what you know with reference to a recruiting of volunteers for the Spanish Loyalist cause and what you know of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. All right. May I refer to the notes?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and speak distinctly and loud enough so that we can hear you. I would like for you to tell us when the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was organized, when they organized recruiting for the Spanish Loyalist cause, who was in charge, how many boys were sent to Spain from Detroit, Mich., how many from Michigan, and information of that kind.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. It was brought to our attention, on or about August 1936, that there was a Committee to Aid the Spanish Democracy organized, and it was organized under the auspices of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, which is an organization functioning here in Detroit, and Lorene Brown was the secretary of this committee. And later on, through the information we obtained in talking to Dr. Lendrum, we learned that a man by the name of Bavaley was the treasurer of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That was called the Conference to Protect Civil Rights?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No. He was the treasurer of the Committee to Aid the Spanish People.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, was Dr. Lendrum a member of that?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. He said he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not Dr. Shafarman was a member of that?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Not at that time; but, later on, he became a member of a Spanish organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Of that committee?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead from that point.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. He was asked at that time if there was—if this organization was composed of Spanish people? He said it was not entirely composed of Spanish people, but there were a few Spaniards in the organization. Of course we didn't ask him for the names. So from August 1936, later on, they organized this group, and on their own stationery it gives the amount of money collected for the relief of the Spanish people, and the officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it give the names of officers and directors?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. And the offices are given as 310 Hofmann Building, the same as the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it say who the officers were, on the letterhead; are there any names on the letterhead?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Read that into the record.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. On the Conference for Protection of Civil Rights the officers are Rev. J. H. Bollens, chairman; Hon. Patrick H. O'Brien, counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that counsel? I did not get that.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Hon. Patrick H. O'Brien, and Marie Hempel, secretary. And on the letterhead of the Committee to Aid the Spanish Democracy, it is a financial statement of incomes which was given.

The CHAIRMAN. Read that into the record.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Lorene Brown, secretary, 310 Hofmann Building.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to keep that letterhead for your files?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. If it would be returned, I will submit it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it would be better for you to go ahead and read into the record exactly what is on there.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. In the statement given for February 22, 1937, the net income from December 7 meeting was \$3,092.46; general collections, \$765.62; collections since, United Croatian organizations, \$318.25; Jewish conference, \$500; general, \$67.16—total, \$4,743.49.

The CHAIRMAN. May I see that, please?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir (handing to chairman).

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if the reporter cannot take this and make an exact copy of it and return the original to you?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

(The statement above referred to is in full as follows:)

COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY,
LORENE BROWN, SECRETARY,
310 Hofmann Building, 2539 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.,
February 22, 1937.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

INCOME

Net income from Dec. 7 meeting (statement) rendered		
1/24/37 -----	\$3,092.46	
General collections-----	765.62	
Collections since:		
United Croatian Organizations-----	318.25	
Jewish Conference-----	500.00	
General-----	67.16	
	\$4,743.49	

DISBURSEMENTS

Office rent, supplies, postage, mailing, mimeo- graphing, telephones, telegrams, etc.:		
Reported on statement of 1/24/37-----	\$106.67	
Since 1/24 to date-----	14.10	
	120.77	
Ware house rent, boxes, bags, coal trucking, watchman:		
Reported on statement of 1/24/37-----	195.75	
Since 1/24 to date-----	28.23	
Freight to New York on clothing and food---	216.96	
	440.94	
Wages and labor:		
Reported on statement of 1/24/37-----	162.24	
Since 1/24 to date-----	7.00	
	169.24	
	730.95	
	4,012.54	

NET AMOUNT

Amount forwarded to national committee-----	3,800.00	
Amount on hand-----	187.54	
Amount on deposit with Telephone Co-----	25.00	
	4,012.54	

We sent to the national committee food and clothing estimated to be worth \$15,000.

The Spanish committee organized by the conference last August sent \$989.14 to Labor's Red Cross for Spain.

(Along the left margin of the letterhead upon which the above is contained the following appears:)

Initiated by the Conference for Protection of Civil Rights—consisting of 311 organizations in Michigan:

Federation of Labor of Detroit and Wayne County.
 Building Trades Council of Detroit.
 District Council, International Union, United Automobile Workers of America.
 Federation of Labor of Ann Arbor.
 Federation of Labor of Flint.
 Federation of Labor of Grand Rapids.
 A. F. of L. locals throughout the State.
 Mechanics Educational Society, Detroit Council.
 M. E. S. A. locals, Farmers Educational and Co-operative Union of America.
 Michigan Division.
 Professional League for Civil Rights.
 American Civil Liberties Union.
 Young Democratic clubs.
 Socialist Party.
 Communist Party.
 State Farmer-Labor Party.
 Proletarian Party.
 Congregational churches.
 Methodist churches.
 Baptist churches.
 Evangelical churches.
 Student and teachers groups.
 Language societies.
 Cultural societies.
 Youth organizations.
 Benefit and fraternal organizations.
 Unemployed and relief workers organizations.
 With a total State representation of 497,000 residents.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Sergeant, continue now.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Well, this committee collected thousands of dollars which we have no knowledge how it was disbursed, and then, later on, there was another committee organized, known at the Medical Bureau to Aid the Spanish Democracy. This followed after the Neutrality Act was passed.

The CHAIRMAN. That was organized after the Neutrality Act was passed?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Medical Bureau?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you have any of their stationery?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes. I will show it to you, if you wish to look at it [handing to chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. We want the reporter to copy this also into the record and return to you the original letter. With your permission, Sergeant, I will read what this says:

Telephone CADillae 6005

MEDICAL BUREAU TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY,
 MICHIGAN CHAPTER,
 912 Charleroi Building, Detroit, November 1, 1937.

POLICE COMMISSIONER HEINRICH PICKERT,
 Police Headquarters, Detroit, Mich.

DEAR COMMISSIONER PICKERT: Application is hereby made for a permit to conduct a procession of cars as an escort for the "Hollywood Caravan to Spain."

a hospital ambulance donated by the Motion Picture Artists' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The ambulance is on a cross-country tour arriving in Detroit Saturday, November 20.

(In pencil: "19th instead of 20th.")

We are interested in having the ambulance cover the main downtown areas of Detroit as well as outlying thoroughfares.

Most sincerely yours,

(Signed) MYRTLE DAY, *Secretary*.

D: H

Rubber stamped: "Office of the Commissioner, Nov. 2, 1937. Received."

(Along the left margin of the letterhead upon which the above letter was written the following appears:)

Dr. Walter B. Cannon, Chairman; Dr. William J. Crookston, executive secretary; Dr. John Guttman, treasurer.

NATIONAL SPONSORS MEDICAL COMMITTEE

University of Chicago Medical School: Dr. Percival Bailey, Dr. Anton J. Carlson, Dr. Arno B. Luckhardt, Dr. Frederick W. Schultz.

University of Illinois Medical School: Dr. Charles S. Bacon, Dr. Davis J. Davis, Dr. Richard H. Jaffe, Dr. H. Douglas Singer.

N. W. U. Medical School: Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, Dr. George Halperin.

Institute for Psychoanalysis: Dr. Thomas H. French, Dr. William H. Walsh, hospital consultant.

University of California Medical School, Dr. Howard C. Naffziger.

Columbia University College of P. & S.: Dr. Haven Emerson.

Harvard Medical School: Dr. Walter B. Cannon, Dr. Samuel A. Levine.

Johns Hopkins Medical School: Dr. Adolph Meyer, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist.

University of Michigan Medical School: Dr. Frederick Amasa Collier, Dr. Reuben L. Kahn, Dr. L. H. Newburgh, Dr. John Sundwall.

New York Polyclinic Medical School: Dr. Samuel Kopetsky.

New York University Medical School: Dr. William H. Park.

Stanford University Medical School: Dr. Thomas Addis, Dr. Leo Eloesser.

Washington University Medical School: Dr. Jacques J. Bronfenbrenner, Dr. Carl F. Cori, Dr. Joseph Erlanger, Dr. Evarts A. Graham, Dr. Leo Loeb.

Western Reserve Medical School: Dr. Harry Goldblatt, Dr. Carl H. Lenhart, Dr. Roy Wesley Scott, Dr. T. Wingate Todd.

Yale Medical School: Dr. John P. Peters, Dr. Charles E. A. Winslow.

Mayo Clinic, Dr. E. C. Rosenow.

Mount Sinai Hospital, N. Y.: Dr. George Baehr, Dr. Ernst P. Boas, Dr. Bela Schick.

Rockefeller Institute: Dr. Phoebus A. Levene, Dr. Florence R. Sabin.

MICHIGAN COMMITTEE

Dr. Leonard A. Seltzer, Dr. Reuben Kahn, Dr. Frederick A. Collar, Dr. John Sundwall, Paul de Kruif, Ph. D., Rev. James W. Hailwood, Dr. L. H. Newburgh, Rabbi Leon Fram, Rev. Frederick B. Fisher, Dr. Mark McQuiggan, Prof. J. M. Alkaladejo, Prof. Kenneth Jones, Prof. John Shepard, Prof. Shirley Allen, Hilda Gosman, executive secretary; Dr. E. M. Shafarman, treasurer.

(Pasted on the above letter is the following, in print:)

PARADES

To the honorable the Common Council:

GENTLEMEN: To your committee of the whole was referred petition of Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy (7797), requesting permit to conduct a procession of cars. After careful consideration of the request, your committee recommends that same be denied.

Respectfully submitted.

W. P. BRADLEY, *Chairman*.

Accepted and adopted.

(In pencil on the above is written: "11-9-37.")

NOVEMBER 8, 1937.

From: Chief of detectives.

To: Director of traffic.

Subject: Attached letter relative to "Hollywood Caravan to Spain."

1. You will find attached our report on this matter.
2. As ordered by the superintendent, I am forwarding this matter to you for further action.

HENRY W. PIEL,
Chief of Detectives.

Mc.

DIVISION OF TRAFFIC,
November 18, 1937.

From: Director of traffic.

To: Deputy superintendent.

Subject: Attached request of Myrtle Day for parade permit.

Regarding the request of Myrtle Day, secretary of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Michigan Chapter, at 912 Charlevoix Building, to allow a procession of cars as an escort for the Hollywood Caravan to Spain, a hospital ambulance donated by the Motion Picture Artists Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, this ambulance to be on a cross-country tour and arriving in Detroit sometime Friday, November 19. Miss Day requests that the ambulance cover the main downtown area of Detroit as well as outlying thoroughfares.

This was also investigated by Inspector Hertel, whose report to Chief of Detectives Henry Piel is attached.

The honorable common council passed a resolution in this matter reading as follows:

"To the honorable the Common Council:

GENTLEMEN: To your committee of the whole was referred petition of Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy (7797) requesting permit to conduct a procession of cars. After careful consideration of the request, your committee recommends that same be denied.

"Accepted and adopted."

Miss Day called me 2 days ago and said she had word from the common council that her request had been denied and she would abide by their wishes. As we have no other information regarding this request, there is nothing further to be done.

FRED W. JUERGENS,
Director of Traffic.

(The above letter bears the following rubber stamps:)

"Approved November 19, 1937.

"LOUIS L. BERG, Deputy Superintendent."

"Office of Commissioner, November 19, 1937. Received."

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER.

Referred to Deputy Berg.

File No. 1. Date, 11/2.

- () For proper action.
- (X) For investigation and report.
- () Reply direct.
- () For your files.
- () Please note and return.
- () For recommendation.

Rubber-stamped: "Office of the Commissioner, November 19, 1937. Received. D. P. D., 11."

(No. 657)

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT.

Department: Office of the superintendent.

The annexed communication is referred to (Officers) Chief Piel, D. B., for investigation.

Return must be made by November 8, 1937.

REPORT

For investigation and then forward to Director Juergen for arrangements. _____, 19___

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF DETECTIVES.

The annexed communication is referred to (Officers) Inspector Hertel, for investigation.

Return must be made by _____, 19___.

REPORT

NOVEMBER 6, 1937.

HENRY W. PIEL,
Chief of Detectives.

SIR: Regarding the attached letter, we wish to state we have talked with Myrtle Day and learned that sometime ago an ambulance was donated by different people in Hollywood, Calif., and the names of the donators appear on the ambulance. The ambulance is being driven from California to New York, and on the way the large cities are taken in. It is the intention of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy to take the ambulance through the streets and, later in the evening, hold meetings and solicit money for the purpose of purchasing medical supplies for those in Spain. We instructed Myrtle Day that she would have to apply to the mayor for a permit to solicit at the evening meetings. We find the names of Hilda Gosman and Dr. E. M. Shafarman, mentioned as being on the Michigan committee, in our Communist file. The Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy in Spain is an aid to the Communists in Spain.

Respectfully submitted.

RANNEY and DOOLEY.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Do you know the professors whose names are given here on this letterhead?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No; I don't, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any of them?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether they teach—do any of these teach in Detroit? Take Prof. Kenneth Jones: Where does he teach?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where Prof. John Shepard teaches?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. If I may correct that at this time, I did not make that investigation, sir—that particular investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Someone else made that investigation?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Well, will someone be here to testify as to where these professors teach?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir. We will try to arrange that.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have someone acquainted with them.

Now, do you want this back?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to use anything else in here for the record?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Well, the witness that will testify about the investigation there will like to see it.

Mr. MOSIER. Sergeant, may I ask a question in connection with this request, which has already been inserted in the record: Was this request granted, do you recall?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I don't recall that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a notation here from the director of traffic that the council had passed a resolution recommending that the request be denied. Do you recall whether that was the fact?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I don't.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, did this ambulance come to Detroit?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. It was here; yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Did it make a tour of the streets of Detroit?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Not under a permit.

Mr. MOSIER. Not under a permit?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No.

Mr. MOSIER. There was no permit issued?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what that ambulance was, if you saw it?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I did not see it personally.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, it is not important, Sergeant. I just wondered if you had any recollection about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, do you have any evidence in your files showing that any of the members of this Michigan committee are members of the Communists Party?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. We can show from our own contacts—pardon me; you are referring to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; any members of this Michigan committee.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No. We have no record; that is, membership books.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what do you have in connection with that. You say you can show by your contacts. Do you have any membership cards, or photostatic copies of membership cards, of any of the officers, directors, or members of any of these committees to aid the Spanish Loyalist cause?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No; we have none of that committee; no.

The CHAIRMAN. What committee do you have?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln. We can prove—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you offer in evidence the membership cards you have?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. In the Abraham Lincoln?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; in the Abraham Lincoln. Have you finished with this other?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No; I have not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, suppose you continue in your own language, then, from where you left off.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. There was considerable recruiting of boys to go to Spain to fight with the Spanish Loyalists. Recruiting started in 1936 and it was reported to us a man by the name of Phil

Raymond, which I know personally is a member of the Communist Party, was in charge of recruiting those men for Spain, and it has also been reported to us that he has made boasts that his goal would be 500 boys from the city of Detroit and Greater Detroit, including the State of Michigan. We have the names of some of the boys that were reported to be either killed in Spain, or that are fighting in Spain at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us those names?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Jack Shiffman, 201 East Alexandrine, city of Detroit. He was reported killed in Spain, by the United Press despatch, in December 1937. I know this man personally, or I knew him.

Daniel Lepo, of 965 East Kirby, Detroit. He was reported killed in Spain fighting. Following that there was a memorial meeting held for Daniel Lepo and a Matt Pavlich, held at the Finnish Hall at 5969 Fourteenth Street, on May 14. This is the Communist Party's headquarters. And the speaker was William Weinstone, who was the secretary of the Michigan district of the Communist Party, which is district 7.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Weinstone? Is he still in Detroit?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Our information is that he has left Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when he left?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. In June or July of 1936. Later, this Daniel Lepo turned up and he is here in Detroit at the present time.

Another member is Mike Krassavin. His Communist Party name is Mike Webb. His address is 635 East Alexandrine, as given here. He was reported as being held a prisoner on July 21, 1938. We know this man.

Lorenzo Rowlson, 1535 Selden Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that list you have there contains the names of how many all together, about?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Twenty-two.

The CHAIRMAN. Just hand that to the reporter and he can copy those names and addresses. Do you want that back?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes.

(The names and addresses above referred to are as follows:)

Jack Shiffman, 201 Alexandrine, Detroit, Mich.

Daniel Lepo of 965 East Kirby Avenue.

Michael Krassavin, 635 East Alexandrine Avenue.

Lorenzo Rowlson, 1535 Selden Avenue.

James K. Young, 210 First Street (Fisher Lodge).

Walter Kolowski, 18048 Gable Avenue.

Anthony Nowakowski, 9121 Crane Avenue.

Tanno Sundsten, 2814 Twelfth Street.

Arvid Sundsten, 291 Winder Street.

Roy McQuarrie, Jr., 4126 Lincoln Avenue.

Joseph Rosenstein, 2640 Gladstone Avenue.

Pete Shemric, 1318 Lyman Place.

Steven Cojeran.

Sylvester Goett, alias "Scotty."

William Wright, 210 First Street (Fisher Lodge).

Curt Miller, 1249 Brainard.

Ely Uretsky, 3838 Webb Avenue.

Orrin Feldt, alias Fine Feldt, 6742 Seneca Avenue.

Max Tannenhaus, 302 Owen.

James L. Brown.

Pat Daniels, alias Dan Shugrue, 484 Brainard.

Emmett Collier.

Paul Padgett.

Robert Taylor.

Sam Belkowitz, alias Sam Belmont, Pontiac, Mich.

Paul Burns, Chicago, Ill.

Leon Davis, changed to John Arnold Abbott.

The CHAIRMAN. Just continue.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. The information that we received from one of the officers of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is that there are about 200 boys of the State of Michigan and Detroit that went over to Spain; most of them from Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. Sergeant, in your investigation did you find out just the method which was used to recruit those boys?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Well, it has been reported to us that these men would be approached and asked if they wanted to go to Spain to drive trucks, get jobs as welders, and all expenses paid going over, and they would receive good wages for that, until they would get them on the verge of going over, and then they would give them that army business to fight for the Spanish cause.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Sergeant, did the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy hold mass meetings in the public schools to raise funds?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Later.

The CHAIRMAN. How often did that happen?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Well, at the beginning of that committee, when it was first organized, it was right often.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they succeed in raising funds in these meetings?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever attend any of the meetings?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes; I attended the meeting in the Cass Technical High School.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people were present at that meeting, about?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Well, about two thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the speakers, do you recall?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I will introduce this.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this, a notice of the mass meeting?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir; the notice of the mass meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. This says:

Direct from Madrid. Eye witness reports by official representatives of the Spanish Government. Today Spain's patriots turn to America, as in 1776 Benjamin Franklin toured Europe, rallying public opinion in support of America's revolutionary struggle for democracy.

Speakers officially representing Spain: Donna Isabela de Palencia, Spanish Ambassador to Sweden; Rev. Father Luis Sarasola, Catholic priest and scholar; Hon. Marcellina Domingo, former Minister of Education.

George W. Dean, chairman, first vice president, Michigan Federation of Labor. Prominent Detroit labor, church, and civic leaders will greet the delegation. Monday, 8 p. m., December 7, 1936, Cass Tech. High School, Second, near Grand River. Admission free. Auspices: Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, collecting funds, medical supplies, and clothing for victims of Spanish fascism. Office: 310 Hofmann Building, 2539 Woodward Avenue.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. That is one of the first large meetings that was held. The collection was about \$3,000.

Mr. MOSIER. Where was that meeting held, the one you are talking about now—

Sergeant MACIOSEK. At Cass Technical High School.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that a meeting you attended?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. You say the collections at this meeting were \$3,000?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they have any other speakers at that meeting that you recall, except those that are listed here?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I do not recall at this time. I have not got data on that.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you ever attend any of these meetings where any of the teachers of the public schools of Detroit spoke?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You said a few moments ago that you had records there showing members of this committee who are Communists. Do you have those records?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. No; I have not records of members of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what committee?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Of members of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which is another Spanish organization.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now give us something about that, about the ones that are Communists that you know of and have records of, showing that they are Communists.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, with offices at 1504 Broadway, city of Detroit, Michigan committee, Robert Taylor, executive secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a well-known Communist?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes; he is one of the men that was in Spain fighting for the Loyalist cause. He was recruited in Boston and returned early in 1937. Later he was sent to Detroit to be one of the organizers of this Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Pat Daniels; his correct name is Daniel Shugrue. Those men are members of the Communist Party; and Robert Taylor is also a member of the Young Communists League.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are the ones that are around selling the organization known as Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; is that right?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What else do you have to add on that subject?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Well, this organization was set up to collect moneys at various meetings and call various meetings to raise funds to bring some of these boys back from Spain, the wounded boys. May I show this to you?

The CHAIRMAN. This is literature distributed by the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade asking for funds to bring these boys back to the United States, wounded veterans, is that right?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you let the committee have this?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will offer this as an exhibit, Mr. Reporter.

(The folder above referred to was marked "Witness Maciosek (Detroit), Exhibit No. 6," and filed with the committee, being a folder entitled "And tell the folks that I'll be home if——.")

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what else can you give us?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. These two men, Daniels and Robert Taylor, they would go out to the various affiliated organizations of the Communist Party, or controlled by the Communist Party, and give their speech, and then later on ask for donations, which they would get. The last donation at the meeting held at Pontiac, Mich., at the time Robert Raven was here, one of the wounded veterans spoke there, their receipts were \$159.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, you had a partner who was associated with you in making this investigation, did you not?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Sergeant Mikuliak.

The CHAIRMAN. He is also familiar with these facts?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Since our time is somewhat limited and we have only a certain amount of time to devote to this Spanish Loyalist situation, will you step aside and we will have the other sergeant testify. Leave your files there, because he may want to refer to some of them.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to refer to any of his files, sergeant?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I would like to, sir.

TESTIMONY OF SGT. HARRY MIKULIAK, DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Sergeant, will you please tell us exactly what you know about it, that is, the important facts? We will not interrupt you. If you will, just tell us a consecutive story, briefly, which will give us the principal facts with references to it.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. May I first call the committee's attention to some of the TB tests that were held by the various doctors mentioned in this hearing so far, of which we have photostatic copies? These photostatic copies are for the committee's attention and will show that these doctors did examine these boys, that they had gone to Spain. Some were killed, and some came back and are living here today.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you bring them here?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. I will exhibit first the card of Paul Padgett of 1411 Stanley, Detroit, examined by Dr. Shafarman, the fee on which was charged to the city of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will copy those photostats. You want these returned to your files?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Or I can leave them with the committee if you would like to have them.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will leave them with the committee the reporter can copy them and return them to you.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As you read them off clearly and distinctly what the contents of those copies are, hand them to the reporter and the reporter can, in turn, copy in the dates and the names. Your first card was that of Paul Padgett?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes; Paul Padgett, who has just testified. His signature appears on this particular photostatic copy of tuberculin test report. He was examined by Dr. Shafarman and the bill was presented to the city for payment. It does not say here whether any effort was made to collect from him, but simply the statement, "When the physician charges this service to the city the patient or his parent or guardian in the case of a minor must sign that he cannot afford to pay." They sign this and, in turn, a green copy is sent to the board of health to keep a record of those tuberculin tests which are charged to the city of Detroit.

(The card above referred to is the card of Paul Padgett, address 1411 Stanley, dated February 21, 1938, bearing the signature "X. Paul Padgett.")

Many of these tests which were taken by Dr. Shafarman, Dr. Landrum, Dr. Rosefeld, and Dr. Bicknell are those of the most active party members in the fact that we have a record of.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by active party members?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I mean members who take part in parades, evictions, riots, labor disturbances, and various performances that have been going on in the city of Detroit.

I offer for the committee the name of Mary Himoff, who gives the address of the Communist Party headquarters. Her signature is on this photostatic copy. She is in charge of organizing the Young Pioneers for school children of members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there many of those in this city?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. There are quite a few, sir. I have here the name of Stanley Novak and his signature appears on this card. He was examined by Dr. Shafarman.

Mr. MOSIER. Were those all \$5 fees?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; the first tests.

Mr. MOSIER. And they have all been paid?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; all of these have been paid, of which we have photostats.

Mr. MOSIER. With you?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. Stanley Novak was Democratic candidate for the State legislature in the last primary, and he was one of the 17 elected.

Walter P. Reuther is president of the West Side Local 174, and he signs this TB test stating that he could not afford to pay for the examination.

Mr. MOSIER. Walter Reuther?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Walter P. Reuther, president of West Side Local 174.

Mr. MOSIER. Are you familiar with West Side Local 174?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Somewhat, yes.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the membership of that local?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. The U. A. W. A. claims a membership of 30,000.

Mr. MOSIER. And this man is president of that?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; president of West Side Local 174.

Mr. MOSIER. And he signs the card stating that he could not pay for this tuberculin test?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; he signed stating that he could not afford to pay for the tuberculin test.

Mr. MOSIER. And so the city of Detroit paid the \$5 for that test?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; they paid for it, and we have here under what voucher number the city did pay for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the voucher numbers, because there is some denial with reference to that in the papers, and we might as well clear it up.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Under voucher No. 76. Public Health voucher, the amount of \$122 was paid to Dr. E. M. Shafarman for others as well as Mr. Reuther, the wife of Walter Reuther and Walter Reuther himself.

On April 5, 1937, they had this tuberculin test. The final examination was held April 16, 1937, on which an additional charge of \$1 is charged to the city of Detroit. This second date, April 16, 1937, shows that this man had an X-ray test and \$3 was charged to the city of Detroit under this Public Health voucher No. 76. I could go on further if the committee wishes any more names of members.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go right ahead.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. William McKie is vice president of local 174, which is on the West Side. He was examined by Dr. Shafarman on April 5, 1937, and the final examination for him was also on April 16, 1937, and it was charged to the city under Public Health Voucher No. 76.

Mike Duletsky, financial secretary of local No. 1 of the United Automobile Workers, which is the Plymouth local, was examined by Dr. Shafarman, and this was paid for under voucher 76, and the city again paid. Under date of April 2, 1937, he was examined for his TB test.

Joe Billups, a Negro, who is an organizer of the United Automobile Workers as well as of the Communist Party, was given the test April 24, 1937, and again the city paid for his test on this voucher 76.

William Allen, an organizational director of the Communist Party, of whom we have kept a long record of communistic activity, was examined by Dr. Shafarman. He listed his address as No. 6592 McGraw, where he never resided. On April 18, 1937, he received the tuberculin test, and under voucher No. 76 the city again paid for his TB test.

Joe Clark, a Young Communist League organizer, was examined on November 5, 1937, and under voucher No. 5464 the city paid for his test and his wife Ruth's test.

Lawrence Emery, a Daily Worker correspondent for the State of Michigan, and a man that served time in San Quentin prison for criminal syndicalism—

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a member of the American Newspaper Guild?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And one of the officers of it?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. An executive board member.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the same organization Mr. Heywood Brown belongs to?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. And he was examined by Dr. Shafarman under date of November 27, 1937, paid under voucher 5464, and the city paid for his test.

Mr. MOSIER. And he signed a slip?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; we have the signature, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. He signed a slip stating that he was not able to pay for it?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. That is right, sir. We have all of these names listed here and photostated for the committee's information.

Harold Hartley, a welfare director of the United Automobile Workers, local 174, and both he and his wife Catherine were examined by Dr. Shafarman on March 18, 1937, and this was paid for under voucher 6590 on November 5, 1937, and the city paid for his test.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, why did all of them go to Dr. Shafarman?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Well, Dr. Shafarman has been associated with these people for quite a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. No; I can't say that he is, but he has been associated with them for a number of years in all of their activities, and has been attending mass meetings of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you spoken to him about it?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. No; but I know he has.

The CHAIRMAN. He is active?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes; and he is also a lieutenant in the United States Reserve Corps.

Mr. MOSIER. He is a member of the Reserve Corps?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; and he was in Camp Grayling this last August.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Sophie Kishner, secretary to William Wolf Weinstone, district organizer in the State of Michigan for the Communist Party, was also examined by Dr. Shafarman on January 27, 1937. That was paid for under voucher 5731, and the city paid for her examination.

DeWitt Gilpin, reporter for the Daily Worker for the State, and his wife Mary, were also examined by Dr. Shafarman on January 27, 1937, and under voucher No. 5731 the city paid for his test.

Nathan Wald is an organizer for the Workers Alliance of the Works Progress Administration, and he is a member of the Young Communist League, was arrested for a disturbance at a welfare station, and was convicted. He was examined, as well as Miss Helen Wald, and Richard Wald, on January 23, 1937, by Dr. Shafarman, and under voucher No. 5731 the city paid for these tests.

Edith Segal, who is associated with the Works Progress Administration theater group, was examined on January 26, 1937. She is also very active in giving portrayals of various dancers at Communist meetings, called mimicry, and when the meeting was held for Lenin, why, she and her group danced for the benefit of the Communists.

Jake Shiffman, who was killed in Spain, was a Daily Worker salesman. On November 31, 1937 he was examined by Dr. Shafarman, and under voucher No. 5731 the city paid for his test. He has been killed in Spain.

Walter Eicker, who was a member of the Communist Party in the Packard local of the United Automobile Workers, and who led the

ex-service mass demonstration on Washington, D. C., several years ago, and Kathleen Eicker, Karl L. Eicker, and Joan Eicker were all examined by Dr. Shafarman on October 30, 1937, and this was paid for by the city under voucher 4330. We have all the names of these people who were examined, and their own signatures are on these photostatic copies of the reports of X-rays, and reports of final consultation, and also the TB test. We have had them prepared, and we have them here for your consideration. We have checked some of the names of these people who signed these vouchers, got the names whenever they were arrested, and their names appear on the fingerprint card—Walter P. Reuther and Victor Reuther.

Mr. MOSIER. Who is Victor Reuther?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Victor Reuther is a brother of Walter Reuther.

Mr. MOSIER. Were they both examined?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. Victor was examined as well as Victor's wife Sophia, by Dr. Shafarman, on May 10, 1937, and this was paid for on voucher 1234, and, as I say, we have here their signatures. On April 28, 1937, Dr. Shafarman gave him the TB test, and he was also given an X-ray examination by Dr. Adler, who is associated in the same office with Dr. Shafarman.

The CHAIRMAN. How many names have you all together Sergeant?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. We have several hundred.

The CHAIRMAN. And many of them well-known Communists?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. This is only a preliminary investigation we made with relation to the boys who were being recruited for Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the proceeds of these funds paid by the city of Detroit are used for the Spanish cause?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Why, they must have been, because these boys say that they were examined by these doctors, and immediately afterward we had information that they were either killed over there or had written back here to someone that they were in Spain after they had this examination.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you any record of the amount of money that was paid to Dr. Shafarman by the city of Detroit over any particular period of time?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. The total amount we haven't got here, but we have it under certain voucher numbers.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you any record of the voucher numbers there on which you could give for a few months what was paid?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Under voucher No. 76 the amount of \$122 was paid to Dr. Shafarman. Also under voucher No. 5461 the amount of \$36 was paid to Dr. Shafarman. Now, these amounts, I might say, are not the complete amounts paid for that, because it does not give the \$3 rate, which is the X-ray fee which was paid to Dr. Leopold Adler, who is associated with Dr. Shafarman. These amounts were paid to Dr. Shafarman. Again, under voucher No. 5464, \$33 was paid, and again under the same voucher, No. 5464, \$33 was paid, and again under the same voucher \$32 was paid to Dr. Shafarman. Here is one for \$33 under voucher 5464, which is very long. There is \$1 apiece for each TB test, and the records of the comptroller which I have are received from Mr. Daley, who was comptroller and also budget director, and, I might add, are these records I quote here now, to show payments were made under these vouchers, under

these numbers. The total amounts are not always stated here, but they run from 1 to 2 days, because every final consultation date here means, according to Major Rowell, of the board of health, that they were given X-ray and the city was charged \$3 in every one of these cases. We have not Dr. Adler's records.

Under voucher 5731 the total amount of \$167 was paid.

Under voucher 4330, \$30 was paid to Dr. Shafarman. We continue that with another one for \$336 attached to 4330. 4330 carries on for a certain period of time for \$32. Under 4330 again there is \$37. You see, they list amounts against each one's name who was given an examination. They are not totals in every case. I did not know the committee would want them.

MR. MOSIER. No; we just wanted a few samples.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Here is one for \$76, \$47, all the way down, and it goes on and on. Now, my partner, Sergeant Maciosek, referred to Daniel Lepo, who was in Spain and was reported to have been killed there. The Communist Party held memorial services for him at 5969 Fourteenth Street. He was examined on November 27, 1936. He returned here later, and so they had a great big party for him, and at the same time they had him sent on a speaking tour, to speak of his activities over there. He lives at 965 East Kirby and is at present to be employed in an automobile factory here. Dr. Shafarman was paid for his tuberculin test on voucher No. 4167.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have in connection with that the names of any school teachers who attended these Communist meetings?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. May I just give the name of Nat Ganley. Nat Ganley is a charter member of the Communist Party. His membership in the party goes away back, and he is a business agent of Local 155 of the United Automobile Workers. I have his party membership book here. This is it [exhibiting].

The CHAIRMAN. This is his original membership book in the Communist Party?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Membership book 26768, for Nat Ganley. Date admitted to Communist Party, "Charter." District 7, city of Detroit. Signed, "William Weinstone," signature of district organizer. It gives the membership payments, showing International Solidarity funds payments. Then it contains extracts from rules and bylaws of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Let this go in the record as an exhibit. Do you want this returned to your records?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; that is the original taken away from Mr. Ganley at the Communist Party headquarters, when he was brought in for questioning at the instance of Assistant Prosecutor Boggio.

(The membership book above referred to was marked "Witness Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit No. 7" and filed with the committee, with provision that a photostatic copy may be substituted, being membership book No. 26768 of Nat Ganley in the Communist Party.)

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that name, this committee has received information—and perhaps you may be able to throw some light on it at a later date—this committee received information that prior to the occurrence of the sit-down strikes throughout various

industrial sections of the Nation, a group of prominent Communists met and devised a program of strategy under which these sit-down strikes were to be called at various places; in other words, that they mapped out the entire program; that they had present a prominent Communist from France who gave the strategy and technique that had been used in France; that following this meeting, and the strategy being mapped out, that these sit-down strikes were then called by Communists throughout the country. This information will require the subpoenaing of a large number of witnesses, not only from this section but from other sections of the country, which the committee has decided to bring to Washington, D. C., so that these witnesses can testify and the Nation can have a picture of the entire situation rather than to have it at one place at a time or one phase at a time.

Do you know anything about it, as to whether or not Ganley was present at that meeting?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I do not know whether he was present at the meeting to which you refer. However, I do know that Nat Ganley reported only to the district committee in New York City. He never reported here to William Weinstone, his immediate superior, and we know William Weinstone had been at Flint and visited the various sit-down strikers there in and around the plant, and when he returned to Detroit he made a speech at Finnish Hall, into which only those being party members were admitted, and he continued talking, addressing the men, urging them to continue the sit down until their demands were met. We know that meeting was held, and just about how many people were there, and what he spoke about at that time. We do not know he was in this particular meeting you refer to.

The CHAIRMAN. Any information that you can get bearing on a general meeting that preceded the sit-down strike epidemic throughout the country we will appreciate it if you will forward it to the committee.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And we may ask you to come to Washington for additional testimony along this line, because the sit-down strike is a matter of national interest. But you can continue on and let us have some information on the school-teacher proposition.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I would like to talk on the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. The active committee of the Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, located at 1504 Broadway, is composed of Robert Taylor, executive secretary; Ellen Jones, chairman; P. T. Daniels, organizer; and Charlotte Muzar, as treasurer.

Mr. MOSIER. Sergeant, I do not want to interrupt you too much, but you mentioned the name of Allan James.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. It is Ellen Jones, sir, a woman, who is connected with the International Workers Order as well, which is the insurance arm of the Communist Party, the same as the International Labor Defense is the legal arm. Only members of the Communist Party and their sympathizers can become policyholders in the I. W. O.

I offer for the committee in the name of Robert Taylor, Communist Party membership book No. 84716, issued to him 1/24/38, and countersigned by William Z. Weinstone. Included in this membership book are 1938 midyear control dues and International Solidarity 10-cent dues, the dues that are assessed against each member, as well as dues for June, which is the last date for 10-cent dues given.

The CHAIRMAN. Let that go into the record as an exhibit.

(The membership book above referred to was marked "Witness Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit No. 8" and filed with the committee, being membership book No. 84716 of Bob Taylor in the Communist Party of the United States of America for 1938, same to be later withdrawn and a photostatic copy thereof substituted.)

Sergeant MIKULIAK. This man Taylor admitted membership in the Communist Party and in the Young Communist League, and I hold here membership book signed by Joe Clark as State secretary.

I have here the membership book of Pat Daniels, who has traveled throughout the country under the name of Lt. Daniel Shugrue, of the Spanish Loyalist army, and collected funds. He joined the Communist Party 8/20/38, section 5 of the Day unit. William Weinstone, the district organizer, is the one that put the seal of the Communist Party on his name.

The CHAIRMAN. This also will go into the record as an exhibit.

(The membership book above referred to was marked "Witness Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit No. 9" and filed with the committee, same being membership book No. 74747 for 1938 of Pat Daniels in the Communist Party of the United States of America, to be later withdrawn and a photostatic copy thereof substituted.)

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest, Mr. Reporter, that you copy the printed matter on these membership cards, and then later the cards can be returned to the Sergeant.

(The identifying printed matter in the membership books referred to is as follows:)

MIKULIAK (DETROIT) EXHIBIT No. 8

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A., 1938

Membership Book No. 84716

Name: Bob Taylor.
State: Michigan. District: 7.
County: Wayne. City: Detroit.
Section: 5. Unit:

This book was issued on 1-24-38.

Initiation stamp: No. 36.

(Signed) WILLIAM WEINSTONE. [PARTY SEAL]
Signature of State or district organizer.

No party membership book is valid unless it has the party seal stamped thereon, issued by the central committee, C. P., U. S. A.

MIKULIAK (DETROIT) EXHIBIT No. 9

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

1938 Membership Book No. 74747

Name: Pat Daniels.

State: Michigan. District: 7.

County: Wayne. City: Detroit.

Section: 5. Unit: Day.

This book was issued on 8/20/38.

Initiation stamp: No. .

(Signed) WILLIAM WEINSTONE. [PARTY SEAL]
Signature of State or district organizer.

No party membership book is valid unless it has the party seal stamped thereon, issued by the central committee, C. P., U. S. A.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Robert Taylor is also a member of the International Brigade in the Spanish section. I have here his membership book in this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. This will also be offered as an exhibit.

Sergeant, if we could keep these exhibits until the committee makes its report the latter part of December, if that would be all right, we will simply have them returned later.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The members of the full committee will want to inspect all documentary proof in connection with the testimony that appears here, preparatory to the final report.

(The membership book above referred to was marked "Witness Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit 9-A" and filed with the committee, being the membership book of Robert Taylor in the International Brigade, No. 12213, to be withdrawn and a photostatic copy substituted.)

Sergeant MIKULIAK. We have also the membership book of Robert Taylor in some Spanish Communist organization, but I cannot read it, because I cannot quite understand Spanish, but it is "international something."

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received in evidence as an exhibit.

(The membership book above referred to was marked "Witness Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit No. 10" and filed with the committee, being the membership book of Robert Taylor, No. 31064, in a Spanish Communist organization, same to be withdrawn and a photostatic copy substituted.)

Sergeant MIKULIAK. The Friends for the Protection of Civil Rights, mentioned by my partner previously, has taken a very active part in the city of Detroit against all activities pertaining to law and order, and claim a membership of 497,000 residents in the State of Michigan, and among the affiliates with this organization are the American Civil Liberties Union, Young Democratic clubs, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the State Farmer-Labor Party, the Proletarian Party, the Workers Party, Methodist churches, Baptist churches, Evangelical churches, student and teachers' groups, language societies, cultural societies, youth organizations, benefit and fraternal organizations, unemployed and relief workers' organizations, and yet, at their monthly meetings, 30 or 35 people meet there, and they are using local 157, meeting at United Automobile Workers,

51 Sproat Street, in the city of Detroit, for their meetings, which are held the last of each month.

We have a lot of literature here, and their meetings sponsoring these various speakers are for the purpose of raising funds. I did not ask them the question of where these funds go. They say they send out so much money. Their membership never goes over there and asks how it went either, or who gets this money, whether the children that this money was supposed to be collected for ever did get it. However, they took a very active part against the Ford Motor Car Co. They have gone so far as to print leaflets such as these, "For civil rights, not Fordism."

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received as an exhibit.

(The leaflet above referred to was marked "Witness Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit No. 11" and filed with the committee, being a leaflet bearing the legend, "This Ford is for unionism, not Fordism.")

Might I read a letter issued by the Civil Rights Federation, formerly Conference for Protection of Civil Rights, under date of August 27, 1938, addressed to "All organizations, to all individuals":

Martin Dies and his reactionary investigating committee are in Detroit. From their past record it is clear that they have no intention of exposing subversive elements, as Congress instructed. On the contrary, they are out to discredit organized labor and progressive political candidates.

This goes on and on, and further on here it says here as part of this communication:

What are the rights of a picket? Read A Catechism for Pickets, the lead article in the September issue of Civil Rights News. It defines the rights of the picket and shows how the police frequently break the law. Order at once enough copies to cover your membership at \$1.50 per 100, or \$12 per 1,000. Vote to place a standing order for each monthly issue.

In order to raise funds for the continuance of the Civil Rights Federation, a party will be held Wednesday evening, August 31, at the home of Dr. Walter Bergman, 74 Connecticut, Highland Park.

Dr. Bergman is a teacher in the city of Detroit. He is a professor at Wayne University.

The CHAIRMAN. What they say does not disturb us, because the Communist papers have been crying that we are pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi, whereas the official publications of the German-American Bund and the Fascists have been denouncing us as pro-Communist.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that, any of these organizations that are charged under sworn testimony as being organizations of the Communist Party can come before this committee and swear that they are not. They have been extended invitation after invitation, but for some reason they have not seen fit to appear before this committee and deny under oath the charges that have been made under oath by many witnesses, some of whom helped to organize these front organizations.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I merely offer this information on the Civil Rights Federation, this leaflet, to show you just what kind of an organization this is. Why, in 1936, in May, this organization tried to oust our commissioner of police, and the common council threw out their petition as ridiculous. It was based on a lot of lies and untruths.

Prof. Walter Bergman is in the research department as assistant director of the research department of Wayne University.

Mr. Mosier. Wayne University is a university maintained by the city of Detroit?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. Dr. Walter Bergman has been active in various organizations and spoke before them on various occasions. We recall distinctly being present at a meeting on Saturday, May 27, 1933, which is some time ago. We remember it because of the man that was talking. There was a member of the Proletarian Party that introduced Mr. Bergman at an open-air meeting, held in Grand Circus Park, a demonstration held in protest against the Hitler movement and against the Fascist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear anything against the Communists movement or communistic government?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. No; at no time.

The CHAIRMAN. At any of these mass-meeting declarations has there ever been any declaration against Soviet Russia or communism?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. There never has been at any of these meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any mass meetings at which Communists have not participated, taken an active part, the ones that you have seen yourself?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I have seen Communists there at these meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen Communists at these demonstrations?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. Before Professor Bergman started to speak, someone got up and said, "Mr. Bergman desires to have the International sung before the meeting starts."

The CHAIRMAN. That is the official song of Soviet Russia?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; we have a copy of it here. He went on and talked quite a bit about the American way of conducting C. C. C. camps, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not material, what he talked about.

Mr. Mosier. What about the C. C. C. camps?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. He said that this country is fast becoming a Fascist type of government the same as in Italy.

Mr. Mosier. He is against the C. C. C. camps?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Very much so, on the statements of this one meeting. He was at the Third Conference Against War and Fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the League for Peace and Democracy now?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; which is Communist controlled.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that fact?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Because a demonstration was held in the city of Detroit on the 29th of September, led by Mr. McKie, and also by Communist Joe Kriscalsky, who has a long record as a Communist agitator here.

The CHAIRMAN. They held meetings?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. They conducted this meeting or demonstration. They were carrying placards on Woodward Avenue and interfering with traffic; they led this delegation down toward Woodward and Fourth. Phil Raymond, whose wife's name is Vera Katz

Raymond, is also a school teacher in Detroit in the McMichael School. Phil Raymond has been one of the most active agitators in Detroit. Ever since I have been in the police department I can recall the name of Phil Raymond for some strike activities in which he was involved.

Mr. MOSIER. You say his wife is a public school teacher?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes; his wife is a public school teacher at the McMichael School in Detroit, and we have seen her at several of these meetings, and she drives him to these meetings in the car, and he is always up there on the platform, and his job is to get the money. I have seen him go so far as to take most of his clothes off asking them for donations and supplies for Spain. Mr. Mazerik is associated with Reverend Bolens, and he took all of his clothes off practically except his pants. Avrahm Mazerik is the husband of Marie Hempel, who was treasurer of this organization, and now Rev. Owen Knox is treasurer of the organization. Marie Hempel, after the hunger march of 1932, started to collect funds here for a monument for those that were killed, but no monument was ever built, and no accounting was ever made for the money. We can introduce evidence to show that they are both members of the Communist Party, by a man who was with them for years and served in their employ.

Dr. Lendrum, who was mentioned here previously, was arrested at the Yale-Towne & Lock Co. for strike activity on April 14, 1937, and when questioned by us admitted membership in the Friends of the Spanish Democracy, being active in this organization, and also a member of the U. A. W. U., local 174. We questioned him about this membership, and he said, "Well, I am sympathetic to them and, as such, I have a right to join." He was acting as an observer at the strike of the Yale-Towne & Lock Co., which has since moved out of the city of Detroit because of labor trouble.

Roy McQuarrie, 4126 Lincoln Avenue. Roy McQuarrie, Jr., attended Wayne University and led peace demonstrations there, and later on he went to Spain and was killed in action. He was a non-commissioned officer and was placed in command of the Tom Mooney Battalion of the International Brigade. He was a member of the Wayne University Communist League and so stated in the Young Communist League yearly publication, which stressed the fact of him being active in the Young Communist League at Wayne University.

Sol Green, previously mentioned in this hearing, is secretary of the League to Aid Spanish Democracy. He is active in soliciting money and sponsors meetings for collection of clothing and money. Manning S. Green is attorney and adviser for the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and many times has gone to the Communist camp at Camp Liberty.

Milton N. Kemnitz is secretary of the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, located at 912 Charlevoix Building, the same location where the League to Aid the Spanish Democracy is located.

Patrick H. O'Brien, former attorney general for the State of Michigan, attended a meeting held at 775 West Fourth Street, and spoke there. And he proceeded to talk about Spain at this meeting, and wanted everyone who could to get ready to go to Spain to fight for Spanish democracy.

Mary Zuk, formerly councilwoman in Hamtramck, is very active and, although she was not elected in the last election in Hamtramck, she took an active part. In a meeting of the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy at Carpenters Hall, June 4, 1937, at 8:30 p. m., she howled loud and long because a German warship had shelled a city in Spain that was occupied by Loyalists. She demanded an embargo against Germany and Italy and that no munitions of any kind be sold to Fascist nations. She talked about Mussolini and Hitler and the butchers of General Franco. She said:

We must help our brothers in Spain. We are opposed to war. Any of you women here who have brothers or husbands laying around the house doing nothing, just send them to Spain to fight for the people's front."

A collection of \$154.58 was taken up when she got through. V have a location in Detroit at 3690 East Canfield, and in the back of this place they keep all of the clothing and canned stuff that they can chisel in the city of Detroit for the support of Spanish democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you give us on the teachers?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I have told you, I guess, about Professor Bergman.

Mr. MOSIER. Sergeant, you mentioned Phil Raymond's wife a while ago.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; Phil Raymond's wife.

Mr. MOSIER. In the back of my head I have a sort of a recollection that she has a sister.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I do not know whether she has or has not. She is a school teacher, and Phil Raymond himself was examined by Dr. Shafarman, and the city paid for his TB test. He lives on Rochester Avenue in an apartment. We have records here, if the committee please, on some of the teachers who have been active in attending meetings where Communists spoke. The first one is Vera Katz, the wife of Phil Raymond, an active Communist agitator, about whom we have a record practically a mile long on activity in strikes here.

Also Jane Mayer, formerly the wife of Maurice Sugar. She never used the name of Sugar on the rolls of the board of education and, according to the records there, her maiden name was kept on all of the time she was the wife of Mr. Sugar. She is the assistant supervisor of health education at the Roosevelt School and she took a very active part in the candidacy of Mr. Sugar for judge, and attended the meeting at the Arena Gardens, where Sugar spoke. She was at the Third Annual Congress Against War and Fascism held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 3, 4, and 5, 1936, and occupied room 514 with Gertrude and Emma Mayer in the Hollenden Hotel. Gertrude and Emma Mayer, her sisters, are also school teachers in the city of Detroit. She was at the meeting at the Deutsches Haus on February 16, 1936, where Ann Lewis Strong, a Communist, spoke under the auspices of the F. S. U., Friends of the Soviet Russia Union. She also attended a jointly sponsored May Day celebration held by the Communist and by the Socialist Parties, May 1, 1936, at the Deutsches Haus. and on October 12, 1936; the Farmer-Labor Party sent out letters to every friend of the Farmer-Labor Party, calling a special meeting on Wednesday, October 14, 1936, at 9 p. m.,

at 4762 Grand Boulevard, where Jane Mayer lives, and this meeting was going to be held in her apartment, and was held.

She attended a Communist Party election rally at the Olympia on October 27, 1936, where Weinstone, Ford, Foster, and Browder were the main speakers, at the C. P. election program for 1936 elections. She was at the Briggs picket line in January 1937, taking an active part there with her two sisters in the line, and she attended the Lenin memorial meeting at the Wilson Theater, held January 23, 1937. She also attended the International Labor Defense sponsor meeting on March 12, 1937, at the Danish Brotherhood Hall, where Lawrence Simpson, who was arrested in Germany for bringing in Communist propaganda—he was on the S. S. *President Roosevelt*—spoke at this meeting and was the main speaker.

She also attended on January 18, 1938, the Lenin memorial service held in Arena Gardens, and was there with Gertrude Mayer, her sister. Away back in 1927 our records show that she was elected temporary president of the Daily Workers' Builders Club, November 5, 1927.

MR. MOSIER. The Daily Worker is the official paper of the Communist Party?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. The Daily Worker is the official organ of the Communist Party; yes, sir.

Emma Mayer is a school teacher at the Central High School; a sister of Jane Mayer. She was also at Cleveland, January 3, 4, and 5, with her sisters Gertrude and Jane, and occupied that same suite, room 514, at the Hollenden. We saw them in the lobby of this hotel on January 5, 1936, when they left for Detroit.

Gertrude Mayer, another sister, is a school teacher, and teaches at the Cleveland Intermediate School. Back several years ago we had a committee workers' union, which is an affiliate of the Communist Party, so we arrested Kowalski and deported him, a Communist. That was about the last time we had any deportations of established Communists. We have since arrested him, but nothing was done.

THE CHAIRMAN. Who was arrested and nothing was done?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. A man named Joseph Kowalski.

THE CHAIRMAN. Before you get into that, finish this school-teacher proposition.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Gertrude Mayer with her two sisters also attended the Lenin memorial meeting, January 23, 1933, at the Wilson Theater. She was there when Lawrence Simpson spoke at the Danish Brotherhood Hall on March 12, 1937, and, on January 18, 1938, she attended the Lenin memorial meeting held here in Detroit at Arena Gardens.

William Mollenhouers wife's name is Jessie Sirota, and she teaches under this name at the Longfellow School. He has been one of the most active Communist agitators here for several years back that we know of, and he was campaign manager for the Communist Party in 1934. His wife used to run around quite a bit with William Weinstone. She participated in the "Sugar for judge" parade, and went so far as to drive her own car in this parade.

Eleanor Laffrey, on May 1, 1935, was at the Deutsches Haus when a Mid-day meeting was held under the auspices of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. Is she a school teacher?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; she is a school teacher.

Mr. MOSIER. Where?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. She is a school teacher at the Guyton School. She teaches science. She appeared at the Liberty Ball on September 25, 1936, where the Michigan Youth Congress had this demonstration for the widows and orphans, who did not receive a cent collected. She was at Camp Liberty July 5, 1936, when the Communist Party held a 2-day meeting there which was presided over by Earl Renó, who is now district organizer of the State of Michigan for the Communist Party.

Herbert S. Eiges, a social science instructor and alumni counselor at the McKenzie High School, was seen at a meeting here on August 6, 1938, at Times Square, which was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy, held to lift the embargo on Loyalist Spain.

He has been at meetings under the auspices of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, away back in 1936. We received several complaints from various citizens here, who want to remain anonymous, that Emil Giles—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, just a minute, Sergeant Mikuliak: That is based on complaint?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes; that is just exactly what it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not read anything except that which the investigation itself showed to be a fact.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Huldah Fine—she is secretary of the Detroit Local 231, of the Federation of Teachers, and is a director of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that league?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. That is an organization of "pinks" who have a lot of different ideas.

The CHAIRMAN. Do Communists belong to it?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Quite a few. They belong to most everything they can join. The object is to get into every organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the officers Communists?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I don't know, offhand; I have got to get those records, and we just brought the records over here pertaining to the Spanish situation and the school teachers.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more records of school teachers available?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I don't believe so, at the present time, with the exception of a man who might introduce testimony here which could be verified by him, as he spent years closely associated with people who are organizing some of those teachers. He is to be a witness before this committee today.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant Mikuliak, is there anything else you can add now? You have discussed the Friends of Abraham Lincoln and the Spanish volunteers, and the information you have on teachers in the schools.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. No. I believe my partner introduced testimony here to show that people who had gone to Spain want to come back here, and some were killed over there. I believe he also introduced the International Workers' letterhead here, which states J. Schiffer, district secretary of the International Workers' Order, dis-

strict office, 601 Hofmann Building; Gertrude Giles, youth and children organizer. It might interest this committee to know that Gertrude Giles' husband was killed in Spain. The letter reads:

To whom it may concern:

The bearer of this credential, Robert Taylor, is authorized to attend all meetings of the I. W. A. branches, and solicit funds in the name of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

All courtesies and cooperation must be extended to him to make his mission a success.

Fraternally yours,

J. SCHIFFER, *Secretary.*

Then there is the seal of the I. W. O. attached on it.

(The letter above read was marked "Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit No. 12" and filed with the committee.)

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Another letterhead here is Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, signed by Robert Taylor, secretary, and C. G. Muzar, treasurer, under date of May 3, 1938:

MAY 3, 1938.

To whom it may concern:

This will introduce Patrick J. Daniels, State organizer of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Any courtesy that may be extended to him will be appreciated by this office. He has full authority to act in the name of this organization.

Sincerely yours,

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE,
ROBERT TAYLOR, *Secretary.*
C. G. MUZAR, *Treasurer.*

The CHAIRMAN. That will go into the record as an exhibit.

(The letter above read was marked "Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit No. 13" and filed with the committee.)

Sergeant MIKULIAK. We have here another letter, which is signed by Robert Taylor. Under date of June 9, 1938, Robert Taylor wrote a letter to Paul Burns, who is associate editor of the Midwest Record. He was also in Spain and was wounded there. He told us that himself. This letter reads:

JUNE 9, 1938.

DEAR PAUL: Received your letter and was happy as hell to find you so close. There is no excuse now for our not getting together one of these fine days and killing a bottle or two of something or other.

If I get the chance I'll hightail it for Chi and I bet it will be damn soon. In fact the sooner the better.

There are only a few vets in Detroit and you know most of them. Danny Shugrue is here working with me. He is using the name of Pat Daniels. Walter Kolowski was here until a few weeks ago but he has returned to Spain. Peter Shimrak is here also. He was the guy that transferred from the Lincoln to the Dimitroff Battalion without getting permission.

Outside of these we only have one other vet and he is a big Finnish fellow called Sundsten from the Washington Battalion. The boys are finding the going pretty tough as far as jobs are concerned but we are helping them out a bit.

Grace is feeling pretty good and sends her regards and Shugrue does the same.

Give my regards to Gilpin and his wife.

Salud amigo!

ROBERT TAYLOR.

Grace Taylor is associated with the professional workers of the U. A. W., in the Hofmann Building, and is a sister of Robert Taylor, organizer of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

(The letter above read was marked "Mikuliak (Detroit) Exhibit 14" and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else there?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Just one more statement. This school-board assignment for us is not all the work we do in the police department. There are two of us on it, but we work on others, as well. We work on gyping complaints, job rackets, and so forth. This is just another assignment that has been given us.

However, I would like to say that at various times various locals, U. W. A. men, have come in our office and asked our cooperation in getting rid of Communists in their locals. Now we have a list of the names of those persons in our office, and we give them that information.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Sergeant, right there: Of course, in the prosecution of your assignment, you became very familiar with sit-down strikes, and those who participated in sit-down strikes in the Communist activities, in connection with the city of Detroit? All those things you became familiar with, did you not?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We would prefer to have you hold that testimony until we resume our hearings in Washington; because our plan is to present the entire picture of sit-down strikes from various sections of the country. And if we could have the benefit of your testimony at Washington, in that regard, we will just not pursue that any further now.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. All right, sir. I just want to make a notation of that before this committee at the present time, to show there was nothing antiunion so far as the police department is concerned; because we have helped many locals in getting rid of Communists in their respective locals, and we can bring those people who now hold office in this U. W. A., to verify the information we gave. We know the Communists, and we are even riding the Communists out of the factories because of Communist activities.

The CHAIRMAN. You told us something about having difficulty in getting rid of aliens who had been arrested—Communists?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the names of some of those?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. I gave Mr. Howe copies of the names of persons we have arrested at various times.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now 12:05 and I think we will suspend. Sergeant, will you be back at 1 o'clock, please?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McGillis, I believe you had something?

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. MCGILLIS

Mr. MCGILLIS. It will only take a minute, Congressman. Do you want to swear me on it?

The CHAIRMAN. No; you have already been sworn.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I just wanted to make this statement: It was introduced into the record by Sergeant Maciosek this morning that Father Louis Serrozala took part at a meeting at the Cass Technical High School. Now your committee is leaving Detroit, apparently, and you have been doing this work in various parts of the country, and you have come here to help us bring out this information. I think you are showing the Detroiters here that not only are these

people engaged in un-American activities here, but they are a band of racketeers making suckers out of the people of the city of Detroit, and apparently are doing the same thing in other parts of the country. They lie and cheat. And I would not want it to go in the record that a priest spoke at the Cass Technical High School. That man is an apostate monk and his name is Mendoza. I would like the record to carry that information.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the committee took a recess until 1:15 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The hearing was resumed at 1:30 p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Sergeant, will you resume your testimony? You were going to tell us about some deportations.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF HARRY MIKULIAK, SERGEANT, DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Deportation; yes, sir. An alien named Joseph Kowalski, who is well known here for his Communist Party activities, was deported, but he came back and served time, and he is here in Detroit now, active in the Communist Party, associated with a Polish daily newspaper called Glos Ludowy, which is a Communist publication printed in the Polish language. He has been arrested since then several times here in various demonstrations, and held by the immigration authorities and then released. We saw his file, incidentally, at the Immigration Department, one of the largest there. He is still here, and he was on welfare at one time, supported by the city.

Mr. MOSIER. Sergeant, in that case when did he come into the country?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. The records are at the Immigration Department as to his entry into the country.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, roughly, or when was he deported?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. He was not deported from Detroit. He was deported from another city. We have a man here who can testify about his arrest and deportation.

Mr. MOSIER. You have another man here to cover that?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; we have another man here to cover that, who will cover that in detail. I am just bringing out a few names of those who are known agitators and Communists and are still here.

Hilda Cohen. Hilda Cohen was arrested at the Burroughs Adding Machine Co., on May 28, 1934, for passing out Communist leaflets. She is a very active Communist, and on April 16, 1936, she appeared before the United States Board at the Tunnel, when she attempted to reenter the United States in order to become a citizen. She was detained, and both my partner and myself testified as to her Communist record at this particular hearing. She was represented by Isaac Smullen, who represents all Communists on various charges, and she is here in Detroit today.

Henry Kottenko was arrested on August 31, 1934, for passing out Communist circulars. He is admitted to be a member of the Communist Party, and he is the president of the Cooperative Restaurants located over the city of Detroit, Hamtramck, and he had Communist literature in his possession calling for a conference September 15, 1934. He is not a citizen, but immigration authorities state he cannot be deported.

George Zycoff, alias Nicholoff, alias Pironsky, was arrested January 8, 1937, by the Immigration Department on a warrant. He is a Balkan, born August 15, 1901, and uses the name of Pironsky. An article appeared on his arrest in the Daily Worker on July 11, 1937, and he was released on bond of \$1,000, a home owner's loan bond. He is active here in Communist Party activities, and also in publication.

Michael Zackler—which is not his correct name—

Mr. MOSIER. What is it, Michael Zackler?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Z-a-c-k-l-e-r, or Z-o-u-k-e-r-e-s-k-w-i, of Hamtramck, has been transferred from the Hamtramck unit to the East Detroit unit. He was arrested in June of 1933 for violation of the immigration law. He was a member of the M. E. S. A. This man was active in the united labor efforts and took an active part in the meeting in the Deutsches Haus, in October 1935, and was a candidate for State senator in the 1933 elections, although not a citizen.

We made arrangements for Mr. Howe to talk to Mr. Harry Yeager, who is assigned to police headquarters by the Government to check into all immigration cases on men arrested for deportation. I guess Mr. Howe will testify. Mr. Yeager told him in our presence that he had no deportations for years; although we had arrested many men, we cannot deport them, and we do not try any more.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any case of deportation that has occurred in the past 4 or 5 years, actual deportation after they were arrested?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Actual deportation after they were arrested in the past 5 years?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. No; I do not know of any actual deportations in the last 4 or 5 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, we thank you very much, and we shall expect you to continue your testimony at the next hearing dealing with this subject, which will probably be in the city of Washington.

The next witness is Mrs. Smith. I believe that you requested an opportunity to briefly tell this committee about your experience in reference to the recruiting of volunteers for the Spanish cause. Will you please come around to the witness stand and raise your right hand.

TESTIMONY OF ELOISE SMITH

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your full name?

Mrs. SMITH. Eloise Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. Eloise Smith?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to speak distinctly and loud. Mrs. Smith; suppose that you tell us in your own language just what your

experience has been with reference to this Spanish Loyalist recruiting.

Mrs. SMITH. Well, my son was a graduate of Southeastern High School.

The CHAIRMAN. Your son was a graduate of Southeastern High School?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes; of Southeastern High School.

Mr. MOSIER. A little louder, Mrs. Smith, if you can.

Mrs. SMITH. In June 1934, and during his years in high school he had met some other boys and associated with them and they became interested in the John Reed Clubs in Detroit, and they used to attend meetings there. They were instigated by some Greek man. I do not know his name. He used to round up these young people and take them over there, and Gordon was interested in doing literary work. He had been editor in chief of the school paper the last year in high school. He was very much interested in anything regarding literature, and followed everything up that he could, and he got to reading everything that was written regarding this John Reed Club and the members that were connected with it. This one particular lad, John Brinnan, interested Gordon, and John, I think, was one of the co-signors when Gordon was influenced to join the army in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Your son joined the American forces that went to Spain to fight in behalf of the Spanish Loyalist cause?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes; the Bureau for Spanish Democracy are, I believe, the ones that sent him, as far as I know, but when he told us he was going in March 1937—he would have been 20 in the following July—when he told us he was going, of course, we objected. His father objected strenuously and told him he had forbidden him to go, and Gordon promised us he would not go outside of New York City when he left, but he went to New York, and his passport had been issued for 3 years, a passport paid for himself, and we wrote to Mrs. Madge Blessing, in Washington, and asked her if she could help us, after we had exhausted our resources.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we can understand you a little better. Your son went to New York?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did your son tell you and his father he was going to Spain?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, he did.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you have any intimation of it before that?

Mrs. SMITH. No, we did not.

Mr. MOSIER. I understand, from your testimony, that both you and his father objected?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he say how he was going to get there?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, he said he had made connections through the Leftists.

Mr. MOSIER. Through the Leftists?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you give him any money to get there?

Mrs. SMITH. No, we did not. He had been working and paid for his own passport, and outside of that I do not know his financial resources.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he go from Detroit to New York?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he go by train, if you know, or how did he go?

Mrs. SMITH. No, I could not say that either. He left Monday, March 15, 1937, and we have not heard a word from him since.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know where he is?

Mrs. SMITH. No, we do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about this Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, we have been to their office on Broadway and talked to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Before your son left, did members of that organization come to your home?

Mrs. SMITH. No, I believe not, but he did contact them somehow. This Phil Raymond was the gentleman he spoke about at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, after your boy disappeared, did you take the matter up with the State Department?

Mrs. SMITH. Not directly, no, because we tried to see what we could do ourselves, first.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you first do?

Mrs. SMITH. Well, we went to all of the boys that we knew he had associated with and asked them for any information they might have, and there were all sorts of rumors about his having gone over to Spain, and he had confided in some of the boys that he was going over, and this John Brimman he said had been a cosigner with him, and the boys had just been all sworn to secrecy, that they would not tell about it, so they did not tell us very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you could not find anything through any source here in Detroit, so you then applied to the State Department, is that right?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote a letter to them, explaining the circumstances to the State Department?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you received a letter back from the State Department?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir; that is, my husband wrote a letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Your husband wrote a letter?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the letter that has been handed to me, dated September 2, 1938:

My DEAR Mr. SMITH: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of August 25, 1938, addressed to Mrs. Blessing of this Department, concerning your desire to obtain information regarding the whereabouts of your son, Mr. Gordon B. Smith.

Now, this is the letter, is it not?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, or a copy of it.

The CHAIRMAN. In this letter is the following statement:

It is possible that your son may have proceeded abroad to enlist in the Spanish military service as a number of American young men have done. It is suggested that you may desire to communicate with the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 125 West Forty-fifth Street, advising them of your son's departure from home and inquiring whether any information is available regarding his present whereabouts. Should it be found that he has gone to Spain, upon the receipt of such information this department will make inquiries of the appropriate American consular officer with a view of ascertaining his present whereabouts and welfare.

Now, acting upon that advice or suggestion, did you go to the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade headquarters as mentioned in this letter?

Mrs. SMITH. In Detroit, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to the headquarters in Detroit?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you see there?

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. Robert Taylor, my husband did.

The CHAIRMAN. Your husband did?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he get any information with respect to your son?

Mrs. SMITH. Well, Robert Taylor told him that he could not trace him, that he had no record of him, but my husband contacted this Mr. Phil Raymond, not at the office, but at a hall, a celebration of some sort, where a captain of some sort had come back from Spain, they were holding a celebration, and Mr. Smith went out there to talk to Phil Raymond, and he practically told him he had gone over, but he would not give him any other information.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, did your son ever join the Young Communists' League?

Mrs. SMITH. I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he converted to communism before he left?

Mrs. SMITH. Well, not openly.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he make statements to you that indicated sympathy with the Communists?

Mrs. SMITH. No, he never did, but he simply said he was interested in what this Mr. Raymond had talked with him about.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not he was supplied with any money before he left?

Mrs. SMITH. No, I couldn't tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that neither you nor your husband gave him any money?

Mrs. SMITH. No, we did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ask you for any money?

Mrs. SMITH. No, he had been working, and he had purchased his own passport.

The CHAIRMAN. His own passport?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he get one under his own name?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. His right name?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your husband's name?

Mrs. SMITH. Gordon Henry Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. Gordon Henry Smith?

Mrs. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his address?

Mrs. SMITH. 13039 East Vernon Highway.

The CHAIRMAN. So that, in spite of all of the inquiries that you have made and your husband has made, you have been unable to locate your son, or find out where he is, whether he is alive or dead, is that right?

Mrs. SMITH. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mrs. Smith.

Mr. HOWE. Would the committee hear a very brief statement by Sergeant Mikuliak?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF HARRY MIKULIAK, SERGEANT, DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Hearing Mrs. Smith testify, the records show Gordon Smith, 13039 East Vernon Highway, was examined for TB by Dr. Shafarman on February 23, 1937, under public health voucher No. 5731, and the city paid for his test.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a statement purporting to come from the doctor in which he denies he received any of these funds; he said he was not paid for that work. Do you have any idea who got it if he did not get it?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. We have the Comptroller's records, if the committee desires them, showing that he received each one of these.

The CHAIRMAN. If he did not get it, who could have gotten it?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Nobody but himself.

I forgot to add, also, that Dr. Shafarman's wife is a teacher in the Northeastern High School. Her first name is Blanche, and she was active in the old John Reed Club years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, Sergeant.

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the record shows that these volunteers who went to Spain were all examined by Dr. Shafarman?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. So far.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other doctor who examined any of them?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir, I do; Dr. M. J. Bicknell.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a general practitioner?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; he is.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Dr. Shafarman is also a member of this Committee to Aid the Spanish Cause?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. He is the treasurer of the committee, of the Medical Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. You also testified that the doctor has been seen many times attending Communist gatherings; is that a fact?

Sergeant MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. The last one was at the Art Institute, when Mr. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, was there and spoke on the 1938 Michigan elections.

Mr. HOWE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, Mr. Smith, who interviewed and also most of the boy's friends to locate his son has just arrived. Would you care to hear him briefly?

The CHAIRMAN. We will hear him briefly.

TESTIMONY OF GORDON H. SMITH

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Gordon Henry Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the husband of Mrs. Smith who testified a few moments ago?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked to Phil Raymond with reference to where your son was; did you not?

Mr. SMITH. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you?

Mr. SMITH. He told me that he did not go to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you that he did not go to Spain?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; he told me that he did not go to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did he tell you he went?

Mr. SMITH. He would not tell me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to anyone else besides Phil Raymond?

Mr. SMITH. I talked to Robert Taylor.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you?

Mr. SMITH. That he had absolutely no record of him in the Detroit office or the New York office.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say he went to Spain?

Mr. SMITH. He did not know; he had no record of him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone ever tell you he went to Spain?

Mr. SMITH. No one ever did, except that I heard through hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN. Never from any reliable source?

Mr. SMITH. Never from any reliable source.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your son tell you he was going to Spain when he left?

Mr. SMITH. He did. He secured a passport for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. He secured a passport for that purpose?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he left and you have not heard anything since then?

Mr. SMITH. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. He has not written any letters to anyone that indicate anything about it?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; he has; not to myself but to a friend of his. He left in March.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see the letter?

Mr. SMITH. I did not; I have been trying to place it.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know he wrote a letter?

Mr. SMITH. It is common knowledge among his friends; not only one knows it, but half a dozen.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not seen the letter yourself, or anything of that sort, so you cannot say definitely that it is true?

Mr. SMITH. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not give your son financial aid to go; did you?

Mr. SMITH. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not furnish him any funds?

Mr. SMITH. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not of age?

Mr. SMITH. He was a minor.

The CHAIRMAN. He was under 21 years of age?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; he is lacking 3 months of being 21.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

TESTIMONY OF W. C. KULPEA

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. KULPEA. W. C. Kulpea.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Kulpea?

Mr. KULPEA. Jackson, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. KULPEA. Reporter for the Jackson Citizen paper.

The CHAIRMAN. You had occasion to write the article that you have in your hand there, did you?

Mr. KULPEA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what it was about, and what you know about it.

Mr. KULPEA. Well, on August 9 of this year I got an order from the office.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you speak up, please?

Mr. KULPEA. An order to interview Mrs. Miller, the wife of William Wesley Miller, who had gone over to Spain to fight with the International Brigade, and Mrs. Miller told me that her husband came to Detroit, and she was with him at the time. She saw Phil Raymond give him \$20 for a plate for false teeth, and she also told me that he got money for train fare to go to New York after he had enlisted in the army, and when I was getting this story a man named Abraham H. Anderson, who is Americanization officer for the Legion, Anderson was with me: he was driving the car and I was doing the questioning. And that is about all.

Mr. MOSIER. Miller since came back from Spain?

Mr. KULPEA. Yes; he has been back about 4 weeks.

Mr. MOSIER. And while he was in Spain I believe his wife was on charity: was she not?

Mr. KULPEA. She was on the Jackson relief rolls.

Mr. MOSIER. She was on the Jackson relief rolls?

Mr. KULPEA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How long was he there?

Mr. KULPEA. Miller was there about 8 months.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know how much she drew in relief while he was gone?

Mr. KULPEA. Well, in round figures—

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; in round figures.

Mr. KULPEA. About \$3,000.

Mr. MOSIER. She drew about \$3,000 while he was gone?

Mr. KULPEA. The entire family drew that.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they have children?

Mr. KULPEA. Oh, yes; there were six children besides Mrs. Miller.

Mr. MOSIER. Mrs. Miller and six children were on Jackson County relief?

Mr. KULPEA. Direct relief.

Mr. MOSIER. While he went to fight for the Loyalist army in Spain, to fight for democracy?

Mr. KULPEA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And they drew \$3,000 relief?

Mr. KULPEA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he working now, do you happen to know, since he got back?

Mr. KULPEA. No; I do not believe he has been working. I have tried to see him once: he would not talk.

Mr. MOSIER. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF JACOB SPOLANSKY

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Jacob Spolansky.

The CHAIRMAN. James?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Jacob.

The CHAIRMAN. Jacob?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I am a county detective at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a county detective?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever connected with the F. B. I.?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir; I was connected with the Department of Justice for 6 years.

The CHAIRMAN. For 6 years?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you specialize in while you were there?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Exclusively in subversive activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you are going to tell us about some of these deportable cases, are you not?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes. I did not keep any record of all of the cases, but I have one particular case in mind, particularly this case of Joseph Kowalski.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about that.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I arrested Joseph Kowalski in 1920 and instituted deportation proceedings against him, and I had him deported to Russia.

Mr. MOSIER. On what charge did you arrest him?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He was charged with membership in the Communist Party, an organization that advocates and teaches the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. While in Russia Kowalski took a very prominent part in the governmental as well as the activities of the Communist International. He was in charge of one of the penitentiaries, and was assigned to the secret-service department known at that time as "Cheka." While in charge of that penitentiary he had in his custody a number of Americans, including Margaret Harrison of the Associated Press, Major Estes of the American Red Cross, and Captain Kilpatrick.

He was sent here as a representative of the Communist International, approximately—I do not remember the exact date—in the year 1923, and it took us approximately 3 months to locate him in the city of New York. We charged him with illegally entering the country, after deportation, which is felony under the Federal law. He was found guilty before Federal Judge Mack, and was sentenced to a year and a half in the Atlanta Penitentiary. He was to be automatically deported following the expiration of his sentence.

Kowalski has been in this country in a very important capacity. He was responsible for a number of serious communistic outbreaks. He has been responsible in the strategy policies of the Communist Party, and created a daily newspaper in this city. He helped to create another paper in the city of Chicago, and today he is occupying a position similar to a—his official title is that of a political agent of the Communist International. Kowalski is still here.

Mr. MOSIER. When did he get out of the penitentiary in Atlanta?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He got out in the year 1925, I believe. Incidentally, he was the one that conceived the strategy of the recent industrial disturbances in this State.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean he brought back with him the plans for the sit-down strike?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Well, I would not say that, Mr. Chairman, because when he got back here we did not have such things as sit-down strikes. But he has been in constant touch with the Communist International. He was a member of the executive committee of the local Communist Party, and he is holding a very responsible position in that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he active in the sit-down strike movement?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He was the man that actually carried out all of the intricate manipulation of this organization in bringing about the sit-down strikes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will go into the sit-down strike angle later. What we want now is information with reference to his record generally.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So, he is still in this country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He is still in the city of Detroit; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They refuse to deport him?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Well, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Or failed to deport him?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why, what reason they gave for not deporting him?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I had quite a number of conversations with some of the officials of the Labor Department. Prior to the recognition of the Soviet Government they claimed that the Russian Government would not accept any deportees from this country, which was a possible thing. Since the recognition of the Soviet Government and the establishment of diplomatic relations, I cannot see any reason why he is not deported.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is Joseph Kowalski?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question but what this man has been identified with the Communist movement?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Definitely; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And is a Communist himself?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Always has been. He was in charge of the policy of the Communist Party at the time I instituted proceedings against him.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He admitted so on the witness stand before the immigration inspectors.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, tell us about Norman Telentire.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Telentire is a British subject. He has been actively engaged in the Communist organization since the year 1920. I arrested Norman Telentire together with the entire executive committee of the Communist Party in 1922. I instituted deportation proceedings against him that year, and also secured an indictment for violation of the syndicalist law of the State of Michigan. That warrant has been still pending, and Norman Telentire today occupies a very important position in the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and South Dakota, in charge of communistic activities, particularly in the Communist Farmer-Labor Party in that territory.

The CHAIRMAN. He is still in the country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He is still in the country; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why will they not deport him? what reason do they give?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I do not know of any reason for not deporting him.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a well-known Communist?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is also an advocate of the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir; and I arrested him at a secret convention in Berrien County in this State, together with Browder and Foster, and all of the leading Communist executives of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, tell us about Alexander Bell.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Who?

The CHAIRMAN. Alexander Bell.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Alexander Bell was arrested in 1922 at a secret convention of the Communist Party held in this city. Deportation proceedings were instituted against him, and I understand that he is still in the country, engaged in the State of Pennsylvania, around Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. All of these men are aliens?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Every one of them is an alien.

The CHAIRMAN. And all of them are Communists?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. All of them are members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had occasion to make a very careful investigation with regard to communism in this section of the country, have you not?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Mr. Chairman, I have operated all over the country. I worked on Communist questions in the East, the Middle West, and in this territory. I assisted the Fish congressional committee in their investigation, and also the Dickstein committee a short time ago, and that covers a period of approximately 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, have you some documentary evidence that you will present to this committee?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do so, and tell us briefly what it is. All this is the result of your investigation?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir. I have a list here of membership of the Communist Party in this territory, section 4, district 7, units 5, 1, 3,

and so forth. This list was seized in a raid made about 3 years ago in Hamtramck, a suburb of this city. May I enter this in evidence?

The CHAIRMAN. That list will be introduced as an exhibit, and the stenographer will copy the names into the record.

(The list above referred to was marked "Witness Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit No. 15" and filed with the committee, being a list of Communists of section 4, district 7, Detroit.)

(The names of those listed therein are as follows:)

- 4094 4-5 N. Detroit: Frank Dull, 45 years, shoemaker.
 4095 4-5 N. Detroit: Joe Maday, 36 years, laborer.
 4096 4-5 N. Detroit: Joe Ray, 44 years, metal finisher.
 4097 4-5 N. Detroit: Walter Gray, 42 years, laborer.
 4098 4-5 N. Detroit: Walentz Kozan, 40 years, baker.
 4099 4-5 N. Detroit: Kazmer Calka, 38 years, mechanic.
 4244 4-1 N. Detroit: Vasil Francieu, 45 years, auto worker.
 4246 4-1 N. Detroit: Bill Sedor, 45 years, food worker.
 4247 4-1 N. Detroit: Wallace Felison, 44 years,
 4248 4-1 N. Detroit: Sam Pope, 34 years, auto worker.
 4249 4-1 N. Detroit: Peter Popowich, 43 years, auto worker.
 4250 4-1 N. Detroit: Frank Buda, 38 years, auto worker.
 4-3 N. Detroit: Harry A. Wozny, 25 years, painter.
 4080 4-3 N. Detroit: Pit Pulincow, 40 years, auto worker.
 10789 4-3 N. Detroit: Martin Wood, 47 years, toolmaker.
 10791 4-9 N. Detroit: W. Brown, 41 years, laborer.
 10792 4-9 N. Detroit: Paul Pula, 50 years, laborer.
 10793 4-9 N. Detroit: F. Krupa, age 41, mechanic.
 10794 4-9 N. Detroit: D. Brown, 39 years, housewife.
 10795 4-9 N. Detroit: Mary Winicka, 40 years, housewife.
 10796 4-9 N. Detroit: Antonie Marie, 26 years, housewife.
 4055 4-2 N. Detroit: Bill Parker, age 38, Duco rubber.
 4056 4-2 N. Detroit: John Parry, age 59, body builder.
 4057 4-2 N. Detroit: Nick Hopainick, 39 years, auto worker.
 4059 4-2 N. Detroit: John Subacz, age 43, auto worker.
 4058 4-2 N. Detroit: William Sams, age 48, auto worker.
 4060 4-2 N. Detroit: C. Strich, age 39, laborer.
 4061 4-2 N. Detroit: Melton J. Malyyask, age 24, laborer.
 4062 4-2 N. Detroit: Stella Cook, age 33, housewife.
 4064 4-2 N. Detroit: Anda Samaritz, age 63, auto worker.
 4063 4-2 N. Detroit: Joseph Dumin, age 25, welder.
 4065 4-2 N. Detroit: Al Mitchell, age 42, unemployed.
 4066 4-2 N. Detroit: Jimmie Manich, age 37, auto worker.
 10547 4-2 Detroit: Sam Paska, age 37, auto worker.
 10797 4-9 Detroit: Mike Tabaka, age 28, laborer.
 10465 4-7 Detroit: Peter Dobrinoh, age 43, auto worker.
 10781 4-8 N. Detroit: Willie Wells, age 40, laborer.
 4-5 N. Detroit: Thomas Carson, age 29, auto worker.
 4051 4-1 N. Detroit: Nellie Galunes, 37 years, housewife.
 4052 4-1 N. Detroit: Nicholas Herman, 32 years, food worker.
 4053 4-1 N. Detroit: Joon Curoff, 45 years, food worker.
 4054 4-1 N. Detroit: Frank Pop, 52 years, auto worker.
 10799 4-1 N. Detroit: N. Shuid, 40 years, painter.
 4055 4-10 N. Detroit: Bill Parker, 38 years, Duco rubber.
 4063 4-10 N. Detroit: Joseph Dumin, 25 years, welder.
 4070 4-10 N. Detroit: Mike Tagza, 45 years, auto worker.
 4067 4-3 N. Detroit: Mott Raitac, 36 years, auto worker.
 4068 4-3 N. Detroit: John Miller, 35 years, auto worker.
 4069 4-8 N. Detroit: Maike Pops, 40 years, auto worker.
 4070 4-3 N. Detroit: Mike Tagza, 45 years, auto worker.
 4071 4-3 N. Detroit: Powe Musink, auto worker.
 4072 4-3 N. Detroit: Joe Sorto, auto worker.
 4073 4-3 N. Detroit: Anna Parker, 43 years, housewife.
 4074 4-3 N. Detroit: A. Smutny, 43 years, car builder.
 4075 4-3 N. Detroit: Mary Ann Dunbar, age 26, housewife.
 4076 4-3 N. Detroit: John Botna, age 38, auto worker.

- 4077 4-3 N. Detroit: Paul Babick, age 26, auto worker.
 4078 4-3 N. Detroit: Frank Urlon, age 44, auto worker.
 4081 4-4 (trans. to 10): John Zazuliak, 39 years, auto worker.
 4082 4-4 N. Detroit: Gus Givhon, age 41, laborer.
 4083 4-4 N. Detroit: Eugene Davidson, age 55, Negro.
 4084 4-4 N. Detroit: Mike Petrowich, 45 years, auto worker.
 4085 4-4 N. Detroit: Rudolph Turner, 30 years, machinist.
 4086 4-4 N. Detroit: Robert Daimond, age 33, pipe fitter.
 4087 4-4 N. Detroit: Joe Ragozinsky, age 43, machine repair.
 4088 4-4 N. Detroit: John Liem, age 52, auto worker.
 4089 4-4 N. Detroit: Jack Beronza, age 43, auto worker.
 4090 4-4 N. Detroit: John Burton, age 43, coremaker.
 4091 4-4 N. Detroit: Peter Stopiak, age 36, auto worker.
 4092 4-5 N. Detroit: Lewis Kwas, age 37, metal finisher.
 4093 4-5 N. Detroit: Joseph Wrzatek, age 48, die maker.
 4094 4-5 N. Detroit: John Kupec, age 36, enamel fenders.
 10456 4-3 N. Detroit: Semen Bolotnik, age 49, carpenter.
 10751 4-5 N. Detroit: John Brown, age 39, decorator.
 10752 4-5 N. Detroit: Alex Mltchel, age 54, laborer.
 10753 4-5 N. Detroit: Tom Mruse, age 49, painter.
 10754 4-5 N. Detroit: Stanislaw Calka, age 38, housewife.
 10755 4-5 N. Detroit: Jos. Zork, age 42, metal finisher.
 10756 4-5 N. Detroit: John West, age 38, laborer.
 10757 4-6 N. Detroit: George Adelein, age 44, auto worker.
 10758 4-6 N. Detroit: George Montgomery, age 44, truck driver.
 10759 4-6 N. Detroit: Sam Carlan, age 38, auto worker.
 10760 4: William Preston, painter.
 10761 4-6 N. Detroit: Cass Baily (1931), age 44, washingman.
 10762 4-6 N. Detroit: Vlad Bontese, age 44, laborer.
 10763 4-7 N. Detroit: John Belank, age 39, laborer.
 10764 4-7 N. Detroit: Eppers Sachio, age 35, bricklayer.
 10765 4-7 N. Detroit: Frank Koca, age 38, laborer.
 10766 4-7 N. Detroit: Victoria Sanders, age 26, housewife.
 10767 4-7 N. Detroit: Mike Oprean, age 41, auto worker.
 10768 4-7 N. Detroit: Peter W. Norman, age 50, auto worker.
 10769 4-7 N. Detroit: John Duncan, age 38, laborer.
 10770 4-7 N. Detroit: Tom Kramera, age 53, carpenter.
 10771 4-7 N. Detroit: Philip Lavelenti, age 38, auto worker.
 10772 4-7 N. Detroit: M. Sanders, age 39, printer.
 10773 4-7 N. Detroit: Ely Ferary, age 47, shoemaker.
 10774 4-7 N. Detroit: Harry G. Chapman, age 44, auto worker.
 10775 4-8 Highland Park: Andru Tourian, age 50, auto worker.
 10776 4-8 Highland Park: Theodore Babushkin, age 62, laundry driver.
 10777 4-8 Highland Park: M. Peterson, age 49, auto worker.
 10778 4-8 Highland Park: Nick Matwyiks, age 39, milkman.
 10779 4-8 Highland Park: John Moore, age 32, artist.
 10780 4-8 Highland Park: Edna Swinton, age 42, (1931), cook.
 10782 4-9 N. Detroit: John Cholpin, age 36, machinist.
 10783 4-9 N. Detroit: John Bosek, age 48, laborer.
 10784 4-9 N. Detroit: John Popag, age 46, die maker.
 10785 4-9 N. Detroit: A. Bruno, age 43, laborer.
 10786 4-9 N. Detroit: Dan Kotuzow, age 48, laborer.
 10787 4-9 N. Detroit: Philip Ryback, age 44, machinist.
 10788 4-9 N. Detroit: John Somp, age 44, laborer.
 10789 4-9 N. Detroit: Laurence Sowkin, age 40, laborer.
 10790 4-9 N. Detroit: Poly Molken, age 42, laborer.

UKRANIAN—HAMTRAMCK FACTION

- W. Zaxulisk, 3014 Yemans.
 M. Shawala, 2701 Carpenter St.
 John Zazuliak, 2474 Danforth St.
 M. Bowhan, 13425 Moenart.
 M. Ukraine, 3409 E. Davidson.
 B. Hnatiuk, 3409 E. Davidson.
 N. Matwyko, 13115 Gallagher.
 N. Hawryliuk, 3014 Yemans.
 M. Morfey, 198 Manchester, Highland Park.

M. Fylyma, 18098 Albany.
 J. Radowyck, 8917 Lumpkin.
 J. Skrypnyk, 3014 Yemans.
 Harry Phillips, 3120 Holbrook.
 D. Pidhainy.
 M. Semchyslyn, 11344 St. Aubin.
 M. Osadchiuk, 3014 Yemans.
 Z. Krupc, 2463 Faber Ave.
 M. Gula, 2284 Faber Ave.
 A. Zazuliack, 2474 Danforth.
 P. Denery, 2474 Danforth.
 E. Shewchiuk, 6025 Grandy.
 W. Shewchiuk, 6025 Grandy.
 D. Keywan, 3014 Yemans.
 B. Ctislaw.
 Alex Boychyn, 2666 Carpenter St.
 W. Krawyc, 3390 Farnsworth.
 M. Kowalchiuk, 3014 Yemans.
 B. Day, 2303 Grayling.
 M. Basarab, 3014 Yemans.
 L. Woroniuk, 3014 Yemans.
 M. F. Oley, 3014 Yemans.
 J. Shvartz, 2394 Faber.
 Paul Rudkovski, 2934 Yemans.
 Mary Zelman, 2424 Faber St.
 Walter Redjaek, 3014 Yemans.
 H. Zalopany.
 T. F. Kurchenko, 1430 Yemans.
 Kashuk, 6120 Ebehart Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Wm. Cerniuk, 5030 S. Hermitage, Chicago, Ill.
 Iliia Kushmir, 2330 Huron St., Chicago, Ill.
 N. Szten, 1829 Crawley, Muskegon, Mich.
 Wolodymyr Bonchar, P. O. Box 400, Thorold, Ont.
 A. Procyshyn, P. O. Box 569, Thorold, Mich.
 Anna Kruchyn, 7341 Ternes St., Dearborn, Mich.
 Anna Myktyiw, 6592 McGow Ave., Detroit, Mich.
 Barbara Dudich, 615 Burton St. SE., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 F. Szopek, 42 Orchard St., River Rouge, Mich.
 A. Woyewidka, 51 Cicotte Ave. W., River Rouge, Mich.
 W. Ryback, P. O. Box 4256, Carson Sta., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Peter Bukshak, 1616 S. Logan St., Lansing, Mich.
 D. Budzan, 110 Lexington Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 D. Buyar, 11 E. Minnesota Ave., Detroit, Mich.
 J. Sarachman, R. I. Box 11, Fruitfort, Mich.
 George Refko, 318 Almyra Ave., Monroe, Mich.
 V. Borodkin, Box 1025, Marquette, Mich.
 W. Woloszynowieh, R. No. 3, Box 35, Fennville, Mich.
 M. Kuski, 1237 Mississippi, Flint, Mich.
 M. Kosheluk, 4055 Seven St., Wyandotte, Mich.
 Emil Kozar, 4246 Biddle St., Wyandotte, Mich.
 N. Wowchyna, 647 Central, Wyandotte, Mich.
 Andrew Glover, 24 N. Cicotte St., River Rouge, Mich.
 P. Mandziuk, 202 Glen Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 P. Kunash, 1045 Bowelen St., Muskegon Heights, Mich.
 Ukrainian Workers Home, 59 Seward, Grand Rapids, Mich.
 N. S. Wynnies, 703 9th St., Muskegon Heights, Mich.
 John Paulenko, 302 Allen Avenue, Muskegon, Mich.
 William Mihaychuk, 752 First Ave., Pontiac, Mich.
 D. Hnatiw, 1834 Fletcher St., Lansing, Mich.
 F. Shenkar, 1225 Mississippi, Flint, Mich.
 H. Latoshynska, 1530 W. Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 D. Strypko, 3548 Tryon Ave., New York, N. Y.
 J. A. Leuchenko, 1051 Auburn Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
 John Sarachman, R. No. 1, Box 11, Fruitfort, Mich.
 A. S. Barabash, 4389 West 50th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Peter Borsack, 7543 Anthony Ave., Dearborn, Mich.
 D. Korol, 1011 Drouillard Rd., East Windsor, Ont.

U. S. S. R., Communist Party, R. A. I., Umanschini Vasarabu, M. O.
 Peter Makedon, 1090 Osceolo Ave., Flint, Mich.
 Mrs. Cebula, 7243 Ford St., Van Dyke, Mich.
 Alex Karwacki, 1209 Idaho, Flint, Mich.
 Jos. Obyneec, 737 Moore St., Flint, Mich.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have prepared here an analysis of the Communist publications, leaflets, and pamphlets showing that this organization advocates the use of force and violence as a method of overthrowing our form of government, as well as any other organized form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received in evidence as the next exhibit.

(The analysis above referred to was marked "Witness Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit No. 16" and filed with the committee, being an analysis of the manifestoes, programs, and official publications of the Communist Party of America.)

Mr. POLANSKY. I have samples here of numerous shop publications issued under the auspices of the Communist Party of America of this section for distribution in the various plants in this city as well as the city of Toledo. The titles of those are "The Hudson Worker," "Autolite Worker," "Plymouth Union Beacon," "Book-Cadillac Hotel Worker."

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received in evidence as an exhibit.

(The shop papers above referred to were marked "Exhibit Witness Spolansky (Detroit) No. 17" and filed with the committee.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have here a set of resolutions adopted at the twelfth plenum of the central committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., November 22, 23, and 24, 1930. This exhibit definitely shows the purpose and the program of the activities of the Communist Party in all industrial plants and in various other fields.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received in evidence as the next exhibit.

(The set of resolutions above referred to was marked "Witness Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit No. 18" and filed with the committee.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have here material used by the Workers School. This school is being operated by the Communist Party in this city in charge of Max Salzman. The headquarters of this school is at 1569 Fourteenth Street, and this is samples of material used in that school.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received as an exhibit.

(The samples of material above referred to were marked "Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit 19" and filed with the committee, being samples of material used in the Detroit Workers School at 1569 Fourteenth St., Detroit.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have here a copy of the Detroit Labor News, the official organ of the Detroit Federation of Labor, giving a partial Communist organization list, sent out by the American Federation of Labor. This list contains approximately about 100 names of different organizations correlated with the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive that in evidence as an exhibit for the future use of the committee.

(The list above referred to was marked "Witness Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit No. 20" and filed with the committee, being a partial list of Communist organizations in the United States, sent out by the A. F. of L.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have a copy of the International Press Correspondence, which is the official organ of the Communists, of the Communist International, and which contains a stenographic report of a speech made by Robert Minor, a delegate to the Communist International, in reference to the activities of the Communist Party in the American Federation of Labor among our Negro population, and has reference to the disagreement between Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive that in evidence also as an exhibit.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Witness Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit No. 21" and filed with the committee, being special number, vol. 9, No. 51, dated September 1929, of the International Press Correspondence.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have here another copy of International Press Correspondence, the official organ of the Communist International, dated September 20, 1929, reporting a conference held in Cleveland in which the theory of industrial unionism is very widely discussed. This was a very important conference because it was held under the auspices of the Trade Union Unity League, which is the industrial department of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received as an exhibit.

(The paper above referred to was marked "Witness Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit No. 22" and filed with the committee, being a copy of International Press Correspondence, dated September 20, 1929.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have a pamphlet which was widely distributed here by the American League Against War and Fascism. This pamphlet was distributed here by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights. It contains an article by Harry F. Ward, Dr. Ward, entitled "The Development of Fascism in the United States." This article has important significance because it minimizes the activities of the Nazis and Fascists and points to President Roosevelt as Fascist No. 1.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive that in evidence for future study of the committee.

(The publication above referred to was marked "Witness Spolansky (Detroit) Exhibit No. 23" and filed with the committee, being a copy of an article by Harry F. Ward entitled "The Development of Fascism in the United States.")

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have prepared for you gentlemen, and it is in the possession of your investigator, a complete survey of the Communist activities in this territory, giving the composition of all the organizations operating here, their strength, their financial situation, their methods of deriving money, and giving you a more or less complete picture of what the Communist organization constitutes in this territory to date.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have occasion to investigate the sit-down strikes?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have occasion to identify and know Communists who took an active part in that strike?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, I have a partial list.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that, and I will get to that in a minute.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with the Communists in the labor movement in this State?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Fairly well.

The CHAIRMAN. Who hold the positions as organizers, or any other strategic positions in the labor movement?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to give this committee when it holds its comprehensive hearing on sit-down strikes, as related to communistic activity, an accurate and full picture of this subject and as it relates to this entire area?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be willing to come to Washington when that hearing is scheduled for the purpose of giving that testimony?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I will ask you to keep that survey and be ready to attend the hearings at Washington, at which time we hope to have witnesses from every section where a sit-down strike was conducted, so that we can have a chronological and comprehensive picture of this movement, as to which we have received information was inspired by Communists who received instructions from abroad. We appreciate very much your kindness in appearing before the committee and giving us the benefit of your investigation.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. May I have permission to make just a very short statement that pertains to this labor angle?

The CHAIRMAN. Come up here, please.

(The witness Spolansky conferred with the chairman at the bench, after which the following occurred.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. In my work of combating communism I came in contact directly with some of the outstanding labor leaders of organized labor, and I cannot emphasize the important part which organized labor has played in combating communistic activities. I have instituted, as agent of the Department of Justice, hundreds of deportation proceedings on information and evidence furnished by organized labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in that connection we have made the statement many times that the evidence before us and the result of the investigation we have conducted is that the overwhelming majority of labor people, both organized and unorganized, are absolutely opposed to communism, the same as they are opposed to fascism and nazi-ism, and that labor organizations have formed a definite barrier to the advance of communism. There has been no charge and no effort to charge that the labor movement has sympathized with or promoted communism in the United States. While the evidence before this committee has indicated very strongly that some labor

organizations are under the control of well-known Communists, or at least influenced by them, we have been careful to make it clear that that does not apply to the great rank and file in the organization, who are Americans, who love our Government and our systems and institutions of government.

Mr. HOWE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, Mr. William Germaey will be the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM P. GERNAEY

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Germaey, where do you live?

Mr. GERNAEY. 6355 Majestic Place, Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived here?

Mr. GERNAEY. I have been born and raised in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you finish the public schools here?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. High school?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend college?

Mr. GERNAEY. One year, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What college?

Mr. GERNAEY. Detroit Business University.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. GERNAEY. Detroit Business University.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a university supported by the city of Detroit?

Mr. GERNAEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a private institution?

Mr. GERNAEY. It is a private institution; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. GERNAEY. Thirty-five.

Mr. GERNAEY. Did you ever join the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. I was a member of the Young Communist League from the year 1930 to 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. You joined it for the purpose of getting information, did you not?

Mr. GERNAEY. I joined it as an operator; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay in that organization?

Mr. GERNAEY. Until I graduated as a youth into the party as an adult, and if I may be permitted, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you make your statement, then, from that point on.

Mr. GERNAEY. The purpose of my testimony here today, because of the confusion in the minds of millions of people throughout the Nation, and confusion in regard to this committee itself, I came here to testify, and the Communist Party will say of me, as they say of anyone who is oppose to communism, that they are a supporter of fascism or nazi-ism, or some anarchism, and I wish to bring to the public attention that while I am opposed to communism, I am opposed to all "isms," and I am for Americanism, for our people. I wish to bring before this committee and the public and call to their attention, that while they may not be a communist, they may be sup-

porting the Communist Party through some of the affiliate organizations. These organizations were mentioned today in testimony. The Communist Party is an organization to fit any purpose and every purpose. If it happens to be a question of war, the protection of the Soviet Union, they have an organization for that in the name of the Friends of the Soviet Union. If it is a question of legislation, they have the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights. If it is a question of deportation, they have the International Labor Defense. If it is youth, it is the American Youth Congress, and if it is trade-union work, today it is the C. I. O. and the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean by that that the Communists control those organizations?

Mr. GERNAEY. I mean they work within those organizations, or the Committee for Industrial Organization of the American Federation of Labor, being the major organizations in industry, today they are boring within those organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. But not with the consent of the organizations?

Mr. GERNAEY. Not with the consent of the organizations, absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to clarify.

Mr. GERNAEY. In joining the Young Communists League in 1930, which was during the deepest depression, I joined with the idea, first, of learning of the movement and all about it, and as I got deeper into it I found that some of their points were very catching, and just as you will find young people going into Spain fighting for so-called democracy, little do they realize what they are doing. Within the movement I worked diligently and honestly as a Young Communists League member, and I got so high as to be a member of the district committee of the Young Communists League. In the highest committees, the work of the formation of struggles, the welfare demonstrations, city hall demonstrations, parades, and all of these plans were formulated by the district committee of the Young Communists League. The Ford hunger march of 1932, all plans were laid out by the Young Communists League for its members, through the direction of the district committee of the party, the Communist Party. In all the work of the Young Communists League they take their directions, naturally, from the parent organization. They do not work independently. Their guidance comes from the parent organization. In 1935, being a member of the party at that time, the party realizing that they were not down with the masses, they were isolated from the general public, their tactics were changed. However, it was not until 1936 that the lower organs of the party, the rank and file, the street units and the shop units, began to learn how a Communist should work.

Up to 1936 the Communist Party was isolated from the masses. Their meetings were held amongst themselves. If it was an educational meeting, you found all Communist League members, or if it was party educational meeting, it would be all party members. The party made it a rule that every member must join a mass organization. I was primarily interested, in my particular case, in the Communist Party movement. I was forced to join a labor organization. My dues and my initiation was paid into this organization. With the support of the rank and file, that is the Communist

rank and file of members within this organization, my leadership was pushed forward, and I became an officer of this particular local union, through no desire of my own. Being a good Communist I had to take that position. In this position I became a delegate to the legitimate labor movements, that is, I became associated with the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Here it was my duty as a Communist to be a member of an opposition group within the American Federation of Labor. Here we would make our plans to carry on opposition work to embarrass leadership within the American Federation of Labor, or, rather, the Detroit Federation of Labor, to carry out the Communist Party program, immediate issues, immediate demands, not the full program of the Communist Party. Perhaps it was a question of the endorsement of a bill in support of the Conference for Protection of Civil Rights. Perhaps it was the endorsement of the Detroit Federation of Labor, or supporting the American Youth Congress. On immediate issues perhaps it was on the question of the support of the Spanish Loyalists. In 1936 the party members, or Communist Party members did become members of outside organizations. They were taught how to take leadership, how to win the people, the rank and file workers, from their old leaders to support the leaders of the Communist Party left wing or so-called "progressives."

It was during early 1935 that we had the stay-in strikes in France, in the mining industry. It was here that we got our examples of what to do within the outer plants, within the Dearborn industries. This must always be borne in mind—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Gernaey, right at that point: We are not going into sit-down strikes at this hearing. We will have a full hearing in Washington on sit-down strikes, at which we will have witnesses from various sections of the country where sit-down strikes were conducted.

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I gather from your testimony you had considerable contact with that movement; is that true?

Mr. GERNAEY. Very much so; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would you be willing to come to Washington to testify on that phase?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And develop it more fully?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose now we omit that part entirely, and that we ask you some specific questions here?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may continue. You want to make a general statement?

Mr. GERNAEY. No; only in regard to this movement, all I want to say—I was not going to elaborate on the sit-down strike, but what I wanted to point out was that through this method they were able, the Communist Party was able, to a great extent to control industry throughout the country, which is their objective. The objective is not chicken pickers or hat makers, or some little individual unions; the objective is to control industry, heavy industry—transportation and chemicals.

In the previous testimony that was made, Nat Ganley's name was mentioned as business agent for a certain local union. It is very important, I believe, that he was also business agent for the Parke-Davis Chemical Union. Now Parke-Davis takes a very big part in our Government's business—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of well-known Communists who are officers in labor unions—in labor locals?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to give it to us at this time?

Mr. GERNAEY. I have not it completed.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you prepare that and complete it and have it ready for the Washington hearing?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that based upon your own knowledge—definite information?

Mr. GERNAEY. My own definite information. I have no literature whatsoever. That has all been taken over by the authorities.

The CHAIRMAN. You will prepare that carefully for the Washington hearings?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you will be willing to come to Washington to testify?

Mr. GERNAEY. I will, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mazerik?

The CHAIRMAN. Avrahm Mazerik?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GERNAEY. Avrahm Mazerik is a person whom I once worked for in the food business. Avrahm Mazerik was what we might call a progressive amongst the people. He does not go around in old working clothes and, therefore, he is not a worker. His contact has been with the intellectual groups, to which he had a fine introduction and a very legitimate appeal, and he was successful in forming the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights. It was Avrahm Mazerik who was able to convince Rev. Jack Bollen to be chairman of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, the organization formed with the introduction of the bill called the Doncker-Baldwin bill which was a piece of legislation to counteract subversive activities. And on this particular issue, the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, of course with the support of the Communist Party, was able to call a mass group of people up to Lansing for this hearing on this bill. The formation of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights began at that time. Avrahm Mazerik, as I say, was the person who was the power behind the gun; however, he took no leading position in speaking before groups of people.

The CHAIRMAN. That is enough about him. Did you secure any lists from him?

Mr. GERNAEY. From him, did I secure—

The CHAIRMAN. Any information?

Mr. GERNAEY. By working for Mr. Mazerik, I carried on all of his actual labor. If there were leaflets to be mimeographed, letters to be typewritten, this was my work, and I believe some lists of people were given for organizational purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to look at this list and identify it.

Mr. HOWE. Have you ever seen this list before, Mr. Gernaey?

Mr. GERNAEY (after examining paper). Yes, I believe I have seen that list before; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you compile that list?

Mr. GERNAEY. That list had already been compiled.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Mr. GERNAEY. That I don't know. It was dropped and I happened to find it.

Mr. HOWE. Was it in the residence of Mr. Mazerik?

Mr. GERNAEY. I believe it was.

Mr. HOWE. Did you take the list out and have it copied?

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. In the course of your experience and contacts with the Communist movement, did you have occasion to find out the names of any school teachers who were identified with the communistic activities?

Mr. GERNAEY. I met several school teachers. I could not—because of my memory, I could not give any names.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the American Cultural Society for Social Relations With Russia?

Mr. GERNAEY. That is an organization that was formed several years ago which "formatted" the Friends of the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am not asking you that. What I want to know now is, Do you know any of the members of that organization?

Mr. GERNAEY. I could not give you the names offhand; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any lists of the members of that organization?

Mr. GERNAEY. I don't; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us whether or not you are now a member of the Young Communists League?

Mr. GERNAEY. I am not, sir; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why are not you a member?

Mr. GERNAEY. I was—my position was made known and I naturally was expelled from the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you tried?

Mr. GERNAEY. I was not tried. I had a hearing; I was before a group who made accusations, substantiated with evidence, and I admitted my connections.

Mr. MOSIER. Who composed that group?

Mr. GERNAEY. All the leading Communist Party members of the district.

Mr. MOSIER. And who were your accusers before that group?

Mr. GERNAEY. These leaders of the party had this information—had reports and receipts, money vouchers—money receipts.

Mr. MOSIER. From whom did they receive those reports and receipts for money?

Mr. GERNAEY. Where did they get their information from?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mr. GERNAEY. Is it just absolutely necessary to report that at this committee meeting, Mr. Chairman? I should like to make a reservation here, if possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you have any fear about stating the facts with reference to it?

Mr. GERNAEY. No personal fear; no, sir. It may lead into a further complication, which I would not care to have mentioned at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you need not. We do not want to be in a position of embarrassing you, or placing you in any embarrassing situation. What do you mean when you say "complications"? Do you mean you have some personal fear?

Mr. GERNAEY. No personal fear; no, Mr. Chairman; no personal fear. It becomes a political issue, I believe, which involves other people, perhaps, which I would not like at this particular time to see involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is all right, then; we won't insist upon that at this time.

Mr. GERNAEY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what else do you have to add, Mr. Gernaey, outside of the sit-down strike phase?

Mr. GERNAEY. I won't mention that. I believe the committee does know that Communist Party members here are continually going back and forth to the Soviet Union and receiving a year or 2 years' education to come back here and carry on this work among people—among party members. I believe it also knows, or should know, we have leading Communist Party members of the Soviet Union come over here and give directions to the leadership and then go down into the lower organizations, giving them the directions and enthusiasm to carrying on subversive or revolutionary activities. It is through these channels, it is through these methods, that the party members become enthused, encouraged, to carry on revolutionary activities here.

Now should I be asked how these Russian representatives get here, I could not tell you. I do know that some of the members here who go over there leave on tramp steamers. If they have passports—I believe they do get passports, but I could not vouch for all of them, but I do think that some have gotten passports and have left on tramp steamers for the Soviet Union.

The training there, in the Soviet Union, is over a 1- to 2-year period. It depends on the aptness of the pupils. If they seem good timber they will be given a 2-year course and, in a good many cases, it may also be mentioned here that when these pupils return here, if at all possible, they leave the movement. When they return here they sometimes do not make good timber for the Communist Party and try to run away. I believe this is due to the fact that they see the conditions in the Soviet Union and lose a lot of heart and enthusiasm, and are discouraged.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you acquire, during your membership in the Young Communist League—did you acquire any information on recruiting for the Spanish Loyalists among the young men?

Mr. GERNAEY. I left the Communist Party movement in January 1937. At that time the civil war was just in its infancy.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I believe that is all, Mr. Gernaey. We thank you for your testimony.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. I believe it was testified this morning and casually mentioned that Mr. Emery was a member of the Newspaper

Guild. Information has been given to this committee that Mr. Emery is no longer an officer of the guild. While the matter is unimportant, the Chair makes that announcement for the sake of the record, to show that Mr. Emery is not connected with the guild.

The committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(The subcommittee thereupon adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, October 13, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Federal Building, Detroit, Mich.

The committee met at 10:15 a. m., Hon. Harold G. Mosier presiding.

Mr. MOSIER. The hearing will please come to order.

Mr. HOWE, who is the next witness?

Mr. HOWE. The first witness will be Mr. W. S. Reynolds of the American Legion.

Mr. MOSIER. All right. Mr. Reynolds. Have you been sworn?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you please raise your right hand?

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. REYNOLDS

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Mosier.)

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Reynolds, what is your full name?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Walter S. Reynolds.

Mr. MOSIER. Where do you live?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I live outside of Birmingham.

Mr. MOSIER. That is in the State of Michigan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How long have you lived there?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I just recently moved there. I had lived in Detroit all my life prior to that.

Mr. MOSIER. What is your age?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Forty-four.

Mr. MOSIER. And you say you have lived in this State all your life?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You are a member of the American Legion?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You are chairman of what committee in connection with the American Legion?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am chairman of the subcommittee on subversive activities, which is one of the six committees under the Americanization Committee of the Department of Michigan.

Mr. MOSIER. How long have you been connected with or engaged in the subversive activities investigation?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I have been chairman of this particular committee for 4 years.

Mr. MOSIER. During that time have you made an investigation of the subversive influences in and around Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And in that investigation have you talked with other people who are engaged in the same line of activity?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. As a result of that you have a statement, do you not?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I have, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That you wish to present to this committee this morning?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I have, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. All right, Mr. Reynolds, will you please read your statement?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Before I read my statement, I want to preface my remarks with the fact that the American Legion is interested in exposing all un-American activities. We are just as much interested in exposing Fascist and Nazi movements as we are in exposing communism. We have investigators of this committee all over the State of Michigan. We sent investigators, for instance, to the German Bund camp at Bridgman, Mich., which is in Berrien County. Incidentally it happens to be the same camp at which Communists were arrested, tried, and convicted under the Michigan Syndicalism Act, by the former Attorney General O. L. Smith. Our investigators on going to this camp were greeted and welcomed and told that they could have any information that they could find within the confines of the camp. Of course, there was not any information there. There was not any list of members there, but to the best of our knowledge the membership of the German Bund within the State of Michigan is very small. That particular camp is used more by members of the bund from Indiana and Illinois than it is for members that reside in Michigan.

We have also had occasion in the past to check into, for instance, such organizations as the Black Legion. That organization was broken up by a grand jury 2 years ago and the membership is very small now in the State of Michigan, and no meetings are being held, although there still is minor activity. The grand jury in Macomb County is now investigating a branch of that organization, but the findings have not been released as yet.

There is also a small movement up around Vassar, Mich., which apparently was the birthplace of the Black Legion in Michigan. My investigator covering that territory states that they are not holding any meetings, and that their membership is small indeed.

We also have in this State a branch of the Silver Legion, commonly called Silver Shirts. I understand that your committee has had information placed before it on that organization. They are more widely known in the Northwest and through the Mideastern States than they are in this section of the country, although there is a branch in Michigan, but the membership, again, is very small in that.

There has been recently in the State of Michigan a revival of the Ku Klux Klan, which seems to come and go with political events. Apparently their new set-up does not eliminate Catholics, and they are not going under the name of the Ku Klux Klan—although that is the parent organization—but they have started here in the State

of Michigan numerous organizations under fictitious and fine-sounding names. So far we have not been able to find any un-American activities entered into by these organizations and, consequently, do not feel free to expose the names, because it would put a stigma on them which they may not earn.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Reynolds, I have made some investigation in other districts and I found that some of these organizations that you evidently have in mind are used, you might say, as rackets by racketeers to raise money for their own personal benefit.

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is true.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that true in Michigan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. It seems to be that there are some unemployed professional secretaries here promoting these things for their own advancement.

Mr. MOSIER. What I hear is of the remnants of the Klan and remnants of the Black Legion can find a certain amount of ground that they can plow again, and some of these racketeers do that under, perhaps, a different name, but there is nothing that nationally need worry us, is there? What does the result of your investigation in Michigan show?

Mr. REYNOLDS. There is no Fascist organization operating here in Michigan as to which we are at all disturbed.

Mr. MOSIER. You do watch that pretty carefully, do you not?

Mr. REYNOLDS. We certainly do.

Mr. MOSIER. The Legion is a far-flung organization?

Mr. REYNOLDS. We have, with our auxiliaries, about 45,000 members in the State of Michigan, and I will say that universally, with very few exceptions indeed, that the members of the American Legion and auxiliaries of the American Legion are very much interested in exposing un-American activities, and we get reports from every town, hamlet, and crossroads throughout the State of Michigan.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I also wish to state this, sir: The American Legion is a body that is not interested in any political issues nor any religious issues, nor any industrial issues, but in my committee work where we find un-American activities, regardless of what its nature may be, we will expose that and let the cards fall where they lie.

I will not read the statement that I have prepared, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask a question before you start that statement. I believe that statement that you are now about to read pertains, for the most part, to communism?

Mr. REYNOLDS. It does.

Mr. MOSIER. Just as a matter for the record, may I ask you whether in your investigation of un-American activities in this section you found that communism far overshadowed in importance and, we will say, danger to the American form of government, the activities of all of the other so-called subversive influences?

Mr. REYNOLDS. It most certainly does.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, you are going to testify on communism at length because, in the opinion of you and your committee of the American Legion, that forms the most dangerous threat to America today of any of the subversive influences?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is right, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. All right. Now, have you any other statement that you want to make along this line? I do not want to shut you out and be the witness myself, Mr. Reynolds.

Mr. REYNOLDS. This information that we are about to give you has been gained from thousands of sources. We have even gone to the alleged Fascist organizations to get information on the Communists, and we have gone to the Communists to get information on the alleged Fascist organization. We have worked one against the other, because what we are interested in is getting accurate data and facts. A lot of this information I am about to give I have not gained personally. It is accumulated data from many different sources, but each part of the information I am about to give can be authenticated in every shape and form, and if there is any doubt in this committee's mind, or if any person who is named in this statement attempts or wishes to refute it and wants to come before this body, I am in a position to present competent witnesses, affidavits, and facts upholding this statement.

Mr. MOSIER. All right, Mr. Reynolds. Now, you may proceed with your statement.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The aim of the Communist Party is to organize the American workers, by every possible method, based on the class struggle for the overthrow of existing system and society and establishing the "Government of Soviet America."

M. J. Olgin, of New York City, member of the central committee of the Communist Party and editor of Freiheit, Communist daily published in the Jewish language, in his booklet "Why Communism?" stated on page 64 regarding the role of the Communist Party as follows:

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 looks upon its members as leaders in the struggle and it trains them to be fit for this work. The Communist Party is a school of the class struggle in every one of its phases.

A good Communist is a man or a woman who by virtue of his qualities becomes a leader among his fellow-workers—not a leader by dint of some mechanical control, but a leader by dint of better understanding, more courage and superior organizing abilities. Communists are trained to be that way. This is why a small number of Communists will often achieve more than a greater number of unorganized workers pulling in different directions.

Space and time do not permit enumeration and classification of the Communist organizations. For the purpose of this statement it is sufficient to bear in mind that on the American soil all Communist organizations are coordinated and, in turn, subordinated to one parent body in Moscow, and all activities of these organizations in America are subject to dictates from the Comintern. It would be a folly to make any distinctions for the simple fact that the organizers and the directors of Communist organizations are the same with perhaps this distinction, that in different organizations they might occupy different positions. The whole system of Communist web is comparable to the interlocking directorate of financial web.

Among the most militant tentacles of communism in recent years, preying and fattening on American gullibility, is the organization known as Friends of Spanish Democracy. As one of the Comintern subdivisions, this organization has been guilty not only of subversiveness, but of actual treason against the United States. Through

clever appeals to the American Samaritanism and humanitarianism, it has been successful in sending shiploads of supplies, hundreds of thousands of dollars and thousands of American volunteers into a foreign country whose government is not only foreign to the United States, but inimical to the American form of government. The spilling of American blood on Spanish battlefields under the direction and command of Moscow soldiers and for the preservation of Spanish Communist government is the highest type of treason which can be perpetrated against the United States inasmuch as the Communist doctrine, whether of Moscow, Spanish, or domestic design, advocates the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence. If fighting and dying for the preservation of a government based on principles which seek destruction of principles upon which our Government is based be not treason, then what is treason? Furthermore, in order to add insult to injury, the deceived American recruits were dispatched into Spanish trenches as Abraham Lincoln Brigade, George Washington Brigade, and other sarcastically named detachments.

The popularization of the friendship idea for world democracy is, of course, for the benefit of the proletarian "democracy" of Moscow. To sponsor this idea, Nation-wide, the Communists recruited scores of individuals prominent in their own right or such individuals who are connected with prominent American institutions for their benefactors, supporters, and cloaks. Separate division known as Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy was created, listing 44 doctors of medicine spread over the teaching staffs of 18 nationally most prominent universities.

You asked the question yesterday as to whether any of these doctors were connected with universities in Michigan.

I beg to state, sir, that the University of Michigan, incidentally, is represented by Drs. Frederick Amasa Collar, Reuben L. Kahn, L. H. Newburgh, and John Sundwall. Other Michigan sponsors and committee members are Dr. Leonard A. Seltzer; Paul de Kruif, doctor of philosophy; Rev. James W. Hailwood; Dr. Mark McQuiggan; Prof. J. M. Albaladejo; Prof. Kenneth Jones; Prof. John Sheper; Prof. Shirley Allan; and Dr. E. M. Shafarman as treasurer; and Hilda Gosman, as executive secretary.

Mr. MOSIER. You know, Mr. Reynolds, as to that list of professors that you have read there, I believe I asked yesterday who they were, and with what college or university they were connected. Did you say they were all connected with the University of Michigan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No; these four.

Mr. MOSIER. The first four are connected with the University of Michigan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

The Michigan staff of Abraham Lincoln Brigade includes Robert Taylor, returned veteran of Spanish "cause," as executive secretary, Ellen Jones as chairman, Pat Daniels as organizer, and Charlotte Muzar as treasurer. Although not listed on official stationery, the staff includes Phillip Raymond, chief of recruiting staff; Dr. Shafarman, chief of medical staff of local examiners and "curers" of recruits; and Manning Green, chief of legal staff to propagate and defend the Spanish democracy.

Educational institutions of the Nation are perhaps the most productive of moral support of this cause. Scores of professors with many degrees have made utterances which are not only false and injurious to American prestige abroad, but are repulsive and highly insulting to the intelligence of the average American citizen. Average sentiment of the Communist type of our university professors may be gleaned into by evaluating a signed statement of Dr. Kirtly F. Mather, Harvard University professor, who defined the American concern in the Spanish Communist cause as follows:

American citizens fighting in the Spanish civil war are fighting for the preservation of democracy and are suffering in a conflict in which Americans are vitally concerned. Everything should be done to help those American citizens.

How the learned professor expected the American public to swallow the fact that the democracy he speaks of is nothing more nor less than Communist dictatorship is a horse of another color. One thing, however, is certain, that such statements coming from the professor of one of our great universities carry the Communist desired effects necessary for the twisting of public opinion. Scores of other university professors in accord with Professor Mather's convictions have permitted their names to appear on lists of advisory or sponsoring committees aiding such causes as that of Spanish democracy. Such lists includes names of Profs. Jerome Davis, Paul H. Douglas, and the famous relativity wizard, Albert Einstein.

In the labor movement, especially in the C. I. O., both Communists by conviction and Communists for hire consider in public statements the "cause" of Spain a cause of America. David Dubinsky and Harry Bridges of first denomination and Francis J. Gorman and John L. Lewis of the second, all espouse the cause of Spanish democracy. Within the ranks of labor, the task of winning support for Communist Spain is facilitated by the fact that the C. I. O., with all its affiliates, is Communist controlled, a fact well-known to Homer Martin and his U. A. W.

Many religious dignitaries are among the most fervent adherents of the Spanish cause as well as all other Communist causes. Their clerical garb makes them especially desirable in the "front" of Communist meetings as they hide behind the robes of Christianity and preach a doctrine alien to the teachings by which they won their high position in the communities which they represent.

The State of Michigan belongs to the most communistic contaminated States in the union, with the exception of the State of New York. The latter, and particularly the city of New York, because of its strategic location, serves as the base of operation of all Communist spies, pay-off men, and propagandists. Incidentally, it is the site of that part of the American population which gave communism to the world and imported that doctrine into the American soil through Ellis Island. From this base are directed and supervised all Communist activities through the States, including Michigan.

It might be mentioned that communization of the United States met with considerable lack of sympathy of previous Federal administrations. Under the present set-up, however, it is not only tolerated and propagated, but some administrators of the highest national affairs exert great efforts to sell this idea to the American

public under various subterfuges, asserting that they are living in a new area and not a horse-and-buggy day. Under such circumstances, Federal protection of American institutions and traditions is extremely difficult to visualize. But there is nothing to prevent the people of Michigan or Detroit in particular from ascertaining who is who and what is what in their own backyard. After all, if there were no tributaries like Michigan industrial centers to feed this subversive movement, there would be no need for any apprehension as to the stability of our present form of government.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Reynolds, just let me ask you one question. You did find out, did you not, that Michigan, as you say, is probably second to New York, the State that we might say is most infested?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. With Communists?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And their fellow travelers?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the reason, is it not, that the Michigan department of the American Legion has been especially vigilant in its efforts to find out if there is serious communism within the State of Michigan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. All right.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Casting a superficial glance into our own backyard and looking over the list of sponsors, sympathizers, and functionaries of such organizations as Friends of Spanish Democracy and Abraham Lincoln Brigade, we find the same faces, the same tactics, and the same motives permeating within them as within all other Communist organizations. If any variation is encountered, it is invariably slight and due to the "interlocking directorate" system of Communist program. We find that the old disciples of communism who have caused the people of Michigan untold anxiety and misery, particularly during the years of revolutionary labor upheavals, are among the leaders of these "friendly" organizations. We find that in close cooperation with their comrades in other sections of the Nation they spin the web of communism around the American youth by employing the same well-tried methods.

The use of women for recruiting and enlisting proves very effective in ensnaring young Negroes. And when this method is amplified by the Communist doctrine of nondiscrimination between the the white and black races, the presence of young Negroes in Communist dance halls, in Communist meetings, and in Communist camps, such as have been established in the vicinity of Detroit, is self-explanatory.

Mr. MOSIER. May I interrupt there, Mr. Reynolds? Do you have anything in your statement about public schools?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Later on I have a reference to them; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You have?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir. Incidentally, it might be well to state right here, talking about that intermingling of white girls and Negro candidates for the Communist Party, it is quite customary within the Communist Party to regard marriage as a farce, and they take on their wives and leave them off as they would their overcoats.

It is noteworthy that young Negroes, whatever Communist net they have been caught into, will readily admit that their interest in communism lies in white women. James Ashford branch of Y. C. L. owes its numerical strength and its contribution of recruits to the ranks of Abraham Lincoln Brigade to the presence of many white women, four of whom are known "graduates" of the said Communist training school.

The idea of racial equality is preached by the Communists, although unnatural and repugnant to the American Negro in general, is followed only in lower classes of comradeship, but it serves as a potent factor in mustering Communist strength for the planned seizure of the American form of government. The Communist plans are that with the control of American labor and the American Negro, the overthrow of the American Government will be assured. To gain its confidence and support, Communists plan to seduce the Negro race in America by preaching and acting nondiscrimination. As further inducement to the Negro race, the Soviet architects, in parceling out the American soil into districts to suit Moscow builders of the Comintern, assign a "Black State" in the South as an autonomous haven for the Negroes in the future Soviet America.

Communists popularized the idea of racial equality to the point where in Detroit also several mixed marriages have been solemnized. In all cases, however, the white race is represented by women. One of the earliest of such marriages was between Pearl Demery, of Ukrainian nationality, and William Nowell, who, under several aliases, has advanced the Negro topnotchers in the conversion of his Negro brothers to the doctrine of Communism. As a Communist Party delegate to Soviet Russia, he was displayed by his wife as a great novelty to the Russian women. Both of them have been so grateful to the Communist Party for leveling their racial barrier that they have remained loyal to the Communist cause to this very day.

Another white woman who ventured into mixed bonds of matrimony was Sophie Hornstein, of Jewish parentage. She married John McAdoo, whom she transformed into one of the most militant Negroes in the Y. C. L. (Young Communist League), where he remains to this day. As president of James Ashford branch of the Y. C. L., he has been responsible for this organization's abundant aid to the Spanish "cause."

Curtis Alston was roped into mixed marriage by Sylvia Hornstein, sister of Mrs. McAdoo. Both are very prominent in Communist circles.

Merril C. Work, college graduate and present candidate of the Communist ticket to the State legislature and Communist Party organizer in section 1, district 7 (which is Michigan) is also married to a white woman, who was imported from New York to stir up red blood in local Negro communities. He is now a "roving ambassador" of communism among his brothers in the South.

Edward Williams is also married to a white woman. He admits his membership in the Communist Party and dates his Communist organizational work to a start in Boston and Chicago before coming to Detroit. He excels in communizing the Negro race by heading delegations to the prosecutor's office in protest of police brutality, by participating in demonstrations against war and fascism, by diligently attending meetings of Communist functionaries and by

lending his services for picketing purposes, as he did recently in front of the German consulate.

William Brown married a white woman named Stella Belcher. He is very prominent in Communist achievements, and is reported to harbor homosexual tendencies. After spending 2 years in Russia, where he was also acclaimed as a husband of a white woman, he has served as organizational secretary for district 7 of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is the section of the Communist International of Moscow. The Communist International is called by the "reds" the Comintern. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is divided into 27 districts. Detroit, Mich., is the headquarters of district 7. District No. 7 is often called the Detroit district and it covers all the State of Michigan, except the Upper Peninsula.

District No. 7 publishes irregularly various shop papers and other leaflets.

District No. 7, or the Detroit district of the Communist Party, is divided into sections, and the sections are subdivided into shop and street nuclei or units. A new name that they have given them is branches and clubs. The sections in the city of Detroit are numbered by consecutive numbers, while the Communist units in the cities such as Grand Rapids, Flint, Saginaw, Pontiac, Jackson, Lansing, and Muskegon are organized into sections called Grand Rapids section, Flint section, and so forth.

In the city of Detroit and vicinity there are 11 sections of Communist District No. 7 which all totaled have 57 nuclei properly functioning at the present time. The nuclei are also numbered by the consecutive number. For instance the nucleus No. 1 of section No. 1 is referred to as section No. 1, unit No. 1. The nucleus No. 3 of section 5 is referred to as section 5, unit No. 3, and so forth. The shop nuclei are not called by the factories' names in the Communist reports and statements, but by the numbers. Practically all shop nuclei have odd numbers, such as numbers 3, 5, 7, and so forth, and the street nuclei have even numbers, such as numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, and so forth. In the Communist reports the nuclei are referred to as the units, but in the routine discussion among the "reds" they are still called the nuclei.

The majority of shop nuclei or units hold their meetings at the homes of leading members and they are called and held secretly for the protection of their members. On the other hand, the street nuclei hold their meetings in the various Communist clubs and halls. The majority of nuclei meet once a week. Some nuclei meet Tuesday evening, others Wednesday evening, still others Saturday afternoon, and still others on Sunday morning. There are two or three exceptions, but regular meetings of all nuclei are on the above-named week days.

The real boss of the Communist activities in the Detroit district was the district organizer named William Weinstone, who was later followed by William Gilbert—that is since the formation of the Dies Committee—and Gilbert has been replaced by Tom Johnstone. The district organizer has unlimited power and authority. He has 21 leading members to help him carry out the Communist Party work. These 21 members make up the so-called district committee.

The members of district committee are either on the Communist Party pay roll or are on the pay roll of some Communist organization and they devote their entire time to the Communist Party work. Some of the members of the district committee are assigned to do a certain kind of work, as for example, either to the trade unions, unemployed workers, teaching of "reds" in Workers' Training School, etc. The entire membership of the district committee meets on the call of William Weinstone—that is the way they did, and now on the call of Johnstone—as often as he sees fit to call them or as often as some question has to be taken up. The district headquarters of the Communist Party is located at Finnish Workers' Hall, 5969 Fourteenth Street.

District No. 7 of the Detroit District of the Communist Party is ranking second in number as having the largest number of Communist leaders and intellectuals. The New York District is first.

The 11 sections of the Communist Party in Detroit have their respective sections Committee. The organizers and secretaries of these sections are all leading "reds" and potential agitators.

The officers of the sections and nuclei are called the functionaries. Almost every section and every unit has the following functionaries: Organizer, secretary, agent of the Daily Worker or literature agent, trade-union director, and agitprop director. The organizer calls the meetings of his or her respective nucleus and he calls to order and adjourns the meetings. He makes the reports to the members on the important party work. The majority of the members of the Communist Party in district No. 7 are the foreign-born "reds." More than 50 percent of them are not citizens of the United States. Some of them are naturalized. In other words, the membership of the Communist Party in Detroit and vicinity consists of about 75 or 80 percent foreign-born "reds" and about 50 to 60 percent of the members of the party are not citizens of the United States. The leaders of the Communist Party insist that the members of functionaries are citizens of the United States, but this is only done for the purpose of showing that the Communist Party membership consists of United States citizens.

The Communist Party organized several organizations for workers and the party members are constantly urged to recruit members to these organizations among their fellow workers.

The members of these organizations exceed the number of members of the Communist Party many times over and they are often referred to as the sympathizers. In many instances, some members are more ardent Bolsheviks than many of the members of the Communist Party. The names of many Communist organizations are often misleading. Some workers would not join the Communist Party, but they easily are recruited to one of these organizations. The Communist Party provides the leadership for these organizations. Every officer and member of the committees of these organizations is a member of the Communist Party.

Many of these organizations have more members than the Communist Party. A good member of the Communist Party is also a member of several of these organizations to provide the steering framework for the Communist Party in controlling these organizations. A gentleman testified here yesterday he was forced to join the

mass movement—a member of the Communist Party testified here yesterday.

The Communist clubs and meeting places are diffused throughout the city. There are several Communist halls and clubs, but the largest number of nuclei that hold meetings in one single hall or club is three. In other words, the 57 Communist Party nuclei meet at least at many different addresses. Often the meetings of party nuclei and secret meetings and caucuses of Communist organizations and fractions are held outside the Communist club for the matter of secrecy.

The history of the Communist Party entering the factories and spreading communism and dissatisfaction among the workers is relatively young. It began late in 1925 after the Communist Party was reorganized into shop and street nuclei. The call of the Communist agitator is: "Every Factory the Fortress of Communist Party." In every factory must be organized a shop nucleus which should spread Communist propaganda in such a manner that it should paralyze all industry if necessary. With their agitation in the factories the Communist Party seeks the dissatisfied workers because the dissatisfied workers are easily recruited and will carry out the Communist Party direction most diligently. The Communist Party is not interested in organizing the workers into trade unions primarily, but to create dissatisfaction among the workers and lead them in strikes and even sabotage if necessary in order to bring the downfall of existing Government and establishment of the Soviet rule in the United States.

The shop nuclei distributes the shop papers among their fellow workers as a threat to the employers that they will be overthrown and their factories taken by the workers, rather than organize the workers into unions. The shop papers are not published by the nuclei, but by the district headquarters and they are edited by one of the leaders. At the present time all shop papers and leaflets are edited either by Thom Johnstone, district organizer, or by George Morris, district correspondent for the Daily Worker.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Reynolds, let me ask you there: You referred to the Daily Worker. From your investigation, have you found that the Daily Worker has any considerable circulation in this district?

Mr. REYNOLDS. It has quite a considerable distribution. For instance, there was the Plymouth local that bought 9,000 copies for distribution, just of one issue.

Mr. MOSIER. The Plymouth automobile local?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Is there any other Communist paper of general circulation here in Michigan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Oh, there are a large number of them. I have found upward of 700 different publications that are being pushed by the Communist Party, but the Daily Worker is the prominent one.

The shop nuclei shows the most activity when they recruit some dissatisfied members or some leading members get a job in the plant to spread discontent among the workers. The Communist leaders do not care when the workers lose their jobs as long as they get them into the Communist Party, but as a rule they want the members to be steadily employed to carry out the Communist Party work.

The shop nuclei also distribute all other Communist literature among the workers which the Communist Party issues. Oftentimes the bundles of the Daily Worker are smuggled into the plant and distributed among the workers for the purpose of getting new subscribers to the Daily Worker. At times, the leaflets advertising the Communist mass meetings, demonstrations, or picnics are taken by the members into the plant and posted in the toilets, dressing rooms, and other places for workers to read.

District No. 7 has a book store called Modern Book Shop at 2610 Clifford Street. The Modern Book Store is managed by Ike Greenberg. He delivers the bundles of Daily Worker to every Communist club and hall and agent each day in Detroit. The agents of the Daily Worker sell mostly all the booklets issued by the party. Only a few of them limit themselves to the Daily Worker and foreign-language Communist newspapers. There are also two branches of the Communist Book Store in the district No. 7. One of these branches is at 7852 West Jefferson Avenue, while the other is in Grand Rapids, Mich., at 336 Bond Avenue.

The Communist Party nuclei have the following functionaries: organizer, secretary, industrial director, agitprop director, and the agent of Daily Worker. The agent of Daily Worker in the shop nuclei is one of important functionaries. Oftentimes he carries more Communist literature into the factory than all other members. The street nuclei have agents of Daily Worker who are usually out of work and they sell the Daily Worker on the important street corners and they are paid from 50 cents to \$1 a day for their work.

The Communist shop nuclei often are engaged in so-called socialistic competition for the largest prize offered for selling the most number of copies of various Communist literature. The highest prizes consist of a red flag or a red pennant with the name of nucleus inscribed on it. The Ford shop nucleus, the Fisher Body shop nucleus, and Dodge Bros. shop nucleus, and the Briggs shop nucleus have won such prizes.

The shop nuclei of Communist Party also aim to organize the union locals in the factories because it is easier to recruit workers into the union local than to the Communist Party and then they work in the union locals to win them to the Communist Party. The members in the shop nuclei are working in the various departments, hence such nucleus is divided into the shop committees. In each one or two departments the shop nucleus will have one shop committee. These shop committees discuss the propaganda among workers in their departments.

It is quite interesting to note that all agents of Daily Worker of shop nuclei are foreign-born "reds." All of them are Communist fanatics. There was one Negro "red" agent who quit the job because he could not get along with this ignorant gang of Communist fanatics. The agent of Daily Worker named William Romanyszyn sells the Communist literature in the vicinity of Dix and Salina Streets and Delray district. He is a Ukrainian "red," employed by the Ford River Rouge plant and is a member of the Ternstedt local of the United Auto Workers. Stanley Staron is a Polish "red" and he sells Daily Worker at Junction and Michigan Avenues. A Russian-born "red" sells the Daily Worker at Michigan

and Griswold corner. A Greek-born "red" sells the Daily Worker on Randolph Street. John Sosnowski is a Polish "red" and sells Communist literature at Mount Elliot and East Milwaukee corner. A Russian "red" sells Communist literature along Joe Campau in Hamtramck. Dmytro Kowal, Ukrainian "red," sells the Daily Worker along East Davison Street and a German-born "red" sells the Communist literature along Mack and Harper Avenue.

Some of the Communist halls, clubs, and meeting places are at the following addresses:

Workers Home, 1343 East Ferry Avenue: The meeting place of the Murray Body shop nucleus, section No. 1, street units No. 2, No. 4, and No. 8; headquarters of the south Slav section and fraction; and national headquarters of the Bulgarian Communist fraction and youth section.

Polish Communist Club, 5702 Mitchell Avenue: Meeting place of the Packard-shop nucleus, street nucleus, No. 2 and No. 6 of section No. 2, and various Polish Communist branches. The section council meets every Saturday. Briggs and Packard and several street branches meet there now.

Communist Hall, 3014 Yemans Avenue: Meeting place of the section No. 8 and its nuclei, the Dodge Bros. shop nucleus, and the Thompson Product shop nucleus. Various Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian branches of Hamtramck meet there too.

Russian Communist Club, 2934 Yemans Avenue: Meeting place of the Chevrolet shop unit, the Workers' Alliance, branch No. 25, Women's League, and youth section. The headquarters of Russian Communist fraction.

South Slav Communist Club, 13410 Lumpkin Avenue: Meeting of south Slav section, the branch of International Workers' Order, youth section, and a group of Briggs "reds."

Rumanian Communist Club, 6527 Russell Avenue: Meeting place of the Rumanian Communist section and fraction, branch of International Workers' Order, International Labor Defense, Rumanian Communist branches, and street nucleus No. 4 of section No. 1.

Slovak Hall, 7551 Strong Avenue: Meeting place of the Czechoslovak Communist branch and the Farmer-Labor Party, and street nucleus No. 12.

Ukrainian Workers' Hall, 2965 Carpenter Avenue: Meetings of mass nature are often held in this hall, but none of the Communist Party nuclei meets here.

Modern Book Store, 2610 Clifford: The agents of Daily Worker of all nuclei often hold their meetings here; office of district agent of Daily Worker. I understand that on October 15 of this month they intend moving to No. 7 in the Hofmann Building.

Finnish Workers' Hall, 5969 Fourteenth Street: The headquarters of the Finnish Communist Buro; meeting place of district committee of Communist Party, party functionaries, Tom Mooney branch, section No. 5 with all its units, and the Finnish Communist branches; headquarters of Young Communist League; office of William Weinstein, Ben Green, and Joe Robinson.

Polish Communist Club, 4519 Magnolia Avenue: Meeting place of street nucleus No. 4 of section No. 10; former meeting place of Kelsey-Wheel shop nucleus; meeting place of several Polish and Jewish Communist branches of West Side.

Ukrainian Communist Hall, 4959 Martin Avenue: Headquarters of section No. 3. The nuclei No. 3, No. 6, No. 7, and No. 18 meet here too, but not regularly because sometimes they hold their meetings at the homes of the leading members. Meeting place of Ford-shop nucleus.

Lithuanian Communist Club, 4097 Porter Avenue: Headquarters of the Lithuanian Communist section; meeting place of youth section and the branch International Labor Defense.

Hungarian Communist Club, 8419 Vanderbilt Avenue: Headquarters of Hungarian Communist fraction; meeting place of nuclei No. 2 and No. 8 of section No. 3; former meeting place of Ternstedt-shop nucleus.

Armenian Communist Club, 7852 West Jefferson Avenue: Headquarters of Armenian Communist Club and fraction; meeting place of International Labor Defense branch and youth section.

Jewish Communist Club, 8951 Twelfth Street. Headquarters of Jewish Communist fraction; meeting place of Charles Ruthenberg's branch of International Labor Defense, a branch of International Workers' Order; meeting place of nuclei No. 7 and No. 10 of section No. 5.

Rumanian Communist Club, 2770 Salina Avenue, Dearborn: Meeting place of Dearborn Communist section, the Rumanian Communist branches, and the youth section.

Communist Club, 2702 Salina Avenue, Dearborn: Meeting place of the branches of International Labor Defense, International Workers' Order, and the Farmer-Labor Party.

Carpenters Hall, 971 Alger Avenue: Meeting place of the Jewish Communist section and the agents of Daily Worker; meeting place of section No. 1.

The headquarters of International Workers' Order is at 601 Hofmann Building. John Anderson is the district secretary of this Communist organization.

Besides above listed addresses which are all known as the Communist centers, or circles, or workers' clubs, or workers' hall, or workers' educational centers there are several private homes of the leading "reds" where the Communist meetings are held each week. These addresses are as follows:

At the basement of Martin Czaja's home, 6551 Central Avenue: The meeting place of the Graham-shop nucleus and the Polish Communist branch of brick yards.

At the home of Alex Urpress, 2163 Baldwin Avenue: The meeting place of the Hungarian branch of International Workers' Order.

At the home of Joe Ryba, 8539 Concord Avenue, are held the meetings of the progressive trade unionists employed by the Chrysler plants.

At the barber shop of Joe Kasper, 9401 Mack Avenue, are held the meetings of nucleus No. 2 of section No. 6.

At the home of William McKie, 15724 Turner Avenue, are often held the meetings of the progressive trade unionists employed by the Ford Motor Co.

The places I have mentioned could be called the constant meeting places of the "reds" and the Communist units. From time to time there are meetings held by the Communist nuclei at the homes of leading "reds," but these places are not constant meeting places.

The Communist leaders demand that the meetings of shop nuclei be held by all means in the private homes of leading members in order to cover the activity of members and therefore when the shop and street nuclei began to hold the meetings in the private homes, it makes them more secret. Many of the district committee members do not know where the meetings of given nuclei are held unless they are notified by the nuclei organizers.

Now the Communists can be classed into three types: 1, those by conviction; 2, those for hire; and 3, the "pinks;" and, of the three classifications, the "pinks" are the most dangerous.

Ben Adelman is a member of the Communist Party and attached to section 5. He has been known to hold socials where collections were made for Communist propaganda at different addresses and different times and to give reports in the Sunday Worker (the Communist official organ) of the results of these affairs. He is boasting of his experiences in the Russian Revolution of 1905, and proudly displays a bullet scar, which he claims to have received in street fighting during that year.

John Anderson, although authoritatively reported a Scotch-born alien, John was a candidate for Governor in Michigan in 1934 on the Communist ticket. His activities in various Communist functions and labor upheavels, particularly strikes, are well-known. He always manages to act as paid organizer of industrial workers, and in the past few years has been identified with the M. E. S. A.—Mechanic's Educational Society of America—and more recently with the U. A. W.

Dr. Walter G. Bergman, a radical professor in the research department of Wayne University who hides his real "red" color by calling himself a member of the Socialist Party and by being a personal candidate for political office on Socialist ticket. He is president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers and a member of the executive committee of League for Industrial Democracy, a strictly Communist organization. August 31, 1936, with William Weinstone, secretary of the Communist Party for this district, he was present at a meeting sponsored by the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, at 55 Adelaide Street, where boycotting of Hearst papers was planned because of the exposure of the trustee of the Spanish Loyalist Government. September 3, 1936, he appeared at the meeting held at the Arena Gardens sponsored to aid the Spanish Communists. At this meeting he spoke of the spread of fascism throughout the world and of the necessity for organization of the workers to stop this movement. At this meeting the sum of \$1,045 was raised for the Spanish "red" cause to which Weinstone, as the head of the Communists of this district, contributed \$106.

March 14, 1937, Bergman acted as chairman at a meeting at Northern High School at which Weinstone was the principal speaker.

July 30, 1937, he spoke at the Scottsboro mass meeting at Cass Technical High School and lectured on race-hatred history in America. In his lecture he did not omit to mention the Sacco-Vanzetti trial and the innocence of Tom Mooney, whose conviction was recently upheld by the Supreme Court. From his associations and his expressions, it is only too evident that as a professor of a university he belongs perhaps to the most damaging elements to the American institutions, particularly schools in this State.

Dr. N. J. Bicknell is very active in the organization known as F. S. U. (Friends of Soviet Union), main affiliate of the Communist Party fostering Communist ideology in the upper crust of Detroit community. On August 12, 1935, he spoke at the meeting of Friends of Soviet Union, 108 West Hancock, and told his audience that a certain organization in France plans to cause strife among the political parties within the labor movement of France and thus create national confusion.

December 11, 1935, Bicknell was present at the meeting of Friends of Soviet Union held at 4776 Second Boulevard in the Toureine Apartments. Chairman of this meeting was Dr. Marie Salutsky, who announced that James Waterman Wise would be the speaker at McAllister Hall, January 8, 1936. A Mrs. Roucean spoke at this meeting and the Detroit News of December 3, 1935, carried a story about her.

It might be pointed out that the apartment at which this meeting was held is the home of Sonia Cohen and Dr. Marie Salutsky. Among other guests, Dr. Walter Bergman and Maurice Sugar attended this gathering.

December 23, 1935, Dr. Bicknell was again present at 4776 Second Boulevard, the home of Sonia Cohen. This gathering was for the purpose of furthering preparations for the coming of James Waterman Wise, January 8, 1936. After a discussion, Maurice Sugar was selected to act as chairman at the forthcoming meeting, and Dr. Bicknell was elected to be a delegate to the Third Congress for the League Against War and Fascism, to be held in Cleveland, January 3, 4, and 5 of 1936.

He attended the Third Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism held in Cleveland during January 3, 4, and 5 of 1936, and on June 5, 1936, expressed his dislike for everybody and everything in the city of Dearborn at a meeting of the Civil Rights Federation held at 55 Adelaide Street, Detroit. He called the city of Dearborn the home of the Black Legion and Knights of Dearborn, the Black Legionaires. As reason for this accusation he claimed the absence of any mention of the Black Legion in the Dearborn papers. To expose the Black Legion he urged the audience to send protests, telegrams, and to form citizens' investigating committees.

January 8, 1936, he was chairman at the meeting of this organization held at McAllister Hall. Mr. James Waterman Wise lectured on Jews in Russia. Bicknell made a brief speech at that time in which he found a lot of fault with the police department of the city of Detroit, especially with Commissioner Pickert, who, he said, was responsible for suppressing Soviet movies.

In connection with his lectures on life in Russia, amplified by moving pictures, which he allegedly carried out of the Soviet land, he traveled throughout the State of Michigan and showed these pictures in many private homes, including the home of Inspector Marlette of the Detroit police department. It is authoritatively reported that Dr. Bicknell was Inspector Marlette's family physician and, as Inspector Marlette did not detect the real motive behind this showing, the doctor-patient relationship should be blamed.

Generally speaking, no important Communist activity has been undertaken without Dr. Bicknell's presence and assistance. As a

physician he has given the benefit of his medical profession, especially to his friends and members of Communist organizations. Insurance applicants of I. W. O. (International Workers' Order), another Communist affiliate, are reported to have been examined by Dr. Bicknell and the expenses charged to the city. A list of his patients whose bills have been paid by the city includes some of the most prominent Communists of this city, and it is reported that they were examined and treated and the expenses charged to the city under the pretext that the patients had taken tuberculin tests. His alleged manipulations of tuberculin tests at the expense of taxpayers may undergo a rigid investigation by the city authorities in the very near future. In the meantime, a city check for his last month's services, amounting to several hundred dollars, is reported to have been held up.

I now have some case histories of some of the prominent Communists here in the city.

Sonya Cohen, roommate of Dr. Marie Salutsky—4708 Cadillac Boulevard—in Touraine Apartments at 4746 Second Boulevard: She is a sculpturist of no mean ability, having made a bust of Joseph Stalin himself. She is a member of Friends of Soviet Union and, until John Reed Club was disbanded, was also a member of that organization. She is known for holding Communist parties at her apartment, and her daughter is a member of the Y. C. L. She is considered a member of the Communist intelligencia and travels mostly in company of Communist elites.

Nicholas Dekold, alias Dikold, is an old-time "red" agitator in Detroit. He excels in the distribution of Communist literature in the Detroit area, and has been arrested for distributing *The Great Sit Down Strike*, a booklet written by William Weinstone, the late commissar of Michigan. Dekold was released through the I. L. D. attorney, Isaac Smullin. Dekold has been known to be a member of section 2 and organizer for section 10 of the Communist Party. He is also a member of the U. A. W., Local 155, International Workers' Order, Communist affiliate, and Farmer-Labor Party.

Adrian L. Duffy, member of the Communist Party and organizer of the Great Lakes seamen for the International Seamen's Union: Duffy came from New York with a letter of recommendation signed by Ray Hudson, New York Communist leader, and dated March 2, 1937. This letter, written on New York Communist Party stationery, reads as follows:

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 Lake seamen, we are in a few days sending a force from here to help 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 the 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 I. S. U. (International Sailors 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 by establishing organizational committees in the various ports, activating 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 as 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 Sailors Union among the unorganized seamen, and in the establishment of these organization committees, we at the same time must take steps to try and get groups organized inside the International Sailors 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 of 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 they have already taken and as to what the response is.

Comradely yours,

ROY HUDSON.

When arrested by the police, a list of addresses was found on his person listing Communist leaders in other lake ports, among them the following: A. Guss, 75½ West Chippewa Street, Buffalo; J. Williamson, 1524 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland; M. Childs, 208 North Wells Street, room 201, Chicago; Gene Dennis, 113 East Wells Street, Milwaukee; W. W. Weinstone, 5969 Fourteenth Street, Detroit. This last is William Weinstone, general organizer of district No. 7 (Michigan), of the Communist Party of the United States.

Incidentally, William Weinstone was one of the original instigators of the Communist Party in the United States and has been on the executive committee ever since that time.

Mr. Mosier. To where has he been transferred since that time?

Mr. REYNOLDS. He has been transferred since that time to New York. He moved out of here immediately after the Dies committee was formed.

Larry Daviddow, great friend of Maurice Sugar and a relative of his by affinity: His legal practice consists largely of union clients, particularly U. A. W. His team-up with Maurice Sugar in the whitewashing fiasco of the Communists within U. A. W. belongs to his greatest successful trials as in the roll of a prosecutor. His

interest in radical and Communist circles is a matter of common knowledge. He has been greatly interested in the humanitarian in the interest of the Communist Spanish Government. In the early stages of the creation of the Friends of Spanish Democracy, November 22, 1936, he spoke at the meeting held at Finnish Hall, the headquarters of the Communist Party of this area, explaining to his audience that the fight in Spain is one between the workers and the Fascist oppressors. While he spoke of arms and other war materials being supplied to the rebels by Italy and Germany he forgot to mention the supplies from the Communist Government of Russia. He ended with an appeal for funds to aid the Spanish comrades.

Lawrence Emery: Emery is a member of the Communist Party and a native of California. He is an ex-convict of San Quentin Prison, where he served 2 years of a 5-year sentence for criminal syndicalism. The comrades who were convicted and served sentences with him were Oscar Erickson, Danny Roxas, Edward Herrera, Braulo Orozo, Frank Spector, and Carl Sklar.

He was sent to Detroit by the central committee of the Communist Party back in 1935 and was the one who rented the Communist Hall on Belvedere Street, which was bombed that same year.

September 6, 1936, he was introduced by the chairman at Canby Liberty, Communist camp of racial equality and free love in the neighborhood of Detroit, who said: "Here is a man whom Hearst would not consider as an American, although Hearst, too, comes from California." Following the introduction, Emery said in his speech that the Communist Party was going to make the election campaign of that year a real campaign. For that purpose they were going to use the "reddest," liveliest literature, and so forth, and also stated that the real issue of the campaign was the Black Legion. He also explained the reason why "bosses" were so willing to try some Black Legion members under the criminal syndicalism law, saying that later the bosses will be able to turn that same law against the workers.

He was a member of the Detroit People's School, Communist school of propaganda, and at a house-warming party, 30 East Forest, on October 3, 1936, said that the school would teach the youth to do as the workers in Spain and Russia had done; that the workers will be taught to line up with the middle classes and fight off the attacks of the reactionaries. He talked on democracy, theory of economics, and of the materialistic conception of society.

"Finally," he said, "the workers will organize as Marx predicted and will take over the means of production and will be the inaugurator of the greatest civilization in the history of the world."

On May 16, 1936, he spoke at the Communist Party meeting at Ferry Hall and explained the United Front of France. He said that the Front was composed of Socialists, Communists, radicals, liberals, and so forth, and that due to united propaganda, 71 deputies were elected in France. "These deputies," he said, "would confiscate assets of the rich and the profits of the manufacturers by means of taxes and use the funds so collected to help the peasant farmers and the city proletarians. In this manner, he asserted, "the masses of France will be won for the Communist Party." On various other occasions he attended various other functions of the Communist Party and always had something interesting to tell his comrades.

It is noteworthy that two of his comrades who served in San Quentin Prison with him were also dispatched by the Communist Party to "protect" the labor. Frank Spector spoke in Detroit at an I. L. D. meeting in March 1936, at the ABC Hall. Carl Sklar, who served at Folsom Prison in California from 1 to 14 years, was transferred in January 1937 to the Detroit district to get into the U. A. F. under the alias of James Keller. In his local work he was associated with Jack Wilson, secretary to William Weinstone. Sklar's Communist activities are also known in the Chicago district of the Communist Party.

Emery has always distinguished himself in the Communist ranks by his articles published in Midwest Daily Record early in 1938 as the author of Hitler in a Model T, in which he connected Hitler with Henry Ford. In his articles the brunt of his attack was directed at American "Fascists."

Rabbi Leon Fram: Rabbi Fram is one of the staunchest supporters of the ideals for which the sponsors of Civil Rights Federation have been known in the Detroit area. At one of the federation's meetings, May 11, 1935, Rabbi Fram said that he did not represent any party or group, but was present to give his opinion on the Dinckle-Baldwin bill. The purposes of the Dinckle-Baldwin bill were to sheer all un-American "isms" from undermining the morale of our school children. At this meeting he advised the Legislature of Michigan to forget this bill and pass unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, and social-insurance bills instead. He argued that if this anti-Communist bill became a law, the housewives could be put in jail for protesting the increase on the price of bread. He is a member of the Michigan committee of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. The principles and motives upon which this bureau operates is a matter of quite common knowledge at this time. Rabbi Fram was very active in boycotting German goods in America and wrote an article entitled "Boycott Conscious."

I had a personal talk with Rabbi Fram 3 years ago, at which time he tried to sell me on the idea that the American Legion should back the program of the American Civil Liberties Union. I told him he was well aware of what the former congressional committee, the Fish committee, had said about the American Civil Liberties Union, that it was nothing but a front for defending Communists who came in conflict with the law. He admitted he was a member of that organization.

Phyllis Franklin, wife of the chairman of the Committee to Aid the Chinese People: At one time in 1932 she chained herself to a post in Cadillac Square, and for 4 hours, while the police tried to take the chains off, she continued to make a fiery "red" speech.

Basil H. Gebert: Gebert is a member of central executive committee of the Communist Party and a paid organizer for the C. I. O. Claiming to be a Polish Jew and knowing the European situation, on March 18, 1936, at the Communist Party meeting at Finnish Hall, when Mother Bloor was the main speaker, he explained how Italy was fighting in Spain, Japan in China, and how Hitler was invading Austria. He advocated collective front of all democratic nations against fascism. Although he did not mention the name of Soviet Russia, he meant to include her among the democracies.

Following the "transfer" of William Weinstone as the director of the Communist Party, district No. 7—which means Michigan—Gebert was slated to take his place. Johnstone now has the job.

In speaking, Congressman, about this League Against War and Fascism, which is now called the League for Peace and Democracy, it is very interesting to note that when the American Youth Congress was holding their convention in Detroit, Marian Klapan, known as Marian Travitan, was secretary of the American Youth Congress. She had some difficulties in maintaining her quarters here and was told I was the one who was "upsetting her apple cart" and preventing her getting a permanent address. She came to me and wanted to know if I had her listed as a Communist, and she offered me a job as chairman of the convention of the American Youth Congress, which, of course, would have been silly if I had taken it on, because it would immediately have given it the sanction of the American Legion, and we are against that organization because it is communistic all the way through.

She also tried to sell me on the idea that the American Legion, being composed of veterans of the World War, should be willing to back the League Against War and Fascism. I said: "We would be very, very glad to join with you"—with the League Against War and Fascism—"if you will just include one more name." She said, "What is that?" I said: "If you will change the name of the league to 'League Against War, Fascism, and Communism,' we will be with you 100 percent."

The next is Nat Ganley, alias Nat Kaplan, alias Nick Ganley. He prefers to use the name of Nat Ganley and uses that name as a recording secretary of Local 155 of U. A. W. Being an official of a labor union does not prevent him from being a member of the Communist Party. The number of his Communist Party membership card is 26768.

Ganley was dispatched to Detroit from New York in 1934 by the Communist Party headquarters to organize all smaller industries into Communist unions not affiliated with the A. F. L. His activities within labor have been very profitable for his New York masters. Chicken pickers' union, fur workers' industrial union, and sausage workers' union were children of his labors. All were opposed to the A. F. L. His Communist organizational work dates back to the time when he was district organizer of district 1 of the Communist Party, which is Boston, in 1931, and also when he was national organizer in 1933 for the National Textile Workers Union, an affiliate of the Trade Unity League, which for a long time acted as a right arm of the profintern or Red International Labor Union directed by Moscow.

He was prominently identified in the many strikes in Detroit. He was active in the picket lines of Midland Steel Motor Products strikes. Incidentally, the Midland Steel strike was the first sit-down strike recorded in Michigan, and only predated by one sit-down strike in the United States, which was held in South Bend. Ganley's wife, parading under the name of Joan Porter, was very active among the employees of the Book-Cadillac Hotel, and was fired for her communistic activities. Both Ganley and his wife are on the faculty of Peoples' School, which gives instructions on Communism, union problems, and women problems. Ganley's communistic activi-

ties being a matter of record, it is hard to explain just why organized labor tolerates his holding of official positions in the union. His work within the union can bring no benefit for the labor except for the Communist Party, which seeks to control it.

Alfred Goetz, alias William Lubinsky. Goetz' record of outright subversiveness can best be illustrated by reading his police records, which were published in the *Detroit Saturday Night*, May 29, 1937. The article dedicated to this individual is given below in full.

Another "red" active in Detroit over a period of years is Alfred Goetz, alias William Lubinsky, also known as "Mugg 2525" and "Mugg 32105" in the police archives. He is rated as "agitator and executive" not without good reason. Most "reds" active in causing trouble have only an "agitator" rating. Gabby Goetz is two in one.

His record runs 'way back. On August 19, 1921, he was arrested for violation of the United States criminal code and turned over to the United States Department of Justice the next day. On September 17, 1921, he was again arrested, this time for disturbing the peace. He was acquitted by Recorder's Judge Edward J. Jeffries on October 7. Then skipping over about six and a half years, we find that Goetz was again arrested for violation of the United States Criminal Code, this time on February 20, 1928. Sixteen months later he was again arrested on June 25, 1929, in Detroit for disturbing the peace. He was convicted by Recorder's Judge W. McKay Skillman on June 25 and given his choice of a \$10 fine or 10 days in the Detroit house of correction.

Less than a month later Goetz was again arrested on a Federal charge, this time for violation of the United States immigration laws. He was turned over to Federal authorities the same day, July 22, 1929.

Two days later he was arrested in Detroit again on a disturbing the peace charge. Recorder's Judge Thomas M. Cotter found him guilty but suspended sentence at his trial the next day. Scarcely a month and a half later he was again arrested for disturbing the peace, on September 6, 1929.

Goetz is 6 feet 2½ inches tall and weighs about 190 pounds. His stature lends force to his tall stories he tells workers. His bulk backs up his tongue. He likes to talk.

On March 4, 1933, Goetz officially represented the Communist Party at a mass demonstration in Grand Circus Park, putting on a show whose theatrics were worthy of the park's name. On April 28 he spoke to a meeting of a so-called unemployed council, staged at Edgewood and Armour Avenues. He also spouted some oratory on that American radicals' day of days, May Day, on May 1, 1933. Four days later, he was made section organizer for the Detroit east side section 3, of the Communist Party. The appointment was made at a meeting at 1343 East Ferry Avenue, by the then district 7 (Michigan) organizer, John Schmies, predecessor of the present organizer, William Weinstein. Schmies, by the way, is practicing his "trade" in Cleveland at present.

That Goetz has a sense of humor is proved by his seriously advocating the Russian plan over the American plan. Another proof is found in his having played "defense attorney" at a mock trial of a police officer who had killed a Negro in the course of duty. The "trial" took place at the Communist-affiliate League of Struggle for Negro Rights, 3040 Saint Antoine Street, on September 2, 1933. Goetz's "defense" of the officer "failed" and he was found "guilty of murder." Just another lusty Communist turn at the paddle, trying to stir up hate among Negroes.

Goetz was arrested with James Anderson, Negro, on Ferry Avenue near Woodward Avenue, on September 21, 1933, for investigation, and was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury on September 25. He was again arrested December 11, for disturbing the peace at the welfare station at Elmwood Avenue and Larned Street. Represented by the Communist legal moneybox, the International Labor Defense, he was found "not guilty."

Gabby Goetz did some more gabbing at an "antiwar" demonstration held on the Brady Playfield on February 19, 1934. Some 50 "reds" drank in his words of wisdom. Goetz was again arrested on January 7, 1935, for investigation, just to start the new year right.

Goetz worked at his trade, as tool and die maker, at the Packard Motor Car Co. in November and December 1934. He worked under the name of William Lubinsky. He drove a Willys-Knight sedan whose 1934 license was issued to a "William Lucinski," 5943 Elmwood Avenue. This address hap-

pened to be Goetz's address. He got himself a brand new identity, for Packard's at least, by changing the "c" in Lucinski to "b" for Labinski.

Last June 12 (1936), Goetz and his wife attended the protest against the Black Legion meeting at Cass Technical High School. The meeting was organized by the so-called Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights. June 20, Goetz was a big shot at the Communist Party Convention that dragged all the "reds" in, held over the cooperative restaurant on Yemans Street, Hamtramck.

Goetz was one of the Communists who agitated the so-called Ford hunger march. He helped urge the marchers on after they were stopped by Dearborn police. Another recorded auto plant disturbance he helped create was the early Briggs plant strike, which he organized with Phil Raymond and Nydia Barken.

Last September 12 Goetz showed that peculiarly Communist versatility involving participation in every form of agitation by proclaiming himself a "Farmer Laborite." He attended the Farmer-Labor Party convention at Owosso, Mich. * * *

Manning Green, a Detroit attorney prominently identified with the Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He is one of the craftiest individuals in the Communist movement in this district. At the present time he is extremely interested in what the Dies committee will do and who is going to testify before it. Some of the "suspicious" characters were called before him and warned to testify "right" or else they might be taken care of. Green is also one of the main functionaries in the I. W. O. The International Workers' Order is a fertile organization of strictly Communist design with avowed Communists as its chief directors. The purposes for which this organization was established are collection of funds and fraternity among the Communist organizations.

Ike Greenberg, manager of Modern Book Store at 2610 Clifford Street. He is a member of the Communist Party and is in charge of the distribution of Communist literature. For the convenience of readers, he fitted out a reading room under his book store in which 50 people can meet in comfort. This store is being rented from a Scotch estate. He is active in such Communist organizations as Farmer-Labor Party, Committee to Aid Spanish People, and Friends of Spanish Democracy. In his work he is ably assisted by his wife, Goldie.

His activities in the labor upheavals are extremely pronounced. He was an active organizer of the Briggs local of the Communist Auto Industrial Workers Union, of which he was a business manager. In order to join the A. F. L. for the purpose of "boring from within," he obtained a badge from the Briggs plant, and with that badge joined the A. F. L., although he has never been known to work in Briggs or any other plant in Detroit. The Detroit Saturday Night in its December 4, 1937, issue gives Greenberg quite a write-up.

Maria Hempel, actively engaged in the affairs of Civil Rights Federation. Avraham Mezerik, an active Communist included in this list, is her husband. Her work in the Civil Rights Federation includes gathering of clothing, medical supplies, and funds for the Spanish Government.

Mary Himoff, very prominent feminine firebrand of Communist propaganda in this area. At a meeting of the Communist Party, district No. 7, held at the Arena Gardens January 20, 1935, she said:

Although a capitalist plot took the life of Lenin, yet his teachings will never die. The world's bourgeoisie is mired in trying to drown in blood the revolutionary proletariat. They will never succeed, for the contradictions in the

capitalist system are so manifest that they will finally destroy it. The imperialist butchers have tried to destroy the Chinese "red" army, but today that army rules over one-third of China. The world revolution is fast approaching, and it will bring us a better world.

Her speech was followed by a collection, a usual part of the program in Communist meetings. Other speakers were Earl Reno, Israel Amter, and Edward Williams, Negro.

March 7, 1935, she led a discussion at a meeting of Communist shop unit held at the home of Paul Kirk, a Negro living at 8525 Cameron Avenue. She discussed the illegal manner in which the Communist Party of Germany is forced to operate at this time, and said that it may be necessary for the party to learn how to work underground in the United States.

December 4, 1937, she spoke at the Communist Party meeting at Finnish Hall, where she begged for money for the Detroit Peoples' School, and explained how imperative it was to preserve the school for the propagation of the ideals of communism for the benefit of Union leaders in Detroit. She argued that it will be easier to get the people into the school than into the party, but, "after we have gotten them into the school, we can work toward their party membership gradually," she assured her comrades.

December 14, 1937, at a meeting of Communist Party unit composed entirely of newly recruited members, she explained the first principles of communism and said that the Communist Party is a class party which seeks to liquidate all classes except those who work for a living. Everyone who has no labor to sell and employs labor instead is a capitalist. The capitalists must be liquidated. The two classes have nothing in common, and it is the historic duty of the working class to destroy the capitalist class and seize the factories of the capitalist government.

December 28, 1937, she spoke at the meeting to new members of the Communist Party at Finnish Hall. She explained how the land has been taken from the Moujiks in Russia, and how many Ukrainians (about 6,000,000) had been liquidated because they refused to join collectivization, and told the new members that the same tactics would be used in America after we have established the United Soviet States of North America.

March 9, 1938, at a meeting of educational directors of the Communist Party, she declared that she would like to have a definite day set for the meeting of agit-props in order that they may be instructed in the art of expert propaganda and taught how to be professional revolutionists.

Lloyd Jones: Jones has been very prominent in stirring labor troubles and in preaching racial equality according to the ideals of the Communist program.

August 2, 1936, at a meeting of Farmer-Labor Party on Oakland Avenue, Jones appeared as a candidate for sheriff of Wayne County on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket. He spoke of his part in the Briggs strike of 1933 and in the Motor Products strike. He said: "Here we are in the Briggs factory, side by side, sweating and working our lives away. Negro and Polish, Hungarian and Russian, and all exploited like hell. But the minute the whistle blows and we get time to breathe, the Polack says to his buddy, 'Look at that dam nigger,' and the Hungarian is referred to by the Russian as a 'hunky,'"

and all the time the members of the Manufacturers Association are laughing at the workers and at the ease with which they can be divided." He said that, if elected sheriff, he would place a deputy alongside every policeman that Pickert sends out to break up the picket line; and that if a policeman made a move to detour picketing, he would immediately be arrested by the deputy.

Samuel Keen is an attorney for the Civil Liberties Union and the Industrial Labor Defense. His job is to defend arrested Communists and see that they are released from jail so as not to interrupt their agitation. He was one of the I. L. D. attorneys assigned to defend James Victory, the Negro raper, who was made a martyr by Communists. Assisting Maurice Sugar in Victory's trial, he herded thousands of Negroes into a demonstration around the court building and crowded the courtroom itself to capacity and obtained freedom for this maniac by the simple process of terrorization of the judge and the jury. Later on the Communist newspapers carried the story that Victory's case was a bourgeoisie frame-up.

Sophie Kisner, secretary to William Weinstone during his office of commissariat in district No. 7 of the Communist Party: She is active in the Y. C. L. units. February 2, 1936, attending a meeting of key members of the Y. C. L. units at the Finnish Hall, she stated that some of the units should disguise themselves as progressive groups, and that "after we have gotten young people into these clubs we can switch them over to the Y. C. L." She was very active in the National Students League and held meetings to prepare demonstrations by the Y. C. L. and N. S. L. members against military training in schools.

September 5, 1936, she was a member of the reception committee which greeted Earl Browder upon his arrival at the Michigan Central Depot and occupied a prominent place in the subsequent auto parade, which displayed banners advising workers to vote Communist and to defend Spanish democracy.

May 27, 1937, at a meeting of the Communist Party at 506 Mount Vernon, she spoke about the needs of soldiers in Communist trenches in Spain and appealed for money and supplies for them.

Jack Mahoney is a district organizer for the I. L. D., replacing Anthony Gerlach, of the hunger march fame. February 19, 1936, he acted as chairman of a meeting of Tom Mooney branch of the I. L. D. at the ABC Hall, where a merger of this branch and that of Ella May was discussed. The merger was advised by large bulletins. These bulletins advocated meeting of the I. L. D. members in respectable halls and the substitution of "comrade" by "brother" and "sister" in addressing each other. Also, that no sales of the Daily Worker should be made at I. L. D. meetings. These instructions were to create an impression that the movement was not Communist. For a while in 1936 he was the manager of the Camp Liberty.

Rifka Meisenberg: Rifka is an organizer of section 1 of district 7, of the Communist Party. She is interested in Daily Worker drives for new subscribers and new readers. Like all other good Communist Party members, she is interested in everything that will create commotion and dissension.

May 7, 1935, she participated in a Communist meeting held in the home of Ben Baskin, at 555 Holbrook Avenue. At this meeting methods were discussed whereby party members would be protected

in case the Dunckel-Baldwin bill went into effect. Rifka said that the leaders of the party would not be able to appear at any large meeting, and that they would not be known to all members and would have to act through trusted subordinates. She outlined a plan whereby members of the Communist Party would be able to continue their activities even though the party were outlawed. For instance, she said Negro members would come to the homes of white members and hold their meetings should the Communist Party be outlawed. Negroes would wear uniforms of messengers so that no one would get suspicious of their visits to white homes. Members would not travel around together and would pretend not to know each other on the streets.

April 30, 1937, she declared her interest in the welfare of the striking workers in Detroit. At a meeting held at 942 East Canfield, she urged her listeners to join trade-unions, church socials, and all organizations where workers may be found. That all workers' organizations should be permeated with party members who would assume leadership when the proper time comes. In her spare time she works for a small cigar factory, where her part of Communist activities is done among the fellow workers.

April 6, 1938, at a Communist meeting at 9116 Oakland Avenue, she spoke about the condition of "red" Army in Spain and said that the Communist International had set a quota for each of the 69 countries where the Communist Party is operating to obtain food and supplies for the "red" troops. She informed her listeners that Weinstone set a quota to be raised by section 1 of the Communist Party at \$1,000, and that she didn't care if the money were obtained by robbery so long as the Communist Party put the drive across.

Avarham Mezerik: Mezerik has shown his pronounced ability to obtain funds for the Communist movement from Detroit businessmen. In the belief that Mezerik would advertize their products, they give Mezerik ads but later wake up to find out that they have been advertising merely to help the Communist Party. He has been assigned by the Communist Party to organize the so-called left-wing organizations in order to aline them against law and order and public officials who make any moves against the Communist Party. He is deeply interested in the activities of the Civil Rights Federation, and at one of its meetings, held August 3, 1936, at 55 Adelaide Street, said that if the Detroit Times did not stop attacking the Loyalist government of Spain, the newspaper would be picketed and its advertisers would be boycotted.

September 3, 1936, he was one of the functionaries at a meeting sponsored by the Committee to Aid the Spanish People, at which meeting the sum of \$1,045 was collected for the use of the Spanish "reds." Later, on December 28, 1936, at another meeting of the C. R. F., held at 55 Adelaide Street, he was very prominent in urging the gathering of clothes and funds for the Spanish Red Army.

There are some comments I now wish to make, sir. During your hearings here, at various times you have heard of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, which has been joined to the Civil Rights Federation. It came into being with the American Legion sponsored bill called the Dunckel-Baldwin bill, which was introduced by two Legionnaires at Lansing, Miller Doneker and Joe Baldwin. There was a great deal of discussion about that bill. The news-

papers argued pro and con; meetings were held, and the only way that a fair decision on the bill could be arrived at would be to hold an open hearing at Lansing, which the joint parties of the house and of the senate decided to do.

As chairman of the committee for the American Legion, it was my duty to build up the "pro" part of the program. We went to Lansing expecting to find one of those usual hearings that occasionally occur.

Mr. MOSIER. When was this, Mr. Reynolds?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I have forgotten the exact date. It is almost 4 years ago.

We organized over at the Hotel Olds as to how many speakers, casually walked across the lawn to the Capitol Building, went up into the chambers, and I have never seen a sight like it before nor since. The galleries and the floor of that house were packed with the longest-haired, wildest-eyed lot of radicals you ever saw in your life. And during the discussion on the bill, whenever the word "America" was used, whenever American ideals were referred to, or whenever the flag was pointed at, jeers came from the gallery and the floor of that house.

We put on our speakers. We had a past commander of the American Legion who was then commander and has since died. We had the president of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the American Legion; we had Father Joseph Luther, who was then dean of men at the University of Detroit; we had the State president of the Elks and other people of that character testifying for this bill.

The chairman of the opposition group then arose. He was one Rev. John H. Bolens, a minister here in Detroit and a close buddy of William Weinstone. Mr. Bolens, in introducing his speakers, when he came to Mr. Weinstone stated:

I am glad a Communist can speak in the Capitol Building here in Lansing, and I hereby introduce William Weinstone.

In other words, we had a minister of the gospel who, knowing that the first part of the Communist program would be to eradicate all thoughts of God and all thoughts of religion, was glad to introduce a Communist and stated so.

William Weinstone spoke and stated that, if the Communist Party was not granted recognition, they would work like moles underneath the surface of the ground.

Another speaker against the bill whom I have not written about but whom I am going to tell about is one Maurice Sugar, an attorney born here in Michigan, educated at the Detroit Central High School and later at the University of Michigan, and admitted to the bar. He denies being a Communist. I have never seen his Communist membership, but I do know this and can prove it, that Maurice Sugar is a very close friend and has been a very close friend of William Weinstone; that Maurice Sugar has attended closed Communist meetings only open to Communists; and if he would like to come into this courtroom and deny being a Communist, we will put witnesses on the stand to prove he was at these meetings. He was also the leader of the attack on Commissioner Pickert at the city hall, when the Communists called Pickert too militaristic and said that his policemen were brutal.

MR. MOSIER. Is Pickert the commissioner of police?

MR. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

MR. MOSIER. Of the city of Detroit?

MR. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir. I had occasion that day to defend Commissioner Pickert, and in refuting the arguments of the speakers—who were Mr. Sugar, the Reverend John Bolens, the Honorable Pat O'Brien, and several other people who have been mentioned in this testimony—they did not put Mr. William Weinstone on at that time; he sat over on the side line reading a magazine; Nat Ganley sat in the balcony—Mr. Sugar had told some stories about the police department's brutality and we refuted those successfully, and then I confronted Mr. Sugar with his criminal record.

I bear in my hand here, sir, which I offer in evidence, a certified copy of the conviction of Maurice Sugar to a year and a day in jail for being a slacker during the World War—and we of the American Legion have no love for slackers.

(The paper just above referred to was marked "Reynolds (Detroit) Exhibit No. 1" and filed with the committee, being a certified copy of the conviction and sentence of Maurice Sugar.)

I also bear in my hand here, sir, and offer in evidence, the conviction of Maurice Sugar in the Federal court here by Judge Tuttle, where he was fined \$500 for putting out seditious literature. We have no room in this country for that sort of thing. I was chairman of the convention committee on subversive acts at the national convention in New York City last year. The American Legion passed a resolution, which I helped to write up, whereby they wished that the Federal authorities would pass enactments making those advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, or fraud, guilty of a felony, and that aliens should be deported who conduct such a procedure—who advocate the overthrow of Government—and that those aliens who have gained their citizenship and do that sort of thing should have their citizenship revoked, and that American citizens who advocate the overthrow of Government by force, fraud, or violence should be punished.

(The paper last above offered in evidence was marked "Reynolds (Detroit) Exhibit No. 2" and filed with the committee, being a certified copy of the conviction and fine of Maurice L. Sugar in the district court of the United States.)

The most dangerous thing in this entire picture are the so-called intellectuals who hang on the fringe and are the sugar plums that are held out to the youth of the land, causing them to join such organizations like the John Reed Club and other organizations with innocuous names and permeated through and through with communism.

We in the American Legion believe in collective bargaining. We know that a great number of our industrial troubles are caused by the way the industrialists themselves have handled the laboring men within their plants, and they are getting today what they bargained for. I am proud that a man like William Green is keeping communism out of the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, and I am proud of Homer Martin in the way he is trying to keep communism out of U. A. W. I certainly wish him luck.

I think now is the time and I think this is the committee that will expose these un-American trends and that will tell the laboring man how he has been duped, so that he can take and build his organization and maintain these unions and build them up so that they can protect his income.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that all, Mr. Reynolds?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir. Do you have some questions to ask?

Mr. MOSIER. No; I have no more questions, but I wish to extend to you and to the American Legion, on behalf of the committee, and personally, our thanks for your work and for the contribution which you have made to the committee. And I believe that the committee will have before it recommendations made at the convention of the American Legion, for consideration in drafting any bills that we may recommend to the Congress. And I also want to say we expect to use you for further testimony in some of our later hearings.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Some of the evidence that was presented to this committee before I took the stand was fostered by the American Legion—by my committee. There will also be considerable further testimony that will be given you when you reconvene in Washington.

Mr. MOSIER. Thank you very much, Mr. Reynolds.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MOSIER (continuing). Now we have one more witness. I would like Mr. Fitzgerald to be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF VINCENT L. FITZGERALD, PROSECUTING ATTORNEY, MACOMB COUNTY, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Mosier.)

Mr. MOSIER. Your name?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Vinson L. Fitzgerald.

Mr. MOSIER. And you are prosecuting attorney of Macomb County, Mich.?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And I believe, Mr. Fitzgerald, you want to make a statement to this committee concerning un-American activities centering in your county?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And to what will that be in reference?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It will be in reference particularly to the opposite of what Mr. Reynolds has testified about, and more particularly the so-called "Patriotic Legion of America."

Mr. MOSIER. Have you a prepared statement?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have not. At your suggestion, I was going to prepare one, but time did not permit and when I saw you last night—

Mr. MOSIER. How long do you think, Mr. Fitzgerald, it will take you to make this statement?

Mr. FITZGERALD. About 5 or 10 minutes.

Mr. MOSIER. Fine; go right ahead.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In the first place, let me say I was greatly enlightened and deeply impressed by Mr. Reynolds' testimony. The things about which he speaks are, of course, the excuse used by the so-called American subversive elements for the things that they do.

It seemed unthinkable to me, in 1937—the latter part of that year and early in 1938—that there should be in Michigan any un-

American activities or any subversive activity connected with the Black Legion. It seemed more unthinkable to me, as we continued an investigation that lasted for several months.

I was assisted and helped greatly by Lt. William Watkins, of the State police, and other State police officers, and the office of Duncan McCrae, whose office I was sure had broken this organization up. We found, however, that those members who were still active in their subversiveness had formed what they had called the Patriotic Legion of America. The national commander of that organization was Virgil Effinger, of Lima, Ohio. The State commander of that organization was Roy G. Ernest, of Jackson, Mich., who was then on probation from the circuit court of Jackson County.

In going into the background of the picture, we found that they had prepared an application for membership; that they had prepared a card of membership, and an assignment of members to various squads, platoons, companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, and sets. This is a card I have here and I offer it in evidence.

(The card above referred to was marked "Fitzgerald (Detroit) Exhibit 1" and filed with the committee.)

Peculiarly in this application is this sentence:

If I prove untruthful, immoral, or un-American, I will accept as my punishment the penalty your authority may impose.

This is just the simple point that I want to bring to you: I believe, as Mr. Reynolds does, that your committee can do something about this whole situation. If you are going to have Communists, you are going to have anti-Communists, because the one leads to the other. We here in Michigan do not have laws that are broad enough to assist us in doing something about it, and it does not do any good to keep on talking about it.

I have one more suggestion to make and then I will finish. I sincerely ask that Mr. Howe be sent to my office and there go over with me the testimony taken in this grand jury investigation. From that he can continue an investigation and I know your committee will be greatly helped. I know, too, that in Oakland County Franklin Morris is gathering a great deal of data on this new organization. What the name of it now is I do not know, but certainly it is going to continue as long as there is some element of communistic activity here in Michigan.

My sincere wish is that out of this committee's activities, Congressman, some legislation will come that will be broad enough to keep American ideals foremost always, and I know you are very sincere in wanting to do that.

If there are no questions, that is all I have to say.

MR. MOSIER. Thank you very much, Mr. Fitzgerald. You will make available your records, insofar as you can, to our staff of investigators, whether Mr. Howe or someone else?

MR. FITZGERALD. That is right. You understand in this court of inquiry, the so-called grand jury, the testimony must be secret.

MR. MOSIER. Yes.

MR. FITZGERALD. However, we can make any of your investigators officers of the grand jury and, from the testimony we have, I am

sure they can gather some evidence that will be very interesting and very helpful to you.

Mr. Mosier. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

Now, Mr. Paul Padgett, will you please come up here for a moment? [Continuing:] For the purpose of the record, I wish to say the committee has been informed, and it believes very reliably, that last night the mother of Paul Padgett, who appeared here as a witness yesterday, was telephoned to on two occasions and told that they—whoever that might be—would get her son today or tonight for testifying. And I want to say that I have asked Mr. Padgett to keep closely in touch with Mr. Howe, of our committee, and to report to him regularly; because we want to assure Paul and his mother, or any other witness who has appeared before us here, that they have the full protection of the Federal Government behind them.

Going now to another subject: Of course the work of this committee, in separating true statements from false or, we will say, in separating statements of fact from statements of conjecture, is a difficult job. There was some testimony introduced here, which we allowed to go in, naming certain teachers in the Detroit public schools as being communistic at least in their leanings, and I have seen some references in the newspapers, that I happened to read, to the effect that the committee had named only a few and one would perhaps expect to find a few school teachers, in a system of education, who were communistically inclined.

I might say that this committee has in its possession a list which I believe approximates between 70 and 80 school teachers in the public schools of Detroit who, it is alleged, while they might not be actual members of the Communist Party as such, at least are fellow travelers, and have attended, or do attend, Communist meetings.

We have carefully refrained from putting this testimony into the record for fear we would do an injustice to someone, and we are making an investigation of this list and, if in the future, after our investigation is ended, we determine that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the list, or any part of it, going into the record, we will put it into the record through the testimony of a competent witness.

The testimony taken at this hearing concerning the recruiting of boys in the Michigan area to join the Loyalist cause in Spain will be turned over to the district attorney of this district for official use by him, in case he deems it advisable to proceed to indict under the statute anyone, or more than one, connected with this solicitation of boys to fight in the Spanish Loyalist cause.

The committee will convene in Washington next Monday morning at 10 o'clock, and proceed to take testimony mainly directed to the sit-down strike activities of those who are charged with un-American activities connected with those strikes. I can not say authoritatively, but it is my own personal opinion, that the committee probably will return to this area, probably to Detroit, for further hearings on phases of our investigation that we believe this area is affiliated with and which we believe this area has testimony that will be valuable for us on those particular phases.

With this statement, the hearing is adjourned to Washington at 10 o'clock next Monday morning.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair will state to all witnesses who are appearing today from Minnesota—and the Chair wishes to make this clear—that what this committee is concerned with is communism. We are not concerned with any political disputes in the State of Minnesota nor with any labor dispute, only insofar as there is clear and unmistakable evidence as to communistic activities. I am going to ask the witnesses to confine themselves to that phase of the subject, or else the Chair will have to interrupt them. We want the absolute facts with reference to communism in Minnesota. Wherever communism goes that is where we are going. We are not going to let expediency or any other matter keep us from having a full disclosure of the facts.

But we do not want this committee to be used as a sounding board to air any disputes or anything of that sort. Therefore, we ask only for the facts, without any sweeping assertions or any unsupported declarations.

I notice in the statement which the first witness has prepared, in the copy which I have, it starts out with a statement to the effect that he intends to discuss the Farmer-Labor Party and the Farmer-Labor Association in the State of Minnesota. I assume that the witness means that he is going to discuss the absolute facts in connection with the endorsement of the Farmer-Labor Party by the Communists, or the work of the Communist Party in the Farmer-Labor Party; is that right?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, your statement is not very clear, because it would lead to the inference that you want to discuss the Farmer-Labor Party and the Farmer-Labor Association in the State of Minnesota, which, of course, this committee cannot permit, because we have no jurisdiction over that party or over that association.

Do you want to correct your prepared statement to show that what you propose to discuss are the facts relative to communism in the

Farmer-Labor Party rather than to discuss the Farmer-Labor Party as a party, or any of their legitimate activities or objectives?

Mr. GADLER. I am interested to show the way in which the Communist Party have come in and taken over, or tried to take over, the Farmer-Labor Party in the State of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not, by any statement of yours, condemning the majority of the people in that party?

Mr. GADLER. I want that clearly understood, that I am not doing that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not accuse the majority of the people in that party?

Mr. GADLER. No, sir; I do not. The rank and file of that party, the rank and file of the members, are true American citizens, and they object to Communists within that association or within that party.

TESTIMONY OF STEVE GADLER, ST. PAUL, MINN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. We are not going to allow a witness to make a statement except where there is absolute proof of the facts.

Mr. GADLER. I would like to have that clearly understood, Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your full name and your address?

Mr. GADLER. Steve Gadler, St. Paul, Minn.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement, and when you conclude we will have some questions to ask you.

Mr. GADLER. I happen to be a consulting engineer, if that fact is of any interest.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. GADLER. Mr. Chairman, the Communist Party is a revolutionary party. It is formed with the one purpose of overthrowing our Government and destroying our flag—a flag and Government for which I could gladly lay down my life.

I am not here today to discuss Lenin, Browder, Stalin, or Karl Marx, but to discuss the Farmer-Labor Party and the Farmer-Labor Association in the State of Minnesota—a party founded by men who had ideals of progressive government—Congressman Lindbergh, father of Colonel Lindbergh; Magnus Johnson, former United States Senator, now dead; Senator Shipstead; the late Floyd B. Olson; Hjalmar Petersen; and other liberals too numerous to mention—a party that was villified by Communists in the State of Minnesota through the years until 1935 or thereabouts. In 1934, quoting from a Communist paper called the Record, published in Minneapolis, they state:

Thanks to the policy of cowardice and capitulation (of the Trotskyites) * * * Governor Olson, one of the most dangerous enemies of the working class, and the whole Farmer-Labor bureaucracy, came out of this clash of class forces with flying colors, colors borne by the 3,700 National Guardsmen mobilized during the "truce" by this friend of the working class for use against the strikers (p. 11).

Is Olson the executive head of capitalism's State machinery in Minnesota or isn't he? Is it not a fact that henchmen of Olson and the Farmer-Labor Party in official positions in the Central Labor Council and elsewhere were determined to stop the general strike so as to not "put Olson up against it"? (p. 22).

In 1936 they said—to show how they have changed their tactics:

Can there be any doubt in anyone's mind that it is the duty of every worker to bring about the victory of the Farmer-Labor Party to build it and make it a more effective instrument of the working people?

Here is a statement published in June 1936:

Communists contributed by their political clarity, by their discipline and energy, a great measure of the success of the Farmer-Labor victory (*ibid.*).

In other words, between the years 1934 and 1936 the Communist Party changed their policy in line with orders from Moscow, and formed what is known as a united front movement and often called "Trojan horse" policy.

That was the statement published by the Communist Party in June 1936. Incidentally, I am just showing the development of the change of tactics of the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, if I may interrupt you, the same thing was done in Japan.

I was recently talking to a prominent member of Parliament in Japan, and he said the Communist Party changed their tactics in Japan. Instead of being the open enemies of the Emperor, due to the great reverence of the people for the Emperor, at about the same time they changed their policy in the United States they came out as faithful and loyal friends of the Emperor.

I am simply citing that to show that the adoption of this "Trojan horse" policy even over there, so far as they are concerned, was to make greater progress than they had previously been able to make as the open and sworn enemies of the Emperor. Is that right?

Mr. GADLER. That is right. I have those records here, but I did not want to go into that because of lack of time. It is true, as you have stated.

Quoting from Belakun, a leading European Communist, in his book, *United of Action*, page 60:

We Communists thus stand for the organizational unity; we stand for a great single mass party of the proletariat.

And on page 10:

Communists are even disposed to make concessions in the interests of establishing the united front of Communist and Social-Democratic workers against the bourgeois. We wish to declare openly and unreservedly the renunciations against the offensive of capital and against fascism is a concession.

And to continue further:

We Communists will never, under any circumstances, repudiate our principles, our tactics.

Bela Kun wrote this book, *Unity of Action*, in 1934. On December 17, 1935, it is interesting to note, and I offer in evidence a letter to Senator J. L. McLeod, of Grand Rapids, Minn., where he was invited to talk before a meeting which was evidently organized by the Communists in that district. I shall herewith read the letter to the committee in order to present the change of the Communist tactics in the State of Minnesota.

I have a copy of that letter here.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be marked as an exhibit.

(The letter referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 1, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. That letter reads as follows:

GRAND RAPIDS, MINN., December 17, 1935.

Senator J. L. McLEOD,
State Capitol, St. Paul, Minn.

DEAR SENATOR McLEOD: I have received your letter of December 16, and in answer must say that in regards to the meeting I referred to is not in any way a Communist meeting. This will be a mass meeting where all who is interested in the interests of the people will be welcome to the floor. The speakers so far that have accepted the invitation is Nat Ross, the district organizer of the Communist Party of district No. 9.

As a Communist, I must say we Communists realize we Communists were wrong on our stand in regards to the Farmer-Labor Party, and we pledge to do all in our power to help build the Farmer-Labor Party and support the Farmer-Labor representatives in the fight for social legislation. I must say in behalf of the Communist Party that at this meeting there will be no attack on any speaker or on the Farmer-Labor Party.

I believe you will remember that at the Minnesota Conference for Progressive Social Legislation, where Communists were present and took part in the conference, that we Communists whole-heartedly supported the conference. I hope that you will accept this invitation to speak here in Grand Rapids on Saturday night, January 4. Hope to hear from you by return mail on this question.

Very sincerely,

FRED LEQUIER.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he accept the invitation?

Mr. GADLER. No, sir; Senator McLeod did not accept the invitation.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator McLeod is absolutely opposed to communism or communistic activities?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that.

You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. GADLER. In other words, about this time they started to enter the Farmer-Labor Party and steal it from the people who originally founded it and believed in its principles.

On May 30 and May 31, 1936, a conference to form a National Farmer-Labor Party took place in Chicago. I submit for evidence United Action, organ of the Communist Party in the Minnesota district. From this publication we find the following people attending the conference from Minnesota:

Selma Seestrom, from Minneapolis, secretary of the Hennepin County Farmer-Labor Association.

Howard Y. Williams, national president of a third-party movement.

Abe Harris, editor of the Minnesota Leader.

Roger Rutchick, now secretary to the Governor of the State of Minnesota.

Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party.

Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, a Communist publication.

On the front page of the United Action we have pictures of Congressman Bernard, of Minnesota, and Howard Y. Williams, congressional candidates from the Eighth and Fourth Districts, respectively.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to introduce that as an exhibit?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir.

(The matter referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 2, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. Therefore, in a period of 2 years we see a radical change of tactics in the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota.

We will show that the Communists have taken over the Farmer-Labor Party and the Farmer-Labor Association through mechanics which will be explained by Mr. Priebe.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "taken over"? You do not mean they constitute the majority of the party?

Mr. GADLER. No, sir; I want that clearly understood. It does not constitute a majority of the rank and file of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. So that they have done to that party what they have done to many other organizations, seized certain strategic positions and so undertaken to carry out their program?

Mr. GADLER. That is right. In other words, they are a holding company for a vast majority of united-front organizations, as they are called.

I quote from the Communist Manifesto, by Earl Browder, on page 95. He is talking about the Farmer-Labor Party and the fight that the Communists are making within its ranks for the Farmer-Labor Party, and I quote:

This does not mean that we Communists are abandoning the idea of revolution. We believe that such a Farmer-Labor movement would give a revolutionary education to the masses. The Communists in such a movement, by being in the forefront of every struggle, would influence it, would strengthen it, and at the same time strengthen our own party. For the Farmer-Labor Party would bring the masses face to face with the problem of state power, and, therefore, with all the problems of revolution. Such a party, while not having the program of the proletarian revolution and of socialism, would necessarily have to fight on the most important issues of the day. Hence, it would educate the masses and lead them toward the Communist program. For our aims are not mere speculations.

The Farmer-Labor Party—

quoting further Earl Browder—

will not be built unless we (the Communists) turn our full energies to the task. We must answer all the arguments that will be used against it by the reactionary leaders in the American Federation of Labor.

From the Party Organizer, issued by the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, we find on page 27 that the Communist Manifesto is on the "must" list to be studied by all Communists and the Communist Manifesto teaches the destruction of government and religion.

On page 70 of the Democratic Front, written by Earl Browder and published in 1938, he states, and I quote:

From its inception, our Communist Party has been guided by the words of Karl Marx.

On page 74, we find Earl Browder telling the Communists to join the National Grange, the Farmers' Union, and the Farm Bureaus, in order to tie up the city and the country farmers with and for the Communist cause.

On page 81 of the publication, he states that Boake Carter complains that the new Communist constitution does not specify an obligation to be loyal to the Constitution of the United States and nowhere does Mr. Browder refute that accusation.

And so we find Earl Browder, the man who believes in the revolutionary overthrow of government, coming into the State of Minnesota to publicly endorse Governor Elmer A. Benson and publicly ask for his election.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, as a matter of fact, how can a candidate keep Earl Browder, or some of the other officers of the Communist Party, from coming into a State and endorsing him? I mean that the mere fact that Earl Browder may have come into the State of Minnesota and endorsed a candidate for Governor does not necessarily mean that the candidate for Governor is himself a Communist.

Mr. GADLER. Two or three days ago I listened to a statement over the radio and heard that Governor Lehman, of New York, and the candidate for Lieutenant Governor of that State, sent a telegram to the Communist Party and repudiated them. That has never been done in this case.

The CHAIRMAN. President Roosevelt did the same thing in the last election, did he not?

Mr. GADLER. That is true, but it has never been done in this case.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that if a candidate for office does not want Communist support he should come out and say expressly that he does not want the support of the Communist Party?

Mr. GADLER. That is right; that is absolutely true.

I wish to again call the committee's attention to the report of the special commission to investigate communistic and other subversive organizations. In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on page 464, is listed one Howard Y. Williams, executive secretary of the League for Independent Political Action, named as a Communist. Mr. Williams is the candidate for Congress in the Fourth Congressional District on the Farmer-Labor ticket.

I will offer this report as an exhibit. It is entitled, "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Report of the Special Commission to Investigate the Activities within this Commonwealth of Communistic, Fascist, Nazi, and Other Subversive Organizations, so-called."

The CHAIRMAN. That will be marked as an exhibit.

(The report referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 3, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. When I introduced the resolution to expel the chairman of Ramsey County Communist Party from the Farmer-Labor Association, Mr. Williams, also a member of the Tenth Ward Farmer-Labor Association, took the floor and gave a most vigorous speech defending the Communist, even though she belonged to the association contrary to the Farmer-Labor constitution and prevented this resolution from being passed by that club. Mr. Williams is director of the Soldiers' Welfare Division, under control of Governor Benson. The same Howard Y. Williams is a member of the League Against War and Fascism, now the League for Peace and Democracy, since he is always appearing for this league as a speaker.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence do you have that he is a member of it now except the fact that he appeared as a speaker.

Mr. GADLER. I have some which I will present a little later.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that evidence that shows he is a member of the league?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; in leaflets published.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing his name as a member?

Mr. GADLER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. GADLER. John Bernard is the Congressman from the Eighth Congressional District, who went to Spain in behalf of the Spanish Loyalists, a C. I. O. organizer in the State of Minnesota. I wish to amend that by saying that he was at the time this evidence was to be introduced.

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

Mr. GADLER. Yes; I have some newspaper clippings and other information to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. You will introduce all this evidence?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; I have it right here.

The CHAIRMAN. You amend that statement to say he was an organizer in the State of Minnesota. For what time and until what time?

Mr. GADLER. I cannot tell you how long he was.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he cease to be?

Mr. GADLER. I do not think that he has ceased.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. GADLER. And the man who appeared at a picnic (and I offer this card in evidence)—showing that he appeared as a speaker for the Midwest Daily Record picnic, a Communist publication published in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that John Bernard appeared there as a speaker for that communistic publication?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; and here is the card [showing card].

The CHAIRMAN. That will be marked as an exhibit.

(The card referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 4, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. That is no evidence that they are Communists or believe in communistic principles?

Mr. GADLER. I have not said they were.

Governor Benson, Congressman Bernard, Congressman Teigan, and Mr. Williams are spoken of and written up in all communistic publications as friends to their cause.

I herewith submit a copy of the Midwest Daily Record, which was distributed at the Labor Day picnic in Minneapolis by the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be marked as an exhibit.

(The publication referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 5, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I further call the committee's attention to the leading story, entitled "Minnesota Drive to Elect Governor Benson Spurred."

The CHAIRMAN. Let that be marked as an exhibit.

(The matter referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 6, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. GADLER. I also wish to call the committee's attention to another article on the front page of this Midwest Daily Record, stating that John Bernard is to talk at the Minneapolis picnic for the Midwest Daily Record.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a Communist publication?

Mr. GADLER. Yes; and it is published in Chicago.

I want to say to the committee that in connection with a copy of the leaflet published by the Midwest Daily Record, in the rush of getting away I neglected to bring that evidence with me.

But I want to submit at this time a group of clippings concerning the University of Minnesota and the row that was raised there because Dean Nicholson, the dean of student affairs at the university, had Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, who was brought in by the Marxists Club, change the topic of one of his discussions.

The CHAIRMAN. The clippings you have referred to will be marked as an exhibit.

(The clippings referred to were marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 7, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. Langston Hughes was paid a hundred dollars from State funds for his appearance at the University of Minnesota. We quote his poem:

Listen, Christ,
You did alright in your day, I reckon—
But that day's gone now.
They ghosted you up a swell story, too,
Called it Bible—
But it's dead now.
The popes and the preachers 've
Made too much money from it.
They've sold you to too many.

Kings, generals, robbers, and killers—
Even to the Tzar and the Cossacks.
Even to Rockefeller's church.
Even to The Saturday Evening Post.
You ain't no good no more;
They've pawned you
Till you've done wore out.

Goodbye,
Christ Jesus, Lord, God Jehovah,
Beat it on away from here now.
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
A real guy named
Marx Communist, Lenin Peasant, Stalin Worker, ME—

I said, Me!

Go ahead on now,
You're getting in the way of things, Lord.
And please take Saint Ghandi with you when you go.
And Saint Pope Pius,
And Saint Aimee McPherson,
And big black Saint Becton of the Consecrated Dime.
And step on the gas, Christ!
Move!
Don't be so slow about movin'!
The world is mine from now on—
And nobody's gonna sell ME
To a king, or a general,
Or a millionaire.

After the change of tactics, by the Communist Party in Moscow and then in our State, we find Earl Browder, Communist candidate for president in 1936, saying:

The decision of the Chicago conference initiated by the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, marks a serious step forward in favor of a national Farmer-Labor movement. The unanimous decision in favor of a national Farmer-Labor Party convention in 1936, the endorsement of the work for local and congressional

Farmer-Labor tickets, the adoption of a platform, the request to the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party to exert its efforts towards these ends—all this attests to the strength and vitality of the Farmer-Labor movement.

And further on page 95 is "What Is Communism?" we quote:

This does not mean that we Communists are abandoning the idea of the revolution. We believe that such a Farmer-Labor movement would give a revolutionary education to the masses. The Communists in such a movement, by being in the forefront of every struggle, would influence it, would strengthen it, and at the same time strengthen our own party. For the Farmer-Labor Party would bring the masses face to face with the problem of State power, and therefore with all the problems of revolution. Such a party, while not having the program of the proletarian revolution and of socialism, would necessarily have to fight on the most important issues of the day. Hence, it would educate the masses and lead them toward the Communist program. For our aims are not mere speculations.

I also quote from page 117 to show the tactics of the Communists in regard to the American Federation of Labor:

It is necessary to rouse the workers to fight against the present policy of the American Federation of Labor.

I quote from the same book on page 125:

The revolution does not simply happen; it must be made.

And I quote on page 146:

Communists believe, as Marx pointed out at the very beginning of his career, that the social function of religion and religious institutions is to act as an opiate.

Time will not permit telling about the tactics of Communists in their other front organizations in the State of Minnesota, but it is impossible not to touch on this subject. After the election of Governor Benson in 1936, Roger Rutchick became Governor Benson's secretary. It was not long after this appointment that certain well-known Communists in the State of Minnesota became prominent in State affairs and Farmer-Labor Party matters.

In the spring of 1937, when Mayor Latimer, of the city of Minneapolis, who was the Farmer-Labor incumbent, was up for re-election, appeared the first definite break in the Farmer-Labor Party, due to the activities and the tactics of the Communists within that party, the Communists, through the various front organizations who were affiliated with the Farmer-Labor Association, controlled a majority of the delegates at the endorsing convention. The right-wing element which was led by Owen Cunningham of the A. F. of L., when we saw that Mayor Latimer who had incurred the spite of these Communist-dominated factions because of a secret letter Mayor Latimer had written to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, head of F. B. I., in the year of 1935, calling for Federal aid against Communists in the City of Minneapolis. This letter was published in the Daily Worker. I submit a copy of the Daily Worker that carried this secret letter. No one seems to know how it got out.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no evidence that that letter is genuine; just because it appeared in the Daily Worker is no evidence that it was actually written or sent.

Mr. GADLER. It is evidence that they did publish the letter in the Daily Worker.

The CHAIRMAN. You have evidence there that the Daily Worker published the letter, but no evidence that anybody authorized it or actually sent it.

Mr. GADLER. That is what I mean.

We had our own nominating convention and nominated Mayor Latimer on a right-wing ticket of the Farmer-Labor Party. Kenneth Haycraft was the Communist candidate and was endorsed by the left-wing element in the Farmer-Labor Association. During the bitter campaign that followed Mayor Latimer was defeated because the State machine, on demands of Rutchick and Benson, supported Kenneth Haycraft. During the final election 200,000 copies of the Sunday Worker were sent into Minneapolis in behalf of Kenneth Haycraft, candidate for mayor, and Harry Mayville, Communist candidate for alderman in the sixth ward; Hilliard Smith, candidate for alderman in the second ward; and H. G. Finseth, candidate for alderman in the eleventh ward. It is needless to say that all of these candidates were defeated by the citizens of the city of Minneapolis because of the Communists, except H. G. Finseth, who was elected alderman in the eleventh ward, and at that time it was not known that he was a dues-paying member of the Communist Party.

I wish to offer in evidence the Sunday Worker that was distributed in the city of Minneapolis in behalf of the Communist-endorsed candidates.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to your last statement, has that been established? You say it was not known at that time. Is it known now?

Mr. GADLER. It will be established in the course of the evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you have evidence here that will establish that fact?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir. I do not have it personally, but we have a man here that will present those facts.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GADLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The paper, the Sunday Worker, may be marked as an exhibit in this hearing.

(The paper referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 8," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. After the defeat of Mayor Latimer, the Communists took complete control of Farmer-Labor Party affairs in the city of Minneapolis, of Hennepin County. But before we continue we offer as evidence a copy of the names of over 2,000 individuals in the State of Minnesota who signed a petition to place Earl Browder, Communist candidate, on the ballot for President of the United States. Among the signers of that petition were Hilliard Smith, Steve Adams, O. F. Hawkins, Mary E. Murphy, and many others too numerous to mention, and many of whom are members of the Farmer-Labor Association and many employed by the State of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "many," have you checked the list to find out how many? In other words, can you give us some idea as to how many? The word "many" is very indefinite. Can you check that list and tell us later on the number of officials and members of the Farmer-Labor Party who signed that petition?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a certified copy of that list, is there not?

Mr. GADLER. You have it before you.

The CHAIRMAN. This may be marked as an exhibit in this hearing at this time.

(The list referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 9," of this date.)

In the fall of 1937 the Farmer-Labor ward clubs and affiliated organizations which constitute the Farmer-Labor Association began electing delegates for the county and district conventions and for the nominating convention, which was held in Duluth, Minn., in March 1938. It was at this time that Roger Rutchick began giving orders from the Governor's office to State employees to the effect that the proper delegates must be sent to these conventions, and by control of patronage the right-wing elements in the Farmer-Labor Association were brought into line, forced, due to economic necessity, to carry out the party policy as laid down by Rutchick, Natt Ross, State chairman of the Communist Party, and other leading Communists from Earl Browder to Stalin.

I now offer in evidence a resolution which I presented to the Tenth Ward Farmer-Labor Club in the city of St. Paul, demanding the expulsion of the chairman of the Ramsey County Communist Party from the Farmer-Labor Association, in keeping with the constitution of the Farmer-Labor Association, which I quote:

That no person nor any political or economic organization advocating by force or by means of revolution or advocating any other than a representative form of government shall be admitted to membership.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked admitted as an exhibit in this hearing.

(The resolution was filed with the committee and will be marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 10," of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. GADLER. Howard Y. Williams, who was a member of this club, and who is chairman of the soldiers' welfare board in the State of Minnesota, appeared before the Farmer-Labor Club and defended this Communist, with the result that she was not expelled; and instead, I, who was a duly elected delegate to the convention in Duluth, was denied a seat in that convention. My Farmer-Labor endorsement as a candidate in the Forty-second District was taken away from me because I demanded the expulsion of Communists from the F. L. A. in keeping with its constitution. In the spring of 1938 the right-wing element in the Farmer-Labor Association, which is the dues-paying organization in the Farmer-Labor Association, called upon former Gov. Hjalmer Peterson to become a candidate for the office of governor and lead the right-wing element. In that campaign communism was the issue, and communism is still the issue. I submit in evidence pictures and leaflets showing Governor Benson leading a Communist parade in New York City, August 7, 1937.

I say it was a Communist parade; I understand it was a parade led by the League for Peace and Freedom.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean the League for Peace and Freedom or the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. GADLER. The League for Peace and Democracy, I guess it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you those there with you?

Mr. GADLER. I have a clipping here from the New York Herald.

The CHAIRMAN. Those may go in as exhibits.

Mr. GADLER. I have a picture in my hand of Governor Benson in that parade, and in that picture is a young man wearing a hat with the Communist League insignia.

I have here another picture showing Governor Benson, Roger Rutchick, and Mr. Krumbein, the State secretary of the Communist Party in New York City.

I also have a picture here of the Communist Party band, showing their insignia, the hammer and sickle.

The CHAIRMAN. And where was that taken?

Mr. GADLER. This was in the same parade.

The CHAIRMAN. The same parade that you referred to a moment ago?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those photographs may be received and marked as one exhibit.

(The photographs referred to were marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 11," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. I also submit in evidence photograph copies of National Guard checks payable to Governor Benson for his trip to New York for leading this C. P. parade.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received and given an exhibit number.

(The document referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 12," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. I wish to offer in evidence an article entitled "The Great Betrayal," by Walter Mickelson, member of the State Farmer-Labor Association and former secretary to Senator Shipstead and editor of the Blooming Prairie Times. I do not want to take the time to read this, but I would like to submit it in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the gist of it?

Mr. GADLER. It concerns a mammoth mass meeting of the Communist Party in New York City which he attended to find out what it was all about, and in this he tells how the tactics of the Communist Party have changed. It says:

It explains now how a little group of power-hungry, racketeering Communists have been able to bore from within and get control of the machinery of the Farmer-Labor Party and, by putting up an apparently innocent candidate for Governor to front for them, have been able to secure positions of great political power. It explains why the radical C. I. O. unions in New York contributed immense sums of money to Governor Benson's campaign in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a quotation from that pamphlet?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; written by Mr. Mickelson.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as an exhibit in this hearing.

(The pamphlet referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 13," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. I would like to offer in evidence at this time a publication that was put out in the State of Minnesota showing the Communists that have endorsed Governor Benson, and also carrying a photostatic copy of the National Guard check, plus that famous picture of the New York parade.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as an exhibit in this hearing.

(The document referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 14," of this date.)

MR. GADLER. I submit in evidence at this time copies of the North-west Communist, a Communist publication published for and in behalf of Gov. Elmer A. Benson.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are there?

MR. GADLER. There are three.

The CHAIRMAN. The three may be received as a group and given one exhibit number.

(The papers referred to were marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 15," of this date.)

MR. GADLER. Incidentally, the editor of this publication is Natt Ross, State chairman of the Communist Party.

I submit in evidence a copy of the Minneapolis Tribune, showing Don Lester, a member of the Farmer-Labor Second Ward Club of Minneapolis, and a Communist organizer in the State of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and given an exhibit number in this hearing.

(The paper referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 16," of this date.)

MR. GADLER. I submit in evidence the American Guardian, with a leading editorial condemning Christ. This is a Communist publication for which Carl Lundberg, personnel director for the State relief administration and advisor to Benson, was a subscription solicitor.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that to be a fact?

MR. GADLER. It is right on the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, it may be received.

(The paper was received and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 17," of this date.)

MR. GADLER. I also submit in evidence a leaflet put out in behalf of Leon Cuthill, member of the F.-L. Association and the Communist Party candidate for the council in the city of St. Paul, on which appear the names of Kristen Svanum, president, Workers Alliance of Ramsey County; Rose Tillotson, chairman, Communist Party of Ramsey County; William Herron, popular St. Paul Communist Negro leader; and Wilbur Broms, Minnesota State chairman of Young Communist League, and he is also on the highway pay roll. All these people were, and probably still are, members of the Farmer-Labor Association.

This material which I am now submitting was picked up and distributed at a meeting of the Tenth Ward Club, the night that I introduced my resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as an exhibit and marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 18," of this date.)

MR. GADLER. I submit two leaflets distributed by the Communist Party for Peace and Democracy, advertising principal speakers.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and marked.

(The leaflet referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 19," of this date.)

MR. GADLER. I submit in evidence clippings from the St. Paul Dispatch of other speakers before this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received and given an exhibit number.

The clippings referred to were filed with the committee and will be marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 20.")

Mr. GADLER. I wish to present in evidence a copy of the newspaper editorial appearing in the Minnesota Leader, which is edited by Abe Harris, the confidential adviser to Benson and owner of the Farmer-Labor Association, who had for his secretary the wife of the leading Communist in the State of Minnesota, where he calls Pope Pius XI an "international gangster."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as an exhibit in this hearing.

(The paper referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 21," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. I now present to the committee a leaflet widely distributed at the Duluth Convention of the Farmer-Labor Association in March 1938. This leaflet was signed by Albert Kittock and R. N. Borgen, both of Minneapolis, Minn., two former Communists, who probably will appear as witnesses before this committee. In that leaflet they have named 17 Communists that sat as delegates in the convention, and they state in the leaflet that these were only a few of the Communist delegates from Hennepin County only.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and marked as an exhibit.

(The document was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 21-A," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. I wish to enter as evidence at this time a Communist publication called the New Masses, for April 5, 1938. I wish to quote from page 12, from an editorial on and concerning the Farmer-Labor convention in Duluth. The quotation is as follows:

The Communist delegates at the convention, and there were a goodly number, were joined by all progressive forces in their successful efforts to remove the threat that came from the right.

The CHAIRMAN. The publication may be received as an exhibit.

(The publication referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 22," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. I also wish to say at this time that Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, a Communist publication, was prominent and took an active interest and part in the affairs of the convention. I sat as a spectator in that convention and watched his action. Also, on the Sunday morning following the convention the Communist members who were delegates to the convention met at Forester's Hall in Duluth, at which time Clarence Hathaway, of New York City, summed up the platform and program of the Farmer-Labor Party, and explained to the Communists who were delegates, the value of their connection and what was in store for them in connection with their activity in the Farmer-Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that is true?

Mr. GADLER. I was standing right there.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard it?

Mr. GADLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So you are testifying of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. GADLER. Yes.

In this connection I wish to quote Earl Browder, general secretary and chief spokesman of the Communist Party of the United States, when he appeared before a legislative committee in the State of New York in the spring of 1938, questioned by Senator John C. McNaboe, of the New York State Senate:

Question. Is that part of the Communist Party which exists in the United States a part and parcel of the Communists International in Moscow, a world-wide organization looking to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin?
Answer. That is correct.

At the Duluth convention Luke Rader, Jr., son of the Reverend Luke Rader, of Minneapolis, Minn., was distributing leaflets of his dad's radio sermon against communism at the door of the convention, which I am herewith submitting to the committee, and the Governor of the State of Minnesota was handed a copy, whereupon he berated and blasphemed Luke Rader, Jr., and called Luke Rader, Sr., a tool of the churches. It was with difficulty that the Governor was refrained from striking young Rader who is well able to defend himself.

The CHAIRMAN. The sermon may be marked as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 23," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER, I, at this time, in connection with the Governor's attacks upon ministers and clergymen, wish to offer in evidence the St. Paul Pioneer Press for October 14, 1938, wherein the Governor assails and bitterly attacks a Lutheran and young clergyman for asking him how his administration stood on communism. It was at this same meeting that the Governor attacked Mrs. Thristie, the daughter of the late Charles A. Lindbergh and a sister of Colonel Lindbergh.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that that happened?

Mr. GADLER. I am submitting a copy of that paper written by Joseph Ball, of the Pioneer Press and St. Paul Dispatch. I was not personally there.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and marked as an exhibit.

(The article referred to was marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 24," of this date.)

Mr. GADLER. At this convention all opposition to the Communists' tactics was bottled up and all resolutions that were presented to the resolution committee demanding action against the Communists were not allowed to be brought on the floor of the convention. It was a common understanding by the delegation of the convention that Communists and communism was not to be touched on orders of the Governor, who by this attitude prevented action against them at that convention.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. GADLER. I wish to state this for the benefit of the committee, that I attended and got into these various sessions and attended other committee functions.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are testifying to what you actually know to be the fact?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; I am.

Probably it is only a coincidence that the Farmer-Labor convention carried out the instructions as laid out by the Communist Party in their orders to the delegates at that convention, and I submit in evidence herewith a copy of the Northwest Communist, in which the orders are clearly laid out to the delegates to that convention. This editorial, taken from the Northwest Communist, was distributed and handed to every delegate at the convention.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence, and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 25, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I should also like to introduce a resolution which was defeated by the Communists in the Farmer-Labor Association.

(The resolution referred to was received in evidence, and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 26, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. Now, Hilliard Smith, a member of the Farmer-Labor executive committee and a one-time business agent of Local 382, who also was a candidate for alderman for the second ward of the city of Minneapolis, was one of the leaders in these destructive activities. Hilliard Smith signed the Browder petition and has also been mentioned before this committee as a Communist by John Frey, vice president of the A. F. of L. Some time in March 1937 he personally asked me to join the Communist Party.

Another member of the group was Steve Adams, one time Communist candidate for alderman of the city of Minneapolis, today an executive member of the Farmer-Labor Association, and a member of the newspaper committee of the Minnesota Leader. Steve Adams signed the Browder petition and he is today employed by the State Highway Department. He was a C. I. O. organizer and was one of the disrupters of the American Federation of Labor Union.

I have two clippings here from the Minneapolis Journal for June 7, 1937, and June 3, 1937, which I would like to offer in evidence, concerning John Bernard's statement with regard to C. I. O. activities.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 27, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. In connection with this, I wish to quote from a Tribune front-page story of January 26, 1938:

A large group of organized labor in Minneapolis Tuesday called for a house-cleaning on Communist influence in the State capitol and demanded that Governor Benson declare his allegiance in the forthcoming primaries to either the American Federation of Labor or the Committee on Industrial Organization.

There will be other witnesses who will present a more detailed story on this situation.

Another front organization for the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota is the Workers' Alliance, whose president is Chester Watson. It is interesting to note in this connection that Roger Rutchick, the Governor's secretary, works hand and glove with Mr. Watson, and Mr. Watson may be found in the Governor's office almost any time, as he is one of the confidential advisers. Mr. Watson has been on the State pay roll, so is his wife on the pay roll, and so is his brother, at Rochester, Minn.

The Workers' Alliance has many locals, and the Communists used the Workers' Alliance as an instrument by which they could obtain control of the Farmer-Labor Association. This was carried out by having each local affiliate with the Farmer-Labor Association, and send delegates to the executive committee. In Hennepin County this worked so well that the Workers' Alliance, with a membership of less than 12,000, had more delegates than the Farmer-Labor clubs to the central committee.

Some other witnesses that are to appear before this committee will also touch on the Workers' Alliance and show that it is a tool in the hands of the Communists and that its destiny is being guided from the Governor's office in the State capitol.

Mr. Blake, organizer for the Workers' Alliance in the Ninth Congressional District in Minnesota, was recently fired because of Mr. Blake's activities in behalf of the Democratic candidate for Congress. Mr. Watson has ordered all Alliance people to support the Farmer-Labor ticket.

The Communist Party maintains what is known as a Progressive Book Shop in St. Paul and in Minneapolis. I have been in both these book shops many times and can obtain there the Daily Worker, the Sunday Worker, the Party Organizer, the Communist, all the publications which I have here before me, including the Communist Manifesto; and, besides all these publications, Soviet Russia Today, Soviet Land, and other Communist publications too numerous to mention. The Communist Party, district No. 9, maintains an office at 10 South Tenth Street, Minneapolis, Minn. They maintain offices in Duluth, Minn.; St. Paul, Minn.; Austin, Minn.; besides having offices in the various homes in the other cities in the State of Minnesota.

An interesting sidelight on this is that all secret Communist records are always kept under ground—that is, they do not maintain or keep any records at the headquarters. All records are kept by trusted members of the party, and are passed from individual to individual two or three times a week, and kept in various homes. This is done to prevent any records or information falling into the hands of police or other governmental agencies that may be investigating subversive activities.

I now wish to take up Communist publications in the State of Minnesota, of which there are many. Some are published temporarily and then sent to the boneyard; others are used as circumstances may require. I call attention to the Northwest Communist, edited by Nat Ross; the United Action, Communist publication in 1934 until 1936, now out of existence; the Midwest Daily Record, which publishes a special home edition and the Minnesota edition. There is also the Midwest Labor, published in Duluth, Minn., and edited by Irene Paul, wife of the Communist attorney in Duluth. This is one of the Communist mouthpieces in Minnesota. Another is the Pace-Setter, published by the Young Communist League. This is the October 1937 edition.

(A copy of the Pace-Setter for October 1937 was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 28, October 17, 1938.")

(Also, a copy of Midwest Labor was received in evidence, and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 29, October 17, 1938.")

MR. GADLER. I also wish to call the committee's attention to the report of a special commission to investigate subversive activities in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. On page 280 is a letter from New York City addressed to Comrade Frankfeld, and signed by the Organized Educational Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, in which a Finnish Daily, Tyomies, published in Superior, Wis., with offices in Duluth, Minn., is mentioned as one of the Communist publications. This is interesting in view of the fact that there is a large distribution among the Finnish people in northern Minnesota.

Besides these papers, the Communist Party puts out leaflets at every excuse for publicizing various individuals of the party.

I now offer in evidence a resolution of the Farmer-Labor Association.

(The resolution referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 30, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I have here a telegram from the secretary of state of the State of Ohio, referring to one John Marshall, candidate for Governor of the State of Ohio, on the Communist ticket in 1932.

(The telegram was received in evidence, and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 31, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I offer in evidence a copy of the Sunday Worker, issue of June 13, 1937.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 32, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I also offer in evidence some newspaper clippings referring to a resolution condemning aggression in various countries, and so forth, at a meeting of the St. Paul chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 33, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I offer in evidence a letter addressed to me by Mr. Teigan, in which he refers to Hilliard Smith as having been endorsed for alderman.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Teigan?

Mr. GADLER. Congressman Henry Teigan.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that have to do with this matter?

Mr. GADLER. That shows the tie-up of the whole mess. It shows that Smith was running for alderman, and I offer it in evidence to show Smith, who is a member of the Communist Party, was endorsed.

(The letter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 34, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I also introduce in evidence this campaign poster, "For Mayor, Kenneth C. Haycraft" and "For Alderman, Harry Mayville."

(The matter was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 35, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I also introduce in evidence this announcement of a "Rally for Peace and Democracy."

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 36, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I also introduce in evidence an announcement issued by the Workers Alliance to hear Governor Benson and other speakers at the Minneapolis Auditorium, Saturday, February 12, 1938.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 37, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I also offer in evidence a copy of the Union Advocate, St. Paul, issue of March 24, 1938.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 38, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I also introduce in evidence two photographs which I will hand to the reporter.

(Said photographs were received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibits Nos. 39 and 40, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. GADLER. I also offer in evidence a copy of the Daily Worker, issue of March 26, 1937.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Gadler Exhibit No. 41, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through with your exhibits?

Mr. GADLER. No, sir.

The following individuals who are to be named are all members of the Farmer-Labor Association and leaders in the Farmer-Labor Party and today control and have stolen that organization from the real Farmer-Laborites:

Steve Adams, a State employee, Communist candidate for alderman in the city of Minneapolis in 1933; C. I. O. organizer and member of the State central committee of the Farmer-Labor organization. He also signed the Browder petition. The next is Howard Y. Williams, who has been referred to before in connection with his actions supporting the Communist Party. The next is Joe Van Norstrand, alias John Moreland. I have referred to him before in my testimony. He was not seated at the convention.

The next is Hilliard Smith, C. I. O. organizer, expelled member of the American Federation of Labor, Machinist's Unit No. 382; until recently a member of the State executive committee of the Farmer-Labor Association, and who was checked up after the Pat Corcoran murder in Minneapolis for carrying a concealed weapon of a Spanish design, and so forth.

The next is John Gabrielle Soltis, campaign manager for Harry Mayville, leader in the Workers' Alliance, and a sign inspector in the State highway department.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is also what, did you say?

Mr. GADLER. Campaign manager for Harry Mayville and a leader in the Workers' Alliance.

The next is Lem Harris, who spent a year in the Soviet Union, secretary and State head of the political bureau of the Communist Party and of the Communist Farmer National Committee for Action.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he occupy?

Mr. GADLER. He is the State educational adviser of the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota.

The next is Nat Ross, secretary of the Communist Party of the State of Minnesota, who has recently attended all Farmer-Labor conventions and union conventions.

The next is Wilbur Broms, secretary of the Young Communist League in the State of Minnesota and a director in the Junior Farmer-Labor Association, and on the State pay roll. We have his evidence here, and I shall also show a photostatic copy of his pay check, showing that he is on the State pay roll.

The CHAIRMAN. In the State of Minnesota?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir. The next one is Mrs. Erick Burt, or Ruth Shaw, as she is also called. Until recently she was the secretary of Abe Harris, and is the wife of Erick Burt, the secretary of the Communist Party. She is now on the W. P. A. writers' project and a member of the A. F. L. Stenographers' Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does she hold on the project?

Mr. GADLER. She is just a writer. She is a member of the A. F. L. Stenographers' Union.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know what her position was with the W. P. A.?

Mr. GADLER. She is just a writer. She is writing on the W. P. A. writers' project.

The next is Lillian Schwartz, Young Communist League organizer, employed by Elmer Benson in the youth division of the State relief set-up. I can show a photostatic copy of her pay check. She recently married Carl Ross, national chairman of the Young Communist League, the individual who appeared before a Senate committee stating that he refused to fight for the United States or defend our flag in case of a war between Soviet Russia and the United States. This evidence may be found on page 146 of a document entitled "Hearings Before a Subcommittee on Education and Labor, United States Senate." Seventy-fifth Congress, March 7, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. You say she is on the State pay roll?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; and I have a photostatic copy of her pay check.

The next is Don Lester, section organizer for the Communist Party, former instructor at the University of Minnesota. In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts report we find Don Lester referred to as the Reverend Don Lester.

The next is John Busch, president of the Farmers' Holiday Association, and on the State pay roll in the department of agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. GADLER. I cannot prove that he is, but he belongs to one of their front organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. What organization?

Mr. GADLER. The Farmers' Holiday Association.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have no evidence that he is a Communist?

Mr. GADLER. No, sir; I am not saying that he is a Communist. I am referring to the Communists as I go along.

The next is Meriduel LeSeuer, Communist writer, writers' project, W. P. A.

The CHAIRMAN. All of those you have linked in that connection are people who are on the pay roll of the W. P. A., under the State government agency.

Mr. GADLER. No, sir; not all of them. I have stated the ones that are on the pay roll.

The next is Rose Madisow, Young Communist League organizer, sent in from the East to enroll at the University of Minnesota to thereby form a Young Communist League on the campus of the university, and she is an active worker for the Junior Farmer-Labor Association.

The next is Charles Karson, St. Paul Communist, now on a writers' project, and brother of "Red" Karson. State organizer for Iowa, and reported now on the range on behalf of Elmer Benson.

The next is Sherman Dryer, formerly a Leftist agitator on the campus at the University of Minnesota. He is chairman of the Fifth District Farmer-Labor Association, and a member of various Communist front youth organizations. He is a State employee; member of the Farmer-Labor Association, and member of the Junior Farmer-Labor Association; State employee, and on the board of control.

Harry G. Finseth, alderman from the eleventh ward, city of Minneapolis. He will be identified by Mr. Kittock.

The CHAIRMAN. He will be identified as what?

Mr. GADLER. As a Communist.

Carl A. Lundberg; until very recently assistant State relief administrator in charge of personnel; member of the Second Ward Farmer-Labor Association; on the Farmer-Labor speakers' bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GADLER. Mr. Lundberg has been identified in the American Guardian as the ace subscription solicitor for that newspaper, which had that very bad editorial on religion and Christ. I cannot prove that myself, but I have that proof there.

The CHAIRMAN. He is identified in the publication as one who gets subscriptions for the newspaper?

Mr. GADLER. That is right; a subscription solicitor.

Chester Watson, State president of the Workers Alliance and speaker at the Midwest Daily picnic on August 27, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a picnic put on by the——

Mr. GADLER. Communist publication. And that has been offered here. They have got it some place in the evidence.

Al Johnson, State employee, and member of the Veterans Farmer-Labor Club.

The CHAIRMAN. What about him?

Mr. GADLER. A writer for the Midwest Daily Record for Friday, August 5.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean he is a reporter for the Midwest Daily Record?

Mr. GADLER. A Communist daily publication. I do not say he is a reporter, but he writes, and his name is carried under the article.

Mr. Murphy, employed by the State health department. She signed the Browder petition.

Norman Burnick——

Pardon me; Mary Murphy is a member of the Second Ward Farmer-Labor Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you mention her name?

Mr. GADLER. She signed the Browder petition. She is a member of the Second Ward Farmer-Labor Club.

The CHAIRMAN. She signed the petition to put Earl Browder's name on the ticket for the State of Minnesota for President?

Mr. GADLER. For President of the United States. That was in 1936.

William Herron, organizer of St. Paul Negroes for the Communist Party; and he is on one of the Communist publications there.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you mean he is on it? In what capacity?

Mr. GADLER. He is listed as such and referred to in the Northwest Communist by Erick Burt, the secretary of the Communist Party for the State of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. He is mentioned as a Communist?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; it is stated in the publication that Mr. Herron is an organizer for the Communist Party in St. Paul.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he on some pay roll?

Mr. GADLER. No; I have not said anything about him being on any pay roll.

Esther Bilyen, of St. Paul, writer for Communist publications, and writer for the United Action, and the story in the United Action which has been introduced.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that person a member of the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mr. GADLER. She was. I do not know whether she still is. Other people who signed the Browder petition include: Meriduel LeSeuer, who has been already referred to; May Lindsay; H. G. Finseth, who has been already referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. Have all those been referred to?

Mr. GADLER. No; some of these have. I will tell you which ones have been referred to.

J. L. Renaud, who signed the petition.

The CHAIRMAN. He signed the Browder petition, and he is a member of the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mr. GADLER. That is right. John V. McCarthy, chairman of the Tenth Ward Farmer-Labor Club in St. Paul; Steve Adams, member of the executive committee of the Farmer-Labor Association, and member of the executive newspaper board; O. F. Hawkins; and incidentally—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Is he one of those who signed the Browder petition?

Mr. GADLER. He signed the Browder petition; a member of the Second Ward Farmer-Labor Club, and on the highway pay roll.

Madge Hawkins.

The CHAIRMAN. She signed the Browder petition?

Mr. GADLER. She signed the Browder petition; the wife of O. F. Hawkins.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she a State employee?

Mr. GADLER. No; she is not. She is a member of the Second Ward Farmer-Labor Club.

Mary E. Murphy, referred to before as a signer of the petition.

Sam K. Davis, Communist candidate for Governor in 1934, and organizer now for the C. I. O. Timber Workers Union.

M. L. Becker, member of the Ninth Ward Farmer-Labor Club, who signed the Browder petition.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he, now?

Mr. GADLER. A member of the Ninth Ward Farmer-Labor Club of Minneapolis, and, incidentally, an ex-policeman.

Mrs. Alfred Carlson, a signer of the Browder petition.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she a member of the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mr. GADLER. A member of the Ninth Ward Farmer-Labor Club. Mrs. Elizabeth Watson, wife of Chester Watson.

The CHAIRMAN. She signed the petition?

Mr. GADLER. No; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the idea in including her name?

Mr. GADLER. For her activities in united front—Communist front organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. What organizations?

Mr. GADLER. The League for Peace and Freedom, the Workers Alliance, and in some of the unions.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the League for Peace and Democracy, do you not?

Mr. GADLER. Yes, sir; pardon me.

I have more here, but I prefer to have the witnesses that are coming up next to identify them.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we suspend here until 2 o'clock, and when we resume I will ask you some questions.

We will resume at 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon a recess was taken until 2 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee reassembled at 2 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We are going to have to rush here this afternoon, because we have a number of witnesses assigned for today. You may conclude what you have to say, Mr. Gadler, and then I want to ask you some questions.

TESTIMONY OF STEVE GADLER—Resumed

MR. GADLER. In my investigation of the Communists in Minnesota, we have found that there are at least two types, the card-bearing Communists, and the individuals on the secret Communist list but who are not officially card-bearing members of the Communist Party. In other words, this is a subterfuge used by the Communist Party to circumvent the possibility of discovery.

Another device used by the Communist Party is to have their members assume an alias or another name. To prove this I quote from a letter written by Kenneth Hunter, alias Arthur Hersaag, Jr.—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). In that connection we have had introduced in evidence original membership cards of Communists, and they are all under different names. They are membership cards issued in someone else's name. That is a well-known fact, and I think you had better skip that.

MR. GADLER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You represent what organization?

MR. GADLER. I am secretary of the Junior Farmer-Labor Association.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not support Governor Benson in the primary, did you?

MR. GADLER. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You supported Mr. Petersen?

MR. GADLER. Hjalmar Petersen led the right wing.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are now supporting him, are you not?

MR. GADLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Asher Howard, of Minneapolis?

MR. GADLER. I have met him once or twice.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you meet him?

MR. GADLER. Last spring, during the primary campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you first wrote the chairman of this committee, I believe, telling him what you knew, and also discussed your testimony a week or two ago with the chairman of this committee, and you were subpoenaed to come here and testify; is not that true?

MR. GADLER. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the fact that you had a disagreement with Governor Benson and the present leaders of the Farmer-Labor Party color or bias your testimony before this committee?

Mr. GADLER. No, sir. I have held the Farmer-Labor Party in the bottom of my heart all the time. I have been a member of that party for 8 years, and it almost makes me cry to see what has happened to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what led up to your breach with Governor Benson was what you have testified to here?

Mr. GADLER. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your feeling that Communists are seeking to gain control of the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mr. GADLER. And destroy the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not charge that any great number of members of the Farmer-Labor Party are members of the Communist Party, do you?

Mr. GADLER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not charging that the Governor himself is a Communist?

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

The CHAIRMAN. What you are saying is that this is a part of the Communist strategy to infiltrate every so-called liberal movement in order to gain control of that movement; is not that a fact?

Mr. GADLER. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all for the time being.

Mr. GADLER. I have certain newspaper articles that I should be glad to introduce, and which may be of interest to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be filed as exhibits for the committee's information.

(The documents referred to were marked, respectively, "Gadler Exhibits Nos. 42, 43, 44, and 45, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. We will next call upon Mr. Kittock.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT KITTOCK

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name, I believe, is Albert Kittock?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a member of the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. I am a member of the Farmer-Labor Association, Sixth Ward Club, in Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Minnesota?

Mr. KITTOCK. I was born in Wright County, Minn.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you now?

Mr. KITTOCK. Thirty-eight years old.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a member of the Farmer-Labor Association?

Mr. KITTOCK. It has been 2 years ago last April.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever, at any time, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. I was a member of the Communist Party from about July 1, 1933, until July 1, 1937. There was a period, a short time, in between, where I was not paying dues. However, during the entire 4 years I have never dropped—that is, I was always considered

as a member of the Communist Party, even though for possibly 6 or 7 months I did not pay dues. But then I continued paying dues, and I was a member in good standing until July 1, 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Since 1937 you have ceased to attend any Communist meetings; or have you ceased to attend them?

Mr. KITTOCK. No; I have not attended any meetings. I officially resigned; sent in the material which I had to the Communist Party, with my letters of resignation of my wife and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Your wife was also a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member under your true name or under some other name?

Mr. KITTOCK. I was a member under my true name.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your wife a member under her true name or under some other name?

Mr. KITTOCK. Under her right name.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a practice of the Communist Party to enroll the members under different names?

Mr. KITTOCK. Such Communists as do not care to divulge their identity, it is the common knowledge that they do those things.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, it is optional with the member: if he wants to conceal his identity and membership in the Communist Party, he is permitted to enroll?

Mr. KITTOCK. He enrolls under what they call a party name.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you resign from the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. Primarily for this: I watched the international development, and especially the development in Soviet Russia, in 1936, during the trial of Leo Kamenev and Zeinoviev, who were later executed.

The CHAIRMAN. During that trial—of course, all you know is what you saw in the newspapers about it?

Mr. KITTOCK. Well, I began to examine those trials, and I found there was something wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you began to examine the newspaper reports?

Mr. KITTOCK. No; the procedure of the trials is on record and can be gotten.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is it to be had?

Mr. KITTOCK. It can be gotten, I believe, in the Communist book stores; possibly in Communist book stores.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read any books outlining the trial, or containing a description of it?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, after you read that, what did that have to do with your quitting the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. Well, we were learned to believe, and believed, that once the desire for the return of capitalism disappears, that socialism would be eventually realized; but I have proven to my own satisfaction that what they call socialism, if there ever is any such thing, can never be realized in Soviet Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that you were really at heart a Socialist?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You approved of socialism, but you reached the conclusion that what the Soviet Union was establishing was not socialism?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That it was a form of dictatorship?

Mr. KITTOCK. It was a form of dictatorship. And I have also examined some of the most recent copies of the Soviet Constitution, and find that it is not what they claim it is, but that it is a fictitious document which has nothing democratic about it and therefore could not be considered as a constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, on account of that, you quit the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. I quit the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, while you were a member of the Communist Party you met many of the Communists; is not that a fact?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You attended many meetings?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. At which were present all the Communists in and around your section of Minnesota?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And other Communists outside?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And at which others not Communists were present; is that right?

Mr. KITTOCK. When they called a mass meeting, there were times when others attended besides Communists; but the Communist meetings are always closed meetings to outsiders. There is no one permitted to attend those meetings unless they are members of the party, in good standing.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have a prepared statement. Suppose you proceed to make that prepared statement, and then I will continue my examination. I believe you have a statement that you sent to me, have you not?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to read from that statement?

Mr. KITTOCK. No; I will read another statement first.

The CHAIRMAN. A statement that you prepared?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. That statement is based upon your actual knowledge of the facts and your experiences as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

Mr. Chairman, before I proceed with my testimony, I want to make it clearly understood that we are not against the trade-union movement or any working-class organization, for the fact that we come up here to testify against communism. We came up here to testify not against the labor movement but against the Communists who are in the labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as a friend of labor, you want to help rid the labor movement of the Communist agitators in its ranks?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct. I believe that if the Communists continue at the rate they are going, they will eventually destroy the labor movement with the tactics they are using.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not charging, therefore, that the majority or any considerable portion of the Farmer-Labor Party are Communists?

Mr. KITTOCK. No; I am not charging that.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you proceed with your statement.

Mr. KITTOCK. This, Mr. Chairman, will be a joint statement from myself and Mr. Borgen, who will testify later.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Borgen?

Mr. KITTOCK. Mr. Borgen is also a former member of the Communist Party. At this time he is State secretary of the Independent Workers Alliance, an organization which was organized by us for the purpose to organize the unemployed, part-time and project workers, and also to combat communistic activities in the old Workers Alliance, which is dominated entirely by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you and your partner prepared this statement together, as embracing your knowledge and experience and what you know to be a fact; is that true?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KITTOCK. We, Albert Kittock and Rasmus M. Borgen, respectively submit the following joint report, relative to Communist activities in Minnesota.

We are residents of the city of Minneapolis, county of Hennepin, State of Minnesota.

We are former members of the Communist Party of Minnesota which is a branch of the National Central Committee of the Communist Party with headquarters in New York City, N. Y. This committee is a section of the Communist Third Internationale, with headquarters in Moscow, U. S. S. R.

In our report we intend to deal with Communist activities in the C. I. O., American Federation of Labor, Farmer-Labor Association, Workers Alliance, veteran organizations, and other Communist "fronts."

It may not be amiss to point out that we come on behalf of the citizens of Minnesota to testify to facts pertaining to the Communist situation, so that it may be made known, not only to the citizens of Minnesota, but to the citizens and their representatives of the entire United States.

We do not intend to confine our testimony to a scientific analysis of communism. We intend to give facts by naming leading Communists and the roles which they play in the economic and political affairs of the State of Minnesota.

To obtain the proper background of activities of Communists in Minnesota, we would review the policy of the Communist Third Internationale which was adopted at its last congress in Moscow during the summer of 1935.

Prior to this congress, the Communist Party of the United States operated as a small minority revolutionary political party, attempting to exert its influence by and through its own organizations and "fronts."

At this congress a new policy was promulgated. It is known as the Trojan Horse policy. This, in effect, provided that certain present Communist organizations should be dissolved and that all members of the Communist Party in the United States should join other

organizations of civic, economic, and political nature, so that by keeping their identity and their purpose secret influence the members of those organizations and endeavor to dominate and control them on behalf of the Communist Party.

In carrying out this program, we would point out, that the Communist set-up in Minnesota provided a certain system of operation, the manner in which they are organized in various departments to do their work most effectively. At this juncture it should be pointed out that Minnesota was singled out at by the Communist International congress as the State, of the United States, which should receive special attention and in which the Trojan Horse policy should receive its concentrated experimentation and political test because there seemed to be a direct avenue of approach through the Farmer-Labor Association. The reason for this was that the destructive communistic ideas and theories could be very easily woven into the liberal and progressive policies of the Farmer-Labor Association. To illustrate, we will show how the Communist Party functions in Hennepin County where we reside and where we are best acquainted.

In Hennepin County the Communist Party is organized into ward clubs and units. The ward clubs are used for the purpose of directing the work of the Farmer-Labor Association which is also organized into ward clubs and active the year around. At the meetings of the Communist ward clubs the problems of the Farmer-Labor Association are considered, discussed, and plans of action decided upon. These plans are later brought in to the Farmer-Labor Association meetings by a minority group of Communists. In most cases their plans are adopted and carried into effect in the Farmer-Labor Association clubs to the minutest detail.

The units are organized in the following manner:

1. The Industrial unit, which directs the work of trade-unions, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., in heavy industry, such as manufacturing, public utility, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, you say "Directs the work of trade-unions." What you mean is that that is their objective and purpose?

Mr. KITTOCK. I mean that those certain Communists who happen to work in those heavy industries, and are active in those certain trade units, belong to a special unit of the Communist Party to direct the work inside those trade-unions.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is that you do not charge that they are actually directing the work, do you?

Mr. KITTOCK. Well, I did not charge that they were directly—that they were directing the work. I charge that the units are organized for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. I wanted to be clear on that. Now, continue on.

2. Needle trades unit, which directs the work of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Hosiery Workers Union, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Again, what you mean is that that is a set-up for the purpose of directing, but it does not actually direct; that is the object in forming that organization.

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

3. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, which directs the trade-union work of Miscellaneous Workers Union, Cooks and Waiters Union, and all of the catering industries.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the same thing in that case? When you say, "directs the work," that is what you mean? I want to clarify that so that there will be no misinterpretation of your testimony.

Mr. KITTOCK. That they were set up for—

The CHAIRMAN. For the purpose of trying to direct the work of these organizations.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir; that is correct.

4. The building-trades unit, which directs the work of the building-trades unions, such as building laborers, hod carriers, carpenters, masons, lathers, plasterers, cement finishers, and so forth.

The unit and club officers, also known as functionaries, make up what is called the unit or club bureau of five members. They are a chairman, who is also the organizer; recording secretary; financial and dues secretary; literature agent; and educational director.

The chairman of the Communist unit or club is ex officio the representative of the unit to the county committee, where he attends committee meetings once each week, returns with instructions, also known as directives, which are executed in the following unit or club meeting.

At certain times, when business is of such a nature in the county, where it requires a lot of attention, the chairman of the county committee calls what is known as a functionary meeting, which brings in all five functionaries of each unit.

The next higher committee, the State committee, functions in the same manner, county chairmen are ex officio delegates to the State committee. There is also the State political bureau of the Communist Party, which is not elected but appointed by a State organizer. The State political bureau consists of influential and trusted Communists and Communists whose names they do not care to divulge to the average rank-and-file Communist.

The political bureau set-up which lays down the political lines for the Communists which are to be used in the Farmer-Labor Association. This bureau considers political candidates and all other business pertaining to the political affairs of the State.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to briefly review the Farmer-Labor Association. Since we have briefly reviewed the Communist Party set-up, let us turn our attention to the Farmer-Labor Association.

The Farmer-Labor Association of Minnesota is a rank-and-file political organization composed of workers, farmers, professional people, and small-business men. In metropolitan centers like Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth the association is organized into ward clubs, which send representatives to legislative and congressional conferences. In rural areas the association is organized into village and township clubs. They likewise send representatives to legislative and congressional conferences.

A county central committee, however, has a much broader representation. Here we will show how it is made easy for the Communists to gain control of the Farmer-Labor Association.

The Farmer-Labor Association county central committee is composed of delegates from Farmer-Labor ward clubs, A. F. of L. local

unions, Communist "fronts," such as the Workers Alliance, International Workmen's Order, International Labor Defense, American League for Peace and Democracy, and a score of other language groups and fraternal lodges. The Communist, being of the "professional joiner" type, usually succeeds in having himself elected as a delegate if not from one from another of the various organizations to which he belongs. In this way the Communists have been successful in capturing control of the county central committee of the Farmer-Labor Association.

The State committees and conventions of the Farmer-Labor Association function in the same way. The county central committees send representatives to State conventions, according to the number of the popular vote in previous elections.

As evidence of the complete domination of the Farmer-Labor Association by the Communists we would like to place before this committee a circular which was issued to the delegates of the last Farmer-Labor Association convention in Duluth, Minn., March 25-26. We wish to have the circular read into the record of the committee hearings.

We hereby submit the circular. I would like to have the circular read into the record of the committee hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be marked as an exhibit.

(The circular referred to was marked "Kittock Exhibit No. 1, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. KITTOCK. A copy of the circular was handed to every delegate to the State convention of the Farmer-Labor Association. It says:

HOW ABOUT THE COMMUNISTS?

Art Jacobs, in his March issue of the State News, says:

"No longer can this issue be met with cries of 'red' baiting. It has apparently gone too far for that. If for no other reason than to remove once and for all the stigma of communism from the Farmer-Labor Party, the Duluth convention must repudiate the alleged Communist activities of those who, under the cloak of true liberalism, have wormed their way into the association, clubs, and affiliates for the sole and only purpose of attempting to dominate the policies and the program of this party."

And who is Art Jacobs? He is secretary to Harold Barker, speaker of the house of representatives. No one has ever accused him of being for Hjalmar Petersen. So we have the spectacle of a Benson supporter saying much the same as Hjalmar Petersen is saying about communism and Communists.

Why does Jacobs think it necessary to repudiate communism when our association's constitution states specifically that—

"No person nor any political or economic organization advocating change by means of force or by means of revolution or advocating any other than a representative form of government shall be admitted to membership."

The question is not communism but Communists who are in the association and sit in high places.

Are we going to have a smoke screen to deceive the voters? Are we going to have a barrage of meaningless words? Are we going to have a platform that says one thing and a candidate for Governor who says the direct opposite?

The Governor says no "red" baiting. The platform says we disapprove of communism. Let us have done with hypocrisy.

Steve Adams, a Communist, sits as a delegate and sits on the nominating committee to pick the candidates. He is also a member of the State central committee of the Farmer-Labor Association. Alderman Hudson, never accused of being a conservative, was not radical enough so the administrative forces ousted him and replaced him with the Communist Steve Adams.

Hilliard Smith, a Communist, is a delegate. So are Swan Asserson, James Flowers, M. Mariutzen, John G. Soltis, Sam Swanson, W. A. Harju, A. Sacks,

Sam Naiditch, Robert Kelley, John Bortnick, Alma Foley, Gertrude Frederickson, M. L. Becker, and H. B. Finseth.

We who have signed this statement know they are Communists. We were Communists just a short time ago and sat in their councils with them. We are dealing with facts. We know their plans are to take control of the Farmer-Labor Party. The present administration, with Governor Benson approving, are encouraging and helping them capture control.

Unless this convention unseats these delegates and takes Steve Adams off the State central committee all the words in the world will never convince the people of Minnesota that Governor Benson and the present Farmer-Labor administration is not in league with the Communists in violation of the Farmer-Labor Association constitution.

Let's have action, not words.

Let's have done with hypocrisy.

Let's keep faith with our pioneers.

(Signed) ALBERT KITTOCK.

(Signed) R. N. BORGES, *Minneapolis*.

We would like to point out that, despite the fact that each delegate to the convention received a copy of this circular, no action was taken in unseating or expelling any of the Communist delegates.

The 16 Communists mentioned in this circular were from Hennepin County only.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there other Communists there, besides those from Hennepin County?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes; I imagine—

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want what you imagine.

Mr. KITTOCK. Oh, yes; there were bound to be.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that yourself?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know there were Communist delegates from other counties?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes; there were bound to be Communist delegates from Ramsey County; they are about the same-sized counties.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a conclusion, unless you know it to be a fact. Do you know that to be a fact, yourself?

Mr. KITTOCK. My honest opinion is this—

The CHAIRMAN. Continue with your statement. We do not want you to testify about something that is your honest opinion.

Mr. KITTOCK. As further evidence we will give an illustration of how Kenneth C. Haycraft, one of the Farmer-Labor candidates for mayor of Minneapolis in 1937, was nominated by the Communists in a closed caucus 1 day previous to the Farmer-Labor city nominating convention which was held at East Side Eagle's Hall, Minneapolis. In that caucus were about 50 Communists, who were delegates elected by their trade-unions, Farmer-Labor clubs, veteran organizations, and the Communist fronts. Mr. Haycraft was nominated by one Nat Ross, who was then State organizer of the Communist Party of Minnesota.

Mr. Ross said:

We have taken up the matter of our Farmer-Labor mayoralty candidate with our leading comrades and have given the matter quite a bit of consideration. We came to the conclusion that Kenneth C. Haycraft shall be the Farmer-Labor candidate for mayor of Minneapolis. We want you to understand that Kenneth C. Haycraft is not a member of the Communist Party. However, some of us have had a talk with him. We came to the conclusion for the following reasons—

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know he made that statement?

Mr. KITTOCK. I was present at the caucus.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. KITTOCK (continuing):

We came to the conclusion for the following reasons:

"He is young and has a flexible mind. He is willing to listen and cooperate with us. He leans and is sympathetic to our cause. As a former football star, he is popular with the young folks. He is the one who has the best possible chance to win the nomination over the Farmer-Labor incumbent, Thomas B. Latimer.

"When you comrades go to the convention tomorrow morning, we want you to work for a unanimous endorsement of Kenneth C. Haycraft. We want his name placed before the nominating committee, and report it out on the floor without any opposition. We want you comrades to discourage, and if necessary, break up any caucus which may be in process of being formed for other candidates who may be aspiring for that office. That will be all and the meeting will stand adjourned."

The following day, at East Side Eagle's Hall, the Farmer-Labor nominating convention, Kenneth C. Haycraft was nominated, according to instructions from Nat Ross, the then State organizer of the Communist Party. Mr. Haycraft's name was placed before the nominating committee and reported out on the floor of the convention without any opposition. Thus the Communist steam roller worked to perfection. Mr. Haycraft was defeated because of the open and active support of the Communist Party, who during the campaign which followed, circulated two issues of a special Minneapolis edition of the Sunday Worker, which is a supplement of the Daily Worker, of New York City.

Another illustration is that of our present Communist alderman, Herbert G. Finseth, of the eleventh ward, who was elected in June 1937, with Farmer-Labor endorsement, for a period of 4 years. His nominating was discussed and decided upon at a Communist ward club meeting of the combined sixth- and eleventh-ward units of the Communist Party, of which I (Albert Kittock) was chairman. Following endorsement of Mr. Finseth by the Communists, the Eleventh Ward Club of the Farmer-Labor Association gave Mr. Finseth its endorsement after a heated debate which lasted from 8 p. m. until 1:30 a. m. During the debate the group, supporting a certain Mr. Healy, became weary and discouraged, and one by one left the meeting for their homes. Because of this Mr. Finseth received endorsement. Mr. Finseth was a member of the Communist Party, in good standing, when he took his oath of office as alderman for the eleventh ward on July 1, 1937.

Now, in addition, I would like to call the attention of this committee to certain legislative candidates that we have running for office in the State of Minnesota, who are Communists and who are running with Farmer-Labor endorsement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know they are Communists, yourself?

Mr. KITTOCK. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. You sat with them in meetings?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KITTOCK. There is Edward Kelley, a Communist candidate for State senate from the thirtieth legislative district, with Farmer-Labor endorsement. He is a former relief investigator for the Min-

neapolis Department of Public Relief, a high man in the C. I. O., and active in the Communist Party.

Then there is Carl Erickson, a Communist, who was a carknocker in the Milwaukee shops, a candidate for the State senate, in the twenty-ninth legislative district, with Farmer-Labor endorsement. Mr. Erickson is a Communist of long standing. He has been active in nearly every Communist campaign since 1930. He was active in the campaign in 1937, and was also a candidate for alderman and for Congress in 1934.

Erickson was also active in Presidential campaigns. He worked for the election of the Communist Presidential candidates, Foster and Ford, in 1932, and the Presidential candidates, Browder and Ford, in 1936.

I was also about to testify to another legislative candidate, the secretary of the State committee of the Farmer-Labor Association. It was reported to me that he was a member of the Young Communists League of Minneapolis, but I was not a member of the Young Communists League.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not mention his name if you do not know it to be a fact.

Mr. KITTOCK. All right.

I might testify about a certain local of the A. F. of L. in Minneapolis, that is local 665 of the Miscellaneous Workers, of the American Federation of Labor, whose business agent is a Communist Party member of long standing, even further back than 1932. He was already an old member when I came in, in 1933. That is Swan Assersson, who is the business agent.

Then there is Robert Kelley, organizer for the same union, and also a member of the Communist Party.

There is also Ray Riti, also a member of the Communist Party, and organizer on the payroll for the same union.

In addition to those three top officials, there are other Communists who are less important, but this particular local union is dominated and controlled by the Communist Party.

I would like to read some names from an honor roll on a document issued by the Communist Party of Minneapolis. It says:—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that was issued by the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. KITTOCK. Because it says over here, "Auspices of the Communist Party of Minnesota."

The CHAIRMAN. It says that on the publication itself?

Mr. KITTOCK. I will read from a photostat copy. I have the original which I will submit as an exhibit.

(The original copy referred to was marked "Kittock Exhibit No. 2, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. KITTOCK. The top cover of this booklet goes as follows:

Celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet Union, November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1937.

Then it goes on:

Give us 20 years of Soviet power and no force on earth will be able to destroy it. Lenin. Eagle's Hull, 1115-1117 South Fourth Street, Minneapolis. Auspices of Communist Party of Minnesota.

On this honor roll are names of the people who contributed money to the Communist Party and who had their names placed on this honor roll. But there is no specific amount of money mentioned which they contributed, but from my vast experience with the Communist Party those names signify that they have contributed money.

There is Charles Rowoldt, member of the Communist Party, active in Local 90 of the Workers Alliance. A short time prior to when his name appeared on this circular he was facing deportation charges and was saved by the fact that he denied he was a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. He was never deported, you say?

Mr. KITTOCK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why he was not deported?

Mr. KITTOCK. He denied he was a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, as a matter of fact, that he was?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else is there?

Mr. KITTOCK. There is John Gabriel Soltis, member of the Communist Party, joined early in the spring of 1937. He was campaign manager for Harry Mayville, Communist candidate for alderman in the sixth ward of Minneapolis, of which I was secretary of the same committee, and as evidence of that I have a circular of the campaign, a piece of the campaign literature with my name attached to it.

The CHAIRMAN. That may go in as an exhibit.

(The circular referred to was marked "Kittock Exhibit No. 3, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. KITTOCK. At the present time he is employed by the State highway department as a highway sign inspector.

After that fact was brought to the attention of the State administration, through our circular at Duluth, we have positive evidence that Governor Benson has received one of those circulars.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence have you of that?

Mr. KITTOCK. Mr. Benson stopped at the Spalding Hotel, and in the evening when they adjourned for dinner he was heard to remark—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you testifying as to what somebody else said? You did not hear him say anything, did you?

Mr. KITTOCK. No; but there may be some others—

The CHAIRMAN. Then omit that, and go ahead with your statement.

Mr. KITTOCK. There is Eric Bert, State secretary of the Communist Party, that is in 1937, when I left it.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. He was State secretary on July 1, 1937.

Albert Minor, member of Communist Party; also member of the Fifth Ward Club of the Farmer-Labor Association.

E. G. Torkelson, member of the industrial unit of Communist Party; also active in the Garage Mechanics Local of the C. I. O.

Swan Assersson, business agent of Local 665 of the American Federation of Labor.

Chester Watson, member of Communist Party; candidate for Congress on the Farmer-Labor ticket in 1936 with Farmer-Labor endorsement. However, Mr. Watson did not get elected to that office. At the present time Mr. Chester Watson is State president of the Workers Alliance.

Carl Erickson, candidate for State senate from the twenty-ninth legislative district, was a Communist running for State office.

The CHAIRMAN. On what ticket was he running?

Mr. KITTOCK. For State offices they do not run by party designation. However, they get endorsements. He was running with the Farmer-Labor endorsement.

Donald Lester; he is the State educational director of the Communist Party of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. What is he running for—any office?

Is he on the pay roll of the State or working for any Federal agency?

Mr. KITTOCK. Well, I would not remember that.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; proceed.

Mr. KITTOCK. Clint W. Lovely. He is, I presume, a Communist sympathizer who donated money—

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know that; you do not know whether he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. He is a Communist sympathizer from the fact that he donated money to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. All you know is that he contributed money to the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes. He is business manager of the Minnesota Leader, which is the Farmer-Labor official publication.

Lem Harris; he is a top official in the Farm Holiday Association, and I believe he is on the editorial staff—

The CHAIRMAN. Do not say "I believe."

Mr. KITTOCK. He is on the editorial staff of the Holiday News, which is the official organ of the Farm Holiday Association.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that to be a fact?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes.

Dale Kramer; I must again say here that he is a Communist sympathizer who contributed money to the Communist Party and who is a top official in the Minnesota Farm Holiday Association and also on the editorial staff of the Holiday News.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. No. Gertrude Frederickson, member of Communist Party of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a woman?

Mr. KITTOCK. A woman Communist, yes. She is a Hennepin County member of the Communist Party, Hennepin County secretary of the Workers Alliance.

Oswald Leander, a Communist; a member of the Carpenters' Local No. 7 of the American Federation of Labor.

Bill Gillen, member of the Hotel and Restaurant Unit of the Communist Party; also active in Local 665, Miscellaneous Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Detlefwieck, he is a member of the Sixth and Eleventh Ward Club of the Communist Party, member of the Carpenters' Local No. 7, organizer of that local and on the pay roll of his union.

Peter Warholt, member of Communist Party; President of the Minneapolis Local of the Upholsterers, American Federation of Labor; also district official of the Upholsterers A. F. of L. Council; elected in a district conference held at Oshkosh, Wis.

Harold Bean, member of Communist Party, Eleventh Ward; member of the Carpenters' Local No. 7 of the American Federation of Labor.

Peter Sjodine, member of the building trades unit of Communist Party, candidate for alderman from the eleventh ward on the Communist Party platform in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. How many names do you have remaining?

Mr. KITTOCK. Oh, there are quite a few.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all members of the Communist Party; you know they are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. I know all those people personally; have attended meetings with them, have associated myself with them, and I know them to be Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many more have you, approximately?

Mr. KITTOCK. We can pick out the most active ones.

James Flower, member of the trades unit of Communist Party, organizer for Building Laborers Local 563, American Federation of Labor, on the pay roll in that union.

Steve Adams, fifth district committeeman of the Farmer-Labor Association, he is on the editorial staff of the Minnesota Leader, which is the Farmer-Labor publication. He is a member of the industrial unit of Communist Party.

His former activities were: He was candidate for alderman from the eleventh ward, in 1933, on the Communist Party platform. Active in the Steel Workers Union of the Trade Union Unity League, which is now defunct; active in Local 382, of the American Federation of Labor, which seceded from the American Federation through the efforts of Steve Adams and other Communists, and later affiliated themselves with the C. I. O.

Elliott Smith, member of the Second Ward Club, of the Communist Party; candidate for alderman with the Farmer-Labor endorsement in 1937 and at the present time is a top official in one of the three machinist lodges of the C. I. O.

William Mauseth, member of the industrial unit of the Communist Party; official of the Garage Workers Local of the C. I. O. also part of the three machinist lodges which seceded from the American Federation of Labor through the efforts of Mauseth and other Communists. Mr. Mauseth is also a member of the Ninth Ward Farmer-Labor Club.

Thomas Foley, secretary of the Ornamental Lodge of the C. I. O.; member of the industrial unit of Communist Party.

M. Marutzen, organizer for the Flour and Cereal Workers of the C. I. O.; member of the industrial unit of the Communist Party.

Foss Backer, business agent of the Social Workers, C. I. O.; Fifth Ward Club, Farmer-Labor Association; member of the social workers unit of Communist Party.

John Backer, relief investigator, Minneapolis city relief department; member of the social workers unit of the Communist Party, also active in the Social Workers Local of the C. I. O.

Robert Kelly, organizer, Social Workers, C. I. O.; former relief investigator, Minneapolis relief department; member of the Fourth Ward Farmer-Labor Club; Communist Party social workers' unit, and, as I said before, candidate with Farmer-Labor endorsement for the State legislature.

Sid Fossum, top official in the Artists and Writers Workers Local, of the C. I. O.; member of Communist Party.

Meriduel LeScur, member of Communist Party, also top official in the Artists and Writers Local, C. I. O.

Leonard Voagland, member of Communist Party; member of the Tenth Ward Farmer-Labor Club.

Harry Mayville, three times unsuccessful candidate for alderman from the sixth ward, in Minneapolis, on Communist Party platform, 1933, 1935, and 1937; candidate for Congress in Minneapolis, Fifth District, on the Communist Party ticket in 1934; former leader in the Unemployment Council, United Relief Workers Association, and the Workers Alliance; former organizer of Steel Workers Industrial Union of the Trade Union Unity League, which is now defunct. Former worker of the Machinists Local 1313 of the American Federation of Labor. Former organizer of the Flour and Cereal Workers Union; leader of the People's Lobby, where he was arrested and convicted and placed on probation. At present he is wanted by the police for breaking probation in connection with the People's Lobby.

At present he is organizer at large for the C. I. O., and he works, evidently, under some district supervisor, because he organizes for all of the locals.

I have a score of other names; in fact, if I wanted to, I could name possibly a hundred to a hundred and fifty Communists from Hennepin County; but I do not think it is necessary to go into such a detailed report.

What we wanted to impress upon this committee was the tactics which the Communists have adopted since the passage of the "Trojan Horse resolution" in the Communist International Congress held in Moscow in 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you about some names that I have here. I want to ask you whether these people are Communists. Rose Spiegel; do you know whether she is a Communist?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes; she is a member of the Young Communist League of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Lillian Schwartz.

Mr. KITTOCK. She is a member of the Communist Party of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Janet Ross.

Mr. KITTOCK. She is a member of the Communist Party in Minneapolis. She is the wife of the State organizer of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Ruth Shaw?

Mr. KITTOCK. Ruth Shaw is a member of Communist Party, the wife of Eric Bart, who then was State secretary of the Communist Party in Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that after the adoption of this "Trojan Horse" policy, the Communists elaborated on their program of permeating other organizations; prior to the policy they organized themselves into certain front organizations?

Mr. KITTOCK. One of the most outstanding changes that was made at that time was on the question of the trade-union issues. The Communists had what they called their own trade unions, organized under their own banner, which was a federation of the "red" trade-unions, known as the Trade Union Unity League. However, since the adop-

tion of that resolution, the unions of the Trade Union Unity League have become dissolved and the Communists asked to join other organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. They were asked to get into just as many liberal organizations as possible; is that true?

Mr. KITTOCK. They were instructed to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. They were instructed to do so?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes; according to the resolution passed by that congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they carry out that instruction?

Mr. KITTOCK. They carried out the instruction to the minutest detail. The even surpassed their own expectations.

The CHAIRMAN. They went further than they thought they could go; is that correct?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that because of economic conditions in this country; that is, conditions were more favorable for them than they had been?

Mr. KITTOCK. The change in the policy seems to be that they have studied the experiences that the Communists had in Germany and found that their policy was wrong on the trade-union issues. They seem to feel that had they followed the policy in Germany that they are following here now, had they had the right policy then, they would have sovietized Germany before Hitler took power.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified with reference to the infiltration of Communists into the trade-unions, and the Farmer-Labor Party. What other organizations have come within the scope of your actual knowledge, in which they have seized strategic positions? What about the International Labor Defense? Do you know anything about that?

Mr. KITTOCK. The International Labor Defense is the legal department for the Communist Party. There are members of it who are not Communists. However, it is the legal department of the Communist Party to take up their legal problems in the event some of their members are arrested. They have attorneys and it is the legal department of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the League for Peace and Democracy? What is the purpose of it?

Mr. KITTOCK. As nearly as I can understand now it is a dual organization. But when it was first organized, it was organized as a council of affiliate organizations, to which any organization could send delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. It was first known as the League Against War and Fascism, was it not?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes; that is correct. And now it is known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it expanded beyond its original purpose, or is it still merely an advisory council or league to which other organizations can send delegates?

Mr. KITTOCK. At least in Minneapolis it still functions as a council. But I understand they have begun to issue regular membership books also.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to see many demonstrations, Communist demonstrations? Have you seen many of them yourself?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you participated in them yourself?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes; I was arrested.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen delegates of the League for Peace and Democracy present at those demonstrations?

Mr. KITTOCK. Oh, yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. When a demonstration is called, are these front organizations notified about it so that they can be present and participate?

Mr. KITTOCK. Usually a letter is sent out to the organization to be present at the next council meeting, and they discuss plans for parades and for activities, and those delegates, so to speak, carry their instructions back to their organization and try to get their organization to participate in those mass meetings and in those parades.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever known of any instance where any of these front organizations have ever paraded and carried banners in condemnation of communism? In other words, within your observation, has there ever been any occasion where they spoke against communism or made any declaration against communism?

Mr. KITTOCK. No. In fact, I am satisfied that if it were not for the Communist Party, the American League for Peace and Democracy would not function at all. They are the moving spirit in it. They are the thing that makes it go.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact that they have well-known Communists on the board of directors, does not that indicate it?

Mr. KITTOCK. It does.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that Earl Browder and Clarence Hathaway are both on the board of directors?

Mr. KITTOCK. They were on the board of directors when it was known as the American League Against War and Fascism. However, I understand their names have been removed from the letterheads since this new organization was formed.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Civil Liberties Union, do you know anything about that?

Mr. KITTOCK. The Civil Liberties Union is not active in Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. You know nothing about it?

Mr. KITTOCK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What other front organizations are active that you know of, that are operated largely by Communists?

Mr. KITTOCK. I would say that there is the Workers Alliance; you cannot be an official in the Workers Alliance under any consideration unless you are a member of the Communist Party. It may be possible for you to hold some small job as an organizer on a job. But outside of a local secretary or a local official, you must be a member of the Communist Party. In fact, I have had my experience with them; when I resigned from the Communist Party, I was secretary of local 90, of the Workers Alliance, and immediately they began to maneuver to have me expelled. They could not succeed in doing that, so they revoked our charter without giving us a hearing. The Hennepin County organizer, Milton McClean, who, by the way, is

also a Communist, wrote me a letter notifying me that the charter of local 90, of the Workers Alliance, was revoked. Three days later I was notified to appear before this Hennepin County committee for a hearing, to face charges.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Workers Alliance used as a front organization of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. It is absolutely controlled by the Communist Party. As I said awhile back, in order to be an officer in that organization, you must also be a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does Herbert Benjamin occupy in the Workers Alliance?

Mr. KITTOCK. Herbert Benjamin is the national secretary of the Workers Alliance, with headquarters right in this city.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KITTOCK. He is a member of the national central committee of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is David Lasser a Communist?

Mr. KITTOCK. David Lasser, I believe—well, David Lasser is a member of the Socialist Party. He is not a Communist; or at least, not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. From your experience and contacts, what do you understand to be the difference between the Socialist Party and the Communists? You said a few moments ago that you were dissatisfied with the Communist Party when you found out what their objectives were. What do you understand to be the difference?

Mr. KITTOCK. The Socialist Party is a political party which advocates social changes through legislation, such as public ownership of industries, mines, mills, transportation systems; however, they hope and expect to achieve that through legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Through peaceful means?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct; while the Communist Party is definitely committed to a civil war and a soviet dictatorship.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do they not deny that at the present time—that they will do it by force and violence, instead of under the Constitution? Did they not reverse themselves on that?

Mr. KITTOCK. They do not deny that. They say that they occupy the position somewhat of the others, of gaining the objective through revolution and civil war. That is a part of their program and a part of their policy. They work according to the instructions of the Communist manifesto.

The CHAIRMAN. What relationship does the Communist Party in the United States bear to the Third International?

Mr. KITTOCK. The Third International is the party in the United States. The Communist Party in the United States is a section of the International.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they take orders from the Third International?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instance in which instructions came direct from Moscow to the Communists in Minnesota?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir; they publish a monthly magazine known as the Communist International. It is published in Moscow, in which there is transmitted to the various countries these instructions from time to time. That is done once a month.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instructions that ever came from them to Minnesota?

Mr. KITTOCK. Their instructions come to the national headquarters in New York City, and from there they are transmitted to the various State organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any such instructions coming to Minnesota by that route?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir. George Dimitroff is the secretary of the Third International, and lives in Moscow, Russia, and he transmits articles in the Communist International every so often. George Dimitroff generally has authority over the affairs of the Communist International, and whatever he says is considered official.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were a member of the Communist Party, did you pay dues to the international solidarity fund?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They state in the book that it is a special fund for the Communist Party in other countries.

Mr. KITTOCK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And the funds derived from those dues that are collected every so often from members of the party are then sent to a central committee in New York, under the instructions of some central agency.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir. They never used to deny that. They used to call that the German fund. When Hitler came in, the Communists were put underground in Germany, and the Communist Party in these other countries gave financial aid to the German Communists. They came to the financial aid of the German Communists, because they were functioning illegally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not any of these funds were ever sent direct to Moscow or the Soviet Union?

Mr. KITTOCK. They were sent to New York City, and from there, I presume, they were sent—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You do not know about that. I am wondering if they were sent from New York City.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other front organization in Minnesota do you know of that were under the control of the Communist Party?

Mr. KITTOCK. The Unemployment Council, which is now defunct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is now known as the Workers Alliance.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a merger between the Unemployment Council and the Workers Alliance.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other like organizations do you know of there?

Mr. KITTOCK. There is the International Workmen's Order, which is a Communist-controlled insurance lodge incorporated under the insurance laws of New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated a moment ago that in order to be an officer in the Workers Alliance you have to be a Communist, but you admit that David Lasser is a Socialist. How do you reconcile those statements?

Mr. KITTOCK. At the time they made the merger, it seems that a part of the bargain with David Lasser was that, and it seems that they are living up to the bargain.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the Unemployment Council was a purely Communist organization when it went into the Workers' Alliance.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was a part of the agreement under which David Lasser would continue as head of the organization.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he come from the Unemployment Council?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir; he was only an organizer in the National Unemployment Council.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say that it is the policy of the Communist Party to support the idea of infiltration into other organizations?

Mr. KITTOCK. That is absolutely correct. That is evidenced by the policy which was formed in 1935.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to call attention to a special article which appeared in the October 11 issue of the Minneapolis Journal. It is an article that deals with a letter which has been released to the press. It is an open letter sent the Farmer-Labor Association of Minnesota and to Governor Benson. This was sent by an organization which calls itself the Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota. They are the Communist faction there, known as the Communist Trotsky faction.

The CHAIRMAN. They have Stalinites and Trotskyites.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir. They have some Trotskyites. I would like to read an extract that was taken from this letter, as follows:

There can be only one answer to the Fascist gangs, mobilization of the most devoted trade-union members into well-trained contingents of union guards.

If I understand the Communist vernacular correctly, what they mean by this trained union guard is a well-armed civil guard. They advocate the organization of such a civil guard to protect themselves against attack, patterned after the force in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. What they like to do is largely patterned after what was done in Russia.

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any occasion while a member of the Communist Party to know about sit-down strikes? Were you ever present at a sit-down strike? Are you familiar with that?

Mr. KITTOCK. I have never taken any part in a sit-down strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any around in this section?

Mr. KITTOCK. It seems to me there were some, but they never amounted to very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are not familiar with Communist activities in connection with sit-down strikes.

Mr. KITTOCK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have some exhibits?

Mr. KITTOCK. Yes, sir; I will have some.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your job now?

Mr. KITTOCK. I am a tree pruner under the W. P. A.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate very much your willingness to come here and give us the benefit of your information.

TESTIMONY OF RASMUS BORGEN, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Rasmus Borgen.

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. BORGEN. 316 Cedar Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. BORGEN. I am a night watchman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Farmer-Labor Association?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a member?

Mr. BORGEN. I have been a member since—I think it was in December 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BORGEN. I do not recall the exact date, but it was in December 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you continue to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BORGEN. I quit paying dues to the Communist Party New Year 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to avoid repetition, because we have a number of other witnesses to hear, and we have a great many arriving this evening, I will ask if you heard the testimony of Mr. Kittock, who preceded you?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You made this joint report together?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is based upon his experience and your experience while a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard him read the statement, and are familiar with its contents?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to say that the statement he made is absolutely true and correct?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there is no necessity for you to repeat the information which we have had from another witness. Do you verify it?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir; I can.

The CHAIRMAN. You would incorporate that statement as your own?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know it to be absolutely true?

Mr. BORGEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What information, in addition to that he gave, can you give the committee on the subject of communism?

Mr. BORGES. I have a short statement here on the subject of Communist activities in the war veterans' organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read that statement? It is a statement prepared by yourself, and it is a statement based on your own knowledge?

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, read it.

Mr. BORGES. I happen to be a war veteran.

The CHAIRMAN. You served in the World War?

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir. I also put in 3 years after the World War at Fort Bliss, Tex., and Fort Sill, in Oklahoma.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go across?

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you under fire?

Mr. BORGES. Not very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead with your statement.

Mr. BORGES. I can give this explanation or information, that the same policy was carried out in the field of the veterans' activities as in other organizations. I can show you how they also changed their policies toward the veterans' organizations. I will read this statement:

There was an organization known as the Workers Ex-service Men's League, which was organized in 1930, under the direction of the Communist Party. Harold Hickerson, then secretary of the league, and Walter Trumbull took active part in the so-called bonus march in 1932. I do not think it necessary for me to enlarge on that, because all you people know what took place then.

At the time I became a member of the Workers' Ex-service Men's League, on November 21, 1933, Emanuel Levin, of New York, was national chairman. In March 1934 a call was sent out to all posts of the league, and other veterans' organizations, for a bonus convention to be held in Washington, D. C., on May 10 of that year. This call was sent out by the national rank and file committee, but those in charge of the convention were Emanuel Levin, Harold Hickerson, and C. B. Cowan, all members of the Communist Party.

The purpose of the Workers Ex-service Men's League was to spread Communistic propaganda among the war veterans and to disrupt such organizations as the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Disabled American Veterans, but this did not meet with success. Therefore, in 1934 the name was changed to American League of Ex-service Men, and a more friendly attitude was taken toward the other veterans' organizations. The league was not to be known to have any connection with the Communist Party, but individuals were to preach the doctrine of communism to all new members, or, in other words, to use the league as a stepping stone toward the Communist Party. The national commander and adjutant were members of the national central committee of the Communist Party, and the leaders in the local posts had to be members or close sympathizers. Orders were to work in harmony with the district buro of the party, and to cooperate with such organizations as the International Labor Defense, the International Workers' Order, the League Against War and Fascism, foreign-language clubs, and trade unions.

In July 1936 the American League of Ex-servicemen was disbanded and its members ordered by the national leaders to join other veterans' organizations and political organizations, especially the Farmer-Labor Party. Early in 1936 the Communist Party organized the United States Veterans Council. This organization was to act as an advisory council for Communists working in the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Disabled American Veterans. The leaders were Harold Hickerson and Paul P. Crosbie, of New York, and both members of the national central committee of the Communist Party. The new policy of the Communist Party, "United Front," was put into effect, and liberal leaders of other groups were drawn into this council. Howard Y. Williams, erstwhile organizer for the National Farmer-Labor Party, was chosen as the representative for Minnesota, and he accepted it.

In addition to the above, a veterans' commission was established in the various districts of the Communist Party, consisting of district organizer of the Communist Party, and veterans who, as members of the Communist Party, were active in veterans' organizations. While a member of the Communist Party, I was secretary of this commission.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the commission?

Mr. BORGES. They created that inside of the members of the Communist Party who were war veterans, to aid those that were war veterans; so that a member of the veterans' organizations and of the council, as organized in New York, was to merely be in a national organization to deal with what would be necessary work to harmonize them with the other Communist organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not now belong to the Communist Party?

Mr. BORGES. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you quit?

Mr. BORGES. I have always believed in liberal issues. I do believe in socialism as I understood it at that time—that it could be put into effect in a peaceful manner. In the way I understood Marxism, it did not mean violence or revolution. Further, when I joined the Communist Party I had never seen nor heard of the Communist manifesto. Still, I heard what went on in the Communist Party, in the meetings, and I still thought that there was no violence, revolution, or civil war, and I thought that it did not mean anything of that kind. They told me that they would get these means through legislation.

However, I am a curious person to find out things; so I continued even after I found out that things were not as they represented them to me. I continued to see, as a member, if it was a democratic organization. At one certain convention of the Communist Party they had directorates from the central committee, and there were certain things that I personally did not agree with. I was put on the floor and argued against certain words in the directives, to see if there should be anything changed so that it would be a democratic organization. I discussed it, and suggested that if they would take it under consideration and change it the majority would be for it. At the end of the debate on this question the thing was put down exactly as the directives were in the first place, or as they called for in the first place. I began to study and read. I began to read how they were going on in Russia, not in the newspapers, but in their own papers—

the Daily Worker, the Communist, and several other pieces of literature that I got. I came to the conclusion that it was a most violent Fascist organization—even more violent than Hitler. Hitler just sent to the concentration camps anybody who disagreed with him, while the Communists in the Russian Soviet will not send you to a transient camp but they will send you to kingdom come.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not believe in fascism.

Mr. BORGES. No, sir; I do not believe in violence.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not believe in the form of government that Hitler has established?

Mr. BORGES. I do not believe in the Hitler government.

The CHAIRMAN. You are as much against fascism as you are against communism.

Mr. BORGES. I believe, in my humble opinion, that there seems to be some tie-up between those organizations, although I am not able to prove it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an opinion of your own.

Mr. BORGES. That is my humble opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. What you are saying is that both lead to dictatorships.

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir; both are bad.

The CHAIRMAN. Both result in the destruction of liberty.

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. While they hate each other, and are sworn enemies, nevertheless they tend in the same general direction. Under political socialism and communistic dictatorships, the average citizen loses his God-given rights.

Mr. BORGES. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore, while they appear to be so different, they amount to the same thing, and it means loss of liberty to the rank and file of the people.

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir; that is what I am trying to bring out.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you mean when you say you think there is a tie-up. You think there is a tie-up in their ultimate objectives.

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything to add now to what the other witnesses have stated?

Mr. BORGES. I will state that the members who were veterans were given orders, or directed, to join the Farmer-Labor Party. I have evidence here to prove that that is the case. I will quote the national adjutant of the American League of Ex-Service Men, also members of the Communist Party, and high in their councils.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you going to read from?

Mr. BORGES. I am going to read from a personal letter—or, not a personal letter, but a document from the American League of Ex-Servicemen; from the national adjutant to Post 19 of the American League of Ex-Servicemen in Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. That was sent to you?

Mr. BORGES. That was sent to me.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BORGES. He is writing about a lot of things, but there is one paragraph here—

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mind letting the whole letter go in as an exhibit, do you?

Mr. BORGES. No, sir.

(The letter referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 1, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. All right; read the portions you have in mind.

Mr. BORGES. Here he says:

I am glad to hear that you are coming to accord with the D. B.

The CHAIRMAN. What is "D. B.?"

Mr. BORGES. It means the district bureau. [Reading:]

As I have stated before, two or three members of the post should join the F. L. veterans.

The Farmer-Labor veterans.

I am sure that you would be accepted as a member for our organization is respected in Minneapolis because of the militant struggles it has put up.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he mean by the "D. B."—the district bureau of what?

Mr. BORGES. Of the Communist Party.

Now, to explain this more fully, in another letter he says—we were to have a convention in Minneapolis—

The CHAIRMAN. Who was it that wrote this letter?

Mr. BORGES. P. V. Cacchione.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the adjutant general?

Mr. BORGES. He was the national adjutant of the American League of Ex-Servicemen.

The CHAIRMAN. He was writing those letters to you?

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir; the adjutant of Post 19 in Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; now read.

Mr. BORGES. Here he says—he talks about that convention:

You also have another job, to get the names and addresses of all comrades and supporters of the veterans who will put up one or more delegates during the period of the convention. I advise you to go to the party office. I do not know if you are a party member or not, but it does not matter; and see the district organizer and take up this question with him—

About housing for delegates.

Undoubtedly our convention will be closed during the time of the demonstration on the 28th.

That was the May 1 demonstration—no; that was a demonstration about the meeting that was to be held in St. Paul of different united front organizations.

(The letter referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 2, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. BORGES. Here he says in another letter—of course I had a dispute with the district bureau of the Communist Party, and at the convention in New York he saw Nat Ross. He says:

I saw Ross at the convention and he said that he is going to take up the veteran question the moment that he gets back. Is the post dissolved yet? It should be. I know that you are going to do some fine work in the Farmer-Labor Veterans Club.

The CHAIRMAN. All those letters are going in as exhibits. Just hand them to the reporter so that he may mark them.

(The letter referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 3, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we let the letters go in the record in full. (The letters referred to, being Borgen Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, and 3, are as follows:)

(Borgen Exhibit 1, October 17, 1938)

(On letterhead of American League of Ex-Servicemen, 799 Broadway, room 221, New York, N. Y.)

DECEMBER 30, 1935.

AMERICAN LEAGUE OF EX-SERVICEMEN.

Post 19, 10 South Third Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

DEAR COMRADE BORGEN: I am in receipt of your letter dated December 27 and enclosed you will find receipts for \$4.50. The Vets News have been sent to the new subscribers, and under separate mail you will receive the bonus folders. We are glad to hear that post 6 met its obligation of \$2. Three posts in New York City have paid this already, and I think that we will be able to have other posts also pay it.

I want to commend you on the good work of having a member of the post on the citizens committee. We also want to commend you on the united front in order to remove Shoselius from the relief administration. How is this going to be done? A program of action must be put forth. The organizations interested should each elect members to a committee and plan a program of work such as a petition campaign, delegations sent to the mayor and even the governor, and a campaign of protest resolutions should be started. But above all, what is being done about bringing this campaign into the American Legion posts?

I am glad to hear that you are coming to accord with the D. B. As I have stated before, two or three members of the post should join the F. L. veterans. I am sure that you would be accepted as a member for our organization is respected in Minneapolis because of the militant struggles it has put up.

I see by your minutes that the post has not yet taken up the new policy recommended for the Veterans' News. I am sure that this new policy will go over big in Minneapolis, for it will be able to be sold in the other organizations. This will be the mouthpiece for the rank and file organized and unorganized, and undoubtedly we can get support for it from the other veteran organizations in Minneapolis. We want to thank you for the six subscriptions. This makes 10 in a period of 1 week, and it clearly shows that the comrades of post 19 are aware of the importance of the Veterans' News. It is of the greatest importance to build up the paper. We feel that within the next year we will be able to stir the entire veteran movement with this publication. We are planning big things for the paper, and within a short time we expect to be putting out 25,000 copies. Again we wish to thank the comrades of post 19 for the splendid work that they have done for the Vets' News. I wish to send the comradely greetings of the national executive committee, and we wish all the comrades a Happy New Year.

Fraternally yours,

P. V. CACCHIONE, *National Adjutant.*

(Borgen Exhibit 2, Oct. 17, 1938)

(On letterhead of American League of Ex-Servicemen, 799 Broadway, room 523, New York, N. Y.)

SEPTEMBER 17, 1935.

DEAR COMRADE BORGEN: We have received your letter dated September 13 and enclosed you will find the receipt for \$3.30 and 10 employed and 30 unemployed dues stamps enclosed.

Due to certain situations that have arisen, and also because of the Legion convention in St. Louis, I have not been able to get out of New York City, and it

looks, at the present time, as if I will get out until the New York delegation leaves on next Monday morning. But the moment that we heard you were out of the hospital, our fears passed, because we knew that you would get the comrades on the job.

By this time correspondence should be coming in to the convention arrangements committee. Each delegate to the convention is to pay a fee of 50 cents to the convention arrangements committee. Some of the posts will send the fee in, and some will send it with their delegates.

If you think you can make a success with a dance, it is a good idea, I think, a very prominent person being booked to speak. Say the program will be one and one-half hour long, that is, speaking and a little entertainment, which I am sure can be secured free of charge and then the dance.

Get the women on the job. You also have another job, to get the names and addresses of all comrades and supporters of the veterans who will put up one or more delegates during the period of the convention. I advise you to go to the party office. I do not know if you are a party member or not, but it does not matter, and see the district organizer and take up this question with him. Undoubtedly our convention will be closed during the time of the demonstration on the 28th, which will be a national demonstration over the country, and we probably will participate in that demonstration; but this lies with the convention arrangements committee, which, at the present time, has the authority to make all decisions in regard to the convention.

In conclusion I wish to say drop us a line sometime this week again; let me know what is going on, and before we leave New York City we will send you the addresses of all our stops en route to Minneapolis.

Comradely yours,

P. V. CACCHIONE, *Acting Adjutant.*

(Borgen Exhibit 3, October 17, 1938)

(On letterhead of American League of Ex-Servicemen, 799 Broadway, room 221, New York, N. Y.)

JUNE 29, 1936.

R. N. BORGEN.

106 North Twelfth Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

DEAR COMRADE BORGEN: A thousand thanks for the contributions from Minneapolis. It just seems now that everyone who got his bonus forgets the part that our little organization played except for a few loyal comrades.

I saw Rooss at the convention and he said that he is going to take up the veteran question the moment that he gets back. Is the post dissolved yet? It should be. I know that you are going to do some fine work in the F. L. Vet Club.

I am having a hell of a time closing the office. We are closing tomorrow. If you want to get in touch with me, write to the same address but make it room 239 instead of room 237. I am getting mail there, for letters will come in for a time until we orientate them to the American Veterans Council.

Keep up the good work and keep a stiff upper lip.

Comradely yours,

P. V. CACCHIONE.

Mr. BORGEN. I also have my membership book in that organization. The CHAIRMAN. In what organization?

Mr. BORGEN. The American League of Ex-Servicemen.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be accepted as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 4, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. BORGEN. I also have a letter from the secretary of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, the first organization, before they changed their names.

The CHAIRMAN. That will go in as an exhibit.

(The letter referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 5, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. BORGES. For the committee, I also have the charter of the post.

The CHAIRMAN. We will accept that as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 6, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. BORGES. I think the Government is the best place to take care of that stuff.

I have also proof of my being vice chairman of the Hennepin County Veterans Farmer-Labor Club, of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that? I did not get that.

Mr. BORGES. The Hennepin County Veterans Farmer-Labor Club.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that particular document?

Mr. BORGES. That is the letterhead of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; we will accept that as an exhibit.

(The paper referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 7, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. BORGES. On the question about the State situation, I would like to remark—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Wait a minute. What State situation are you referring to?

Mr. BORGES. The Communist action, or their work in the Farmer-Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BORGES. I would like to submit a pamphlet that we had out last spring. It is discussing the Memorial Day proclamation of Governor Benson.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive that as an exhibit.

(The paper referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 8, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. BORGES. I have also here a pamphlet put out by the Minnesota Workers' and Farmers' Congress for Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance and Farmers' Emergency Relief, held in St. Paul, March 9, 10, and 11, 1935. There were many of those united front organizations represented. I was there myself; I was a representative of the American League of Ex-Servicemen. I would ask that that also be received in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. We will accept that as an exhibit, for the inspection of the members.

(The pamphlet referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 9, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. BORGES. I do not think it is necessary for me to go into that report, because it was read by Mr. Kittock.

I have also an exhibit here which is a veterans' pamphlet. It is called Veterans, Close Ranks. It is put out by the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, 1 Union Square, room 117, New York City, and that was back in 1933, I believe. On the back page it says, "Read the Daily Worker," and inside it claims how terrible the Government handled the war veterans.

The CHAIRMAN. Those documents are offered as exhibits?

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir.

(The pamphlet referred to was marked "Borgen Exhibit No. 10, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything further to add, Mr. Borgen?

Mr. BORGES. I have one thing to add.

Before the general election in 1936 there seems to have been an agreement between the Democrats and the Farmer-Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us not get into that. What has that to do with this inquiry?

Mr. BORGES. One night the Communists had a meeting at Daniel Hall in Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know they had that meeting?

Mr. BORGES. I was there that night myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was there?

Mr. BORGES. As a former Communist, I tried to get in there. I was refused admittance; but the secretary to Governor Benson, Roger Rutchick, did get in.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that he got in? Did you see him get in?

Mr. BORGES. I seen him go up the stairway, and I seen him go there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the purpose of that meeting was?

Mr. BORGES. The purpose was to discuss the Democratic and Farmer-Labor fusion for Benson.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that to be a fact?

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are swearing that of your own knowledge?

Mr. BORGES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did not get in?

Mr. BORGES. No; I did not get in. Mr. Kittock can verify my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything else to add to your statement?

Mr. BORGES. I have also here a circular letter that shows that I was a member of the executive committee—

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you have established that pretty well.

Mr. BORGES. I can also verify the statements made by Mr. Gadler, and if occasion arises later in the testimony of the other witnesses, I will be willing to come back on the stand.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; thank you.

Mr. KITTOCK. Mr. Chairman, I want to verify—

The CHAIRMAN. Come up and testify, Mr. Kittock, if you have anything to add.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT KITTOCK—Resumed

Mr. KITTOCK. Mr. Chairman, I want to verify the statement on the Governor's secretary, Roger Rutchick. I do not know whether he is a member of the Communist Party or not. However, I do know this—that he attended the meeting, which was a closed meeting of the Communist Party at Daniel Hall. I, myself, was present and saw him there.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this meeting?

Mr. KITTOCK. It was on or about October 17, 1937; approximately on or about that day.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean 1936 or 1937?

Mr. KITTOCK. 1936—during the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We will now call Mr. Husman.

TESTIMONY OF HERMAN HUSMAN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Husman, would you give us the principal facts that you have within your knowledge pertaining to this inquiry?

Mr. HUSMAN. The principal fact is this: I received a subpoena last Friday telling me to be here.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, all of them received subpoenas. What is your position?

Mr. HUSMAN. I am district business representative of the International Association of Machinists.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that job?

Mr. HUSMAN. Fourteen and a half years.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the labor movement?

Mr. HUSMAN. Twenty-six years.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Farmer-Labor Association?

Mr. HUSMAN. I have not been for the last 2 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You used to be a member?

Mr. HUSMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You had occasion to observe Communist influence in the labor movement, their attempt to infiltrate into the labor movement and to seize strategic positions?

Mr. HUSMAN. Not only that. We have had attempts in our movement to steal our organizations through the machinations of the Communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Undertaking to take them away from you?

Mr. HUSMAN. Absolutely; not only the membership, but the funds—the money and everything else.

I have here a paper—I grabbed this file out of my office Saturday morning, thinking it might have something of interest to the committee—here is a paper called the People's Press, which is successor to a former Communist paper. The headline says, "Six thousand machinists join the United Electrical and Radio Workers in the Middle West." These members were supposed to have been taken out of three of my locals that I represent.

(The paper referred to was marked "Husman Exhibit No. 1, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. They were taken into what organization?

Mr. HUSMAN. The United Electrical and Radio Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. What has that to do with this inquiry?

Mr. HUSMAN. I have learned a lot since coming here. I will have to give you a short outline. I have names such as Steve Adams, Harry Mayville, William Mauseth, and Hilliard Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have not identified yourself. Where do you live now?

Mr. HUSMAN. I live in Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are secretary of this local?

Mr. HUSMAN. Business representative.

The CHAIRMAN. Business representative; and it is affiliated with what organization?

Mr. HUSMAN. With the American Federation of Labor.

Since the inception of the N. R. A. our movement grew quite considerably.

The CHAIRMAN. Since when?

Mr. HUSMAN. Since the inception of the N. R. A. in 1933; and then in 1935 we first noticed Mr. Mayville and Mr. Mauseth, and later on Hilliard Smith and Steve Adams as members in our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They were the men testified to by the previous witnesses as being Communists?

Mr. HUSMAN. As being members of the Communist Party. We immediately noticed that they were forming cliques and sponsoring their own programs. It got so far that in 1936 two of the men, Mauseth and Mayville, were summarily suspended by our international, accused of being Communists. They took the case to our national convention, which was held that very year—1936—in Milwaukee, at which time Mayville openly admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party, and he was ruled out; but Mauseth, denying any membership in the Communist Party, was put on 6 months' probation pending a further investigation. Then the following spring, when the 6 months were just about up and he had to be reinstated or the grand lodge make some ruling, he organized within the movement what he called an educational committee and took \$5,000 of our funds and voted it into this educational committee, and then turned around and said, "Either I am going to be reinstated or we will take this \$5,000 and kiss the machinists' union good-bye." The result was a hearing here in Washington, in the Machinists Building, before the executive council, in April 1937. At that conference—I will read the letter [reading]:

William Mauseth was reinstated in the International Association of Machinists after he had signed the following agreement. Steve Adams and R. I. Wisheart were also signers of this agreement. As leaders of the secession movement your attention is called to the fact that the agreement could not be lived up to and they be promoters of a secession movement.

This is an agreement that was signed by this group, and I was asked to go along, against my own wishes, but after a session with our grand lodge officials in Washington this agreement was reached:

In a conference held in the executive council room at headquarters from 12:30 until about 5 p. m., Friday, April 2, the following agreement was signed by all those present during the conference and there were expressions of absolute good faith on the part of the officers and members of Lodge No. 282 with reference to carrying out this program and observing the laws of the organization:

"We agree that all officers and members of lodges comprising district No. 77 shall cease all association with or activity of any character publicly or otherwise in connection with or for the purpose of promoting Communist or communistic activities or philosophies or the advocacy of dual organizations of any kind or character including the C. I. O.

"We also agree that where members or officers fail to observe and carry out this understanding charges will be preferred against such members and officers, and if found guilty they shall be subject to expulsion.

"We furthermore agree to institute a program among all active members and officers to conduct a campaign of education to develop an understanding and observation of our constitution and procedure thereunder.

"This agreement is entered into in good faith, and upon its acceptance the international president will immediately submit the case of William Mauseth to the executive council, with recommendation he be reinstated."

This agreement was signed by Steve Adams, H. D. Gilliam, R. I. Wishart, William Mauseth, and myself for the local delegation, and signed by International President A. O. Wharton, Vice President

Harley F. Nickerson, Vice President H. W. Brown, and General Secretary and Treasurer E. C. Davison.

This was on April 2 of 1937.

And, after signing this agreement, and still denying that they were members of the Communist Party, we again found that they were not intending to carry out any of our program, but were constantly carrying on Communist activities within the movement; and when they were given notice that they either had to confine themselves to the business of our organization or action would be taken, during a meeting on the 24th of August, just 5 or 6 months later, they called a rump meeting of three locals—first, Local 1037, at Hopkins, which is a suburb of Minneapolis; and the following Thursday a meeting of Local 1313, at Minneapolis; and the following night a meeting of Local 382, and there, by means of wild alarms and misapprehensions, stampeded the last group of workers to leave the machinists' union and join the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that the ones you name were Communists?

Mr. HUSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that they were responsible and were the guiding geniuses of this movement?

Mr. HUSMAN. Yes, sir; that is right.

The result was that they even tried to take over headquarters the following day, and we had to resort to court action in order to protect our property. We were fortunate enough to tie up the funds in the largest lodge, 382, where there was about \$14,000 or \$15,000 involved, that they had maneuvered to grab the next Saturday. The same night that they seceded, they maneuvered to elect a new treasurer, so that they could go to the bank the following day and collect the funds. We fortunately prevented that through the cashier of the bank. In Local 1313 they did succeed in stealing \$2,000; and in local 1037, about a thousand dollars.

All these lodges are still functioning, and they now have split the labor movement wide open in the city of Minneapolis.

I may say that during the years 1933, 1934, and 1935, up to the break, in spite of Minneapolis having been known as an open-shop town, dominated by a citizens' alliance, tremendous progress has been made in reaching signed agreements with employers, and not only that, but tremendously improving the conditions of the workers and building up our organization. Today the picture is split, and methods have been used whereby they have been just about trying to force men to join our organization. Shortly after their secession they went to one of our garages and demanded that the management reinstate a certain worker who had been let out for good reason. He had been dishonest and had not performed his work right, but it raised an issue. This group came to the management and insisted that they reinstate this particular man. The management said: "We have no agreement with the C. I. O., but we do have an agreement with the machinists' union; consequently we do not see why we have to deal with you."

They went to the men the following day.

The CHAIRMAN. You say "they." Whom do you mean by "they"?

Mr. HUSMAN. Mauseth and Smith.

So they approached the men in the shop the next day and told them if this particular man was not reinstated the following day they would have to call a strike. The men told them they had no business to order them out on strike; that they belonged to the machinists' union, and that the machinists' union had not told them about any troubles. So that noon, when the men refused to go out on strike, a group of workers—not machinists, but men from the Workers Alliance, and Lord knows what group—gathered and were led by Smith into this garage and proceeded to beat the men up. One man got a broken nose, several men had broken ribs; they were driven out of the shop, and a constant picket line was maintained about this particular shop.

This was on Wednesday, and they did not know what garage they would start on next. So the organization said: "There is only one thing left; we have got to protect our men, and in order to do that we will take them back to work"; and a picket line was maintained of 50 or 60 people, around this place of business, and in checking it over myself I did not recognize more than two or three men that were members of our organization, either as automotive mechanics or machinists. So the mechanics, themselves in our organization, took these men who had been driven from the shop and marched them by the picket line on Friday and put them back to work.

Happenings of this kind have been very common occurrences. I have been visited myself in my home, with men going through my bedroom. In fact, the day after we put these men back to work, the president of our lodge, who also worked for a garage, was attacked in the morning while he was parking his car and was held from behind by two men and kicked and beaten, with the result that he had one eye kicked out. That day I was visited at my home. I was not there; but there is no doubt as to what the purpose was. It was to attack me.

I am convinced that, in spite of all the lies of at least these men Mauseth and Smith and Adams, we know today that they are Communists, although to us they at all times deny it.

I might make one more important statement, and that is that before this came to an open break I was approached by telephone by Nat Ross, the organizer of the State Communist Party, whom I did not know, and I was called, not once, but at least three or four times, and asked to sit down with him and see if we could not iron out this threatening break within our organization; if we could not sit down and work together and avoid any open breach. This I refused to do, and consequently they succeeded with their program.

Now, I have a copy here of our executive board meeting. The entire executive council of our organization moved down to Minneapolis and stayed there for over a week and held a hearing and called in some 41 men that were accused—not all of them of being Communists, but of being the tools of these leaders that I have named; and they were summoned to appear before the council to answer charges of what they were accused of having tied onto our organization. Not one of these men responded or showed up.

I am more than willing to submit that as evidence.

(The document referred to was marked "Husman Exhibit No. 2, October 17, 1938.")

Mr. HUSMAN. Here also are the minutes of April 1937, when we were here to hear Mauseth in the matter of his reinstatement, when he again denied that he was a member of the Communist Party. There are certain affidavits connected with that, that came out later, and which I believe the committee would find of interest.

(The document referred to was marked "Husman Exhibit No. 3, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have Communists penetrated the labor movement in Minnesota, from your experience?

Mr. HUSMAN. I would say, talking about the city of Minneapolis, that they have penetrated to quite an extent in certain organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they held strategic positions or do they hold or occupy important positions?

Mr. HUSMAN. If I understand correctly, only recently, as to the cooks and waiters' union, men who have been mentioned, like Haycraft and Kelley, that I happen to know of, are delegates to the Central Labor Union, and they have succeeded in throwing out the old leadership and have put some of their own men in those places. The same tactics were used that have been used before, for the benefit of the Communist Party; they would either have a member or a supervisor selected for the job, and by working together they got by with that comparatively easy, when you realize that most of the members in the organization were comparatively new members and were not very well versed in the working of the organization. They are still on the job of electing their men and putting them into important positions in any labor organization that they determine to go into.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have they penetrated the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mr. HUSMAN. Not being a member, I would not want to make any statement I could not back up, but I know that the reaction there is much as you have had it presented here.

The CHAIRMAN. If you do not know, you need not testify about that.

Mr. HUSMAN. I would not want to say anything I could not back up.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is nothing further, we want to thank you for your testimony and for the time you have given us.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW G. COOPER

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. COOPER. Andrew G. Cooper.

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you hold?

Mr. COOPER. At the present time, what position do I hold?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. I am a practicing lawyer in the city of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were at one time secretary—

Mr. COOPER. I was secretary to Mayor Latimer, of the city of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen a copy of the letter that was published in the Daily Worker from the mayor to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover?

Mr. COOPER. Yes, I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, of your own knowledge, that the mayor actually sent that letter?

Mr. COOPER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You were his secretary at the time?

Mr. COOPER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you testify, of your own knowledge, that that letter was actually sent to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover?

Mr. COOPER. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. What became of the copy of the letter that the mayor had?

Mr. COOPER. It was locked up in the safe.

The CHAIRMAN. And kept there at all times?

Mr. COOPER. Yes; kept there at all times.

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

Mr. COOPER. Yes; I know that to be a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know it was not taken out of the safe?

Mr. COOPER. Because I had supervision of the safe.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how the Daily Worker got possession of the letter?

Mr. COOPER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in a position to say whether or not the Daily Worker got that letter from the mayor or from anyone in the mayor's office?

Mr. COOPER. I am in a position to say that they did not get that letter from the mayor's office.

The CHAIRMAN. What else do you have to add?

Mr. COOPER. I wanted to say this. I was subpoenaed on Friday, and not being active, I did not have any records of any kind, but hearing the testimony here, I find I know some of the facts.

As to the statements and testimony by various witnesses here relative to the Haycraft and Latimer contest, two of the witnesses testified that the Communist Party had held a meeting with closed doors and nominated this man Haycraft to run against Mayor Latimer for the nomination.

Mayor Latimer had been active, of my own knowledge, in the labor movement in Minneapolis, for 26 years, and I was his campaign manager. He ran for county attorney, ran for Congress, and at numerous times ran for district judge, and on two occasions ran for mayor of the city of Minneapolis.

Haycraft had no background of union affiliations, and at that time was not known to the labor movement.

I know that there was a convention held, and I know that there was subsequently a rumper convention held, and I have been active in the labor movement for some 26 years.

I was one of the pioneers of the Farmer-Labor Association; as a matter of fact, I was the first chairman of the committee that organized the Farmer-Labor Association. I do not want any remarks made by me to be inferred as giving testimony against the organization, and if I misspeak myself I do not want to be misunderstood as in any way condemning the association.

I know that after Mayor Latimer was elected there was some labor disputes and difficulty among the Ornamental Iron Workers, in which a strike resulted, and there was a fight there, and there were police and there was tear gas, and there were shots fired, and three citizens were killed—I think there were three.

I learned later, and have heard now the names of some of the men active in that strike, namely, Mayville, who is a Communist according

to the testimony here, and who was a candidate several times for alderman in the sixth ward of Minneapolis; Steve Adams and Hilliard Smith—I know those people personally, because I am also a member of the machinists union and had been a member of the International Association of Machinists, local 827.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Farmer-Labor Association?

Mr. COOPER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And are still a member?

Mr. COOPER. Yes; I am a member of the Farmer-Labor Association by being a member of my ninth ward local of Minneapolis, and also of the Farmer-Labor division by virtue of my membership in the Machinists' Union, which is affiliated on a pro rata basis with the Farmer-Labor Association.

The CHAIRMAN. Going back to this letter, how many copies were made of that letter?

Mr. COOPER. There were just two copies made.

The CHAIRMAN. What became of the two copies?

Mr. COOPER. That is, I mean there was an original and a copy.

The CHAIRMAN. Just one copy besides the original?

Mr. COOPER. Yes. The original was sent to Mr. Hoover and the copy was given to me to place in the safe.

The CHAIRMAN. You did place it in the safe?

Mr. COOPER. Yes; I did place it in the safe.

The CHAIRMAN. You had custody of it at all times?

Mr. COOPER. I was the only one who had access to the safe.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that copy never got out?

Mr. COOPER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it is a fact that the letter could not have come from Minneapolis or from the mayor's office, or anyone in that area?

Mr. COOPER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a physical impossibility for it to get out?

Mr. COOPER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you can add to your testimony, or to the testimony you have heard here?

Mr. COOPER. Not anything more except that when I was appointed by Mayor Latimer as his secretary I was secretary of the Hennepin County Farmer-Labor Association, and I had to resign because it was in violation of their rules and constitution.

I want to say one further thing, and that is this: That when Mayor Latimer was elected mayor of the city of Minneapolis—he is now deceased—he served 2 years, and after having served 2 years, there arose the situation, as testified to here, of the Communist meeting endorsing Mr. Haycraft. We continued to carry on a campaign.

There was a lawsuit brought in the city of Minneapolis, in Hennepin County, in the fourth judicial district, by the Hennepin County executive committee of the Farmer-Labor Association. Having heard this testimony, we have the names of the committee who brought the action to restrain Mr. Latimer from using the title, "Farmer-Labor." This executive committee consisted of numerous individuals, among them one Mrs. Alfred Carlson, who belongs to the Communist Party; one H. G. Finseth, who is an alderman, also a Communist; and one Hilliard Smith, also a Communist, according

to the testimony here; and those were 3 of 13 who were the plaintiffs in the action brought for the purpose of enjoining Mayor Latimer from using any Farmer-Labor affiliation. I am going to offer in evidence the defense's answer and the separate answer of the defendants, I. G. Scott, Owen Cunningham, and I. C. Miller. I have not the complaint, but I do have this separate answer, which I would like to introduce in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be marked as an exhibit.

(The paper referred to was marked "Cooper Exhibit No. 1, October 17, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else?

Mr. COOPER. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF MISS VIOLET JOHNSON, MOUND, MINN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your full name is what?

Miss JOHNSON. Miss Violet Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Miss JOHNSON. My post-office address is Mound, just outside of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your post-office address?

Miss JOHNSON. Yes; Mound, Minn., just outside of Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Minnesota?

Miss JOHNSON. All my life.

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you hold now?

Miss JOHNSON. I am statistician for the State income-tax division of the Minnesota State Tax Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Miss JOHNSON. Five years.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with any union?

Miss JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Miss JOHNSON. With two of them, as a matter of fact. I am president, at the present time, of the Stenographers Union of Minneapolis. I have belonged to that union for many years. I am also a member of a governmental employees union.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of that union?

Miss JOHNSON. That is the Protective Association of State, County, and Municipal Employees, a Federal union of local employees.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held these positions in these unions?

Miss JOHNSON. In the Stenographers Union I have not been president for more than about 3 weeks. I was elected vice president last year, but the president resigned at the beginning of last month, or some such time as that, and I became president, to serve only until the end of the year.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that union affiliated with the A. F. of L.?

Miss JOHNSON. Yes; it was organized under it, and it is a Federal union, affiliated directly.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee, in your own language, as briefly as you can, what has come within your knowledge and experience with reference to communistic activities in those unions?

Miss JOHNSON. In one union, in the Employees Union, there is no communistic activity, but in the Stenographers Union, early in 1936, or late in 1935, there was an infiltration of people into the union whom I did not know until I heard this testimony today were Communists. I knew that they were disruptionists; they were the kind of people who were always getting us out on a limb, but I did not know until today that some of them were Communists.

In the testimony this afternoon I find that one of the members of our executive board is a member of the Communist Party, Ruth Shaw, who is now serving as a member of the executive board of the local. She had been in the union about 3 years.

Another member mentioned this afternoon is Rose Spiegel, who has been chairman of the education committee in the Stenographers Union.

You asked about these people and how they worked. I think there is one good example.

Rose Spiegel was appointed chairman of the education committee, and she wanted to get out a mimeograph paper to be mailed to the membership. Even without any definite proof that these people were Communists, we do know their tactics and know that wherever there are lists of people, these people want access to the lists.

We suspected that they wanted to get the paper out to the names on our membership list. We told them to get the paper out and get it to the members at the meetings. They did that for a time or two.

Then they got the executive board to pass a recommendation that they be mailed out, and that recommendation was made to the membership, and the better part of the membership knew what the recommendation was, or the purpose of the recommendation—to get our list—so they passed a subsequent motion to the effect that they give the material they had prepared to the Labor Review, an A. F. of L. publication, going to every member of the unions in Minneapolis, therefore making it unnecessary to give them mailing lists.

I did not find out until today that Rose Spiegel is the editor of the Young Communist League publication.

I would like also to explain this, that the different unions in Minneapolis get their office help through our union, and that is also true about the liberal political people, to some extent, not only the Farmer-Labor Party but some other parties, when they want to appeal to labor they will call on the Stenographers' Union for office help.

It can be seen from this evidence that if the Communists are members of those organizations they can get jobs whereby they can get access to the records of other organizations.

Perhaps that was the reason why, about a year ago at this time, there was such a disruption within the Stenographers Union, led by the Communists, Rosalind Schwartz, Ruth Shaw, and Rosalind Hudson, who was not mentioned here. But I have a paper showing that she was representing the Young Communist League recently, and there were others of that kind.

These people so disrupted a meeting that it made it impossible to accomplish any business and the meeting had to adjourn, and at one time a majority of the executive board signed a letter to William Green and told him that we had gotten into a terrible mess, which we admitted was perhaps our fault, and said that the only way we

knew to get rid of them was to revoke our charter, because we could not prove that they were Communists.

The charter was not revoked, but a representative of the national office supervised our elections, but two girls, a Miss Bernadine Bean, or some such name as that, and the girl who was elected secretary at our last election, Josephine Schrof, before our election results had been formally announced, started sending communications to the Central Labor Union, changing our delegates to the other party.

Mrs. Jacob Ross applied, her membership was accepted, but before her dues had been sent on to the main office, we were pretty certain she was a Communist; we knew her husband was a Communist, which, of course, would not mean that she was; but we did confer at that time with a representative of the A. F. of L. Myer Lewis, who told us to refund her money. So we refunded her money and got her out of the union, although these Communists that have been mentioned made quite an attempt to keep her within the union.

Some of these people are still members; some are still serving on the executive board. I think probably we will be able to get rid of them after this, because as to some of them we did not have the evidence before.

Their tactics are to try to get into strategic positions so as to disrupt the meetings and create so much disorder that we have to adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Sylvia Schwartz one of them?

Miss JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mrs. Jacob Ross one of them?

Miss JOHNSON. She is the one we put out.

The CHAIRMAN. And Rose Spiegel?

Miss JOHNSON. She is chairman of the education committee at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else to add to your testimony?

Miss JOHNSON. No. As a delegate of those unions to the Central Labor Union I was present at the time this other group came into the labor movement; they came in at the same time that these other delegates from other organizations appeared at the Central Labor Union, and made themselves very prominent at the same time that our own unions were invaded by these various women, and I remember commenting upon different ones.

We have always known of a few of what we call crackpots, or what we call Communists, but I was wondering why it was, late in 1935 or early in 1936, that all of them seemed to come in upon us at that time. In commenting upon that to a friend of mine who is an instructor at the university, she said she had noticed that in the spring quarter of 1936 there was a much larger influx of Communists than had been known before, and that sort of thing had not been known before.

The CHAIRMAN. But a great majority of the members of your unions are absolutely opposed to communism, and want to rid the unions of communistic influence?

Miss JOHNSON. That is true, and I do not believe we will have any difficulty in doing it when we have the proof that these people are Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not believe that is true of labor people generally in Minneapolis?

Miss JOHNSON. Yes; that is very true. Last year, when the Central Labor Union elected its officers, those candidates known to be associated with Communists were overwhelmingly defeated when they ran for office.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else to add to your testimony?

Miss JOHNSON. Nothing, unless you have some questions you would like to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to thank you very much for your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. CHARLES LUNDQUIST, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your full name?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. Mrs. Charles Lundquist; my given name is Hulda.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mrs. Lundquist?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. In Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your address?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. 3438 Eleventh Avenue South.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. That is my home that my husband had built for me when I married him in 1907, and we moved into that house at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the women's organization of the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. I am. I am a member of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota, and the education unit of our Farmer-Labor Party.

I might also say that I stepped out of office as the chairman of the State Farmer-Labor women's division last March.

I would like to qualify, or correct, one or two statements that I am afraid have gone out of this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. I have heard the names of two organizations mentioned here. One is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. They have been mentioned as a Communist front organization.

I happen to be a charter member of the Minnesota section in Minneapolis, and have been since 1922. I was with Miss Jane Addams with a small party of 80 American women who went across the sea in 1915 to try to convince the Governments at war at that time to settle their international disputes by pacific means. They were not Communists.

I do not want the press to get them listed as Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. That was not mentioned; it was the League for Peace and Democracy.

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. I wanted to correct that.

The CHAIRMAN. The organization you are speaking about has just withdrawn from the League for Peace and Democracy, as I understand it.

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. The League Against War and Fascism was the organization, and I think there are many of them who still believe in it—it was an organization that was going to try to convince the

governments of the world that the Kellogg-Briand Pact would be workable, that they should settle their international disputes by pacific means, and I am willing to go with any organization of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your other correction?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. Those were the two corrections.

I have heard much news about people who belong to the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota, and the testimony giving the names that have been mentioned, and I can say truthfully that some of these people whom I have seen at party conferences have been trying to break down our defenses and trying to get rid of people when those people did not suit them.

One thing I have deplored is the fact that some of those Communists with their training and educational background, from such schools as Harvard and Vassar, should stoop to the contemptible tactics to gain their own ends that I have seen them use, and by that I mean such tactics as you have heard about from Miss Johnson and Mr. Cooper and Mr. Husman, and, of course, the people out there say that they were instructed by the higher-ups, and the higher-ups come from the East.

As a Farmer-Laborite who believes in settling all disputes by pacific means, I cannot keep still until such people have been exposed, and I have to condemn them for such tactics, because they are un-Christian.

I believe in evolution and not revolution.

I do not know whether there are any questions you would like to ask me.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have you, yourself, observed their efforts to seize control? Have you had occasion to observe instances of that kind?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. They manage to swing themselves into executive positions, like the secretaryship of an executive council and get hold of membership lists where they can mail publications to the members and invite them to participate in various activities.

Of course, Communists, according to our Constitution, have a right to be in party meetings, but I do object to having them slip in through the back door into our organizations, and then before we know what is happening they are putting the noose around our necks, and then they are hanging us.

The CHAIRMAN. From your extensive contacts, you know, do you not, that an overwhelming majority of the Farmer-Labor Party do not want to have anything to do with communism?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. The rank and file of the farmers and laborers and housewives, of which I am one, are sick and tired of the Farmer-Laborite who will follow these Vassar and Harvard College groups who are using the State machinery now, and I think they will be taken care of on November 8 of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. So that your observation is that the great majority of the people who belong to the Farmer-Labor Party are loyal, patriotic American citizens?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. They certainly are.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not want anything to do with communism. What you are objecting to is the tactics of these Communists, slipping through the back door and seizing strategic positions in organi-

zations and trying to stir up quarrels within the organization and disrupt it, not for the objectives of the party itself but in order that they might further their own revolutionary aims?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. Well, they certainly stir up dissension wherever they come. And they are not very careful about the means used to gain their ends. They certainly pick on people whom they can use as an instrument to gain their own ends. If I have been able to size up the situation, I would say this—that we, all of us, are nothing but the means to an end.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else to add?

Mrs. LUNDQUIST. No; I believe not.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your statement and your appearance here.

I think that concludes all of our witnesses on this particular phase.

I want to express the thanks of the Chair for the attendance of the witnesses. Of course, I know you were subpoenaed, but we are glad of the opportunity to have your testimony in order that the picture on this situation may be had by the committee.

Tomorrow morning at 10:30 the committee will begin its inquiry into communistic activities in the sit-down strikes. How long we shall continue with that I do not know. We are going to start with where the sit-down strikes first occurred and follow their progress through various sections, only, however, insofar as Communists inspired and instigated the sit-down strikes, engineered them, and directed the tactics that were used in connection with them.

At this time the committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until Tuesday, October 18, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present also: Hon. Harold G. Mosier.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. We now begin our inquiry into the sit-down strike, only insofar as communism was responsible for it, and insofar as communistic influences instigated it and carried it on.

We have a sufficient number of witnesses to continue this inquiry all of this week and probably next week.

At this time, and before calling any witnesses, the Chair wishes to read from a report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York, on the subject of Revolutionary Radicalism, Its History, Purpose, and Tactics, With an Exposition and Discussion of the Steps Being Taken and Required to Curb It.

The purpose of reading this and incorporating it in the record at this time is to give a background of the movement, from the first legislative inquiry that was ever made on the subject, back in 1920.

(The excerpts from report above referred to are as follows:)

NOTE ON CHAPTER III

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN ITALY

The crisis in Italian affairs which was forecast in the previous part of this report came during this summer. The moving cause of the crisis was the action of the Metallurgical Workers Federation, consisting of between four and five hundred thousand members. This federation is most radical in Italy. It is also considered with a certain amount of hostility by other workingmen's organizations. The federation, on May 14, presented demands for an increase in wages and for indemnities for all discharges of metal workers. The manufacturers refused, and the workers repeated their demands. At a conference between this federation and the Italian Syndicalist Union, 2 months later, the workers drew up a petition explaining why wages which they demanded were justified by the high cost of living. The manufacturers again refused, and the conference ended. The federation decided to fight the manufacturers, not by calling a general strike but by eliminating all profits through lowering production. This policy of sabotage, or, as they called it, "obstructionism," being decided upon, orders were issued to the workers to carry out this policy. The program stated: "Remember, produce the least you can and consume as much

raw material as possible, but do not bring about a total stoppage nor a partial suspension of the works. Should any worker be discharged you must not walk out and the remaining workers must not play into the hands of the bosses or provoke lock-outs."

To meet the alarming situation thus created the manufacturers called upon the Government to intervene, and Labriola, Minister of Labor, attempted arbitration by bringing together the secretary of the Metallurgical Workers Federation and delegates of the manufacturers. Meanwhile, some of the owners, unable to meet the obstructionist tactics of the workers, decided on lock-outs, which deprived of work from 400,000 to 500,000 men. This was the signal for the workers to take possession of the plants, according to previous arrangements. On August 30 the plants of Romeo & Co., of Brada and Stucchi, were seized by the workers, the red flag hoisted, and the operation of the mills undertaken by the F. I. O. M., as the federation was called. It must not be imagined that this was the first seizure of plants. There had been sporadic seizures going on in northern Italy for several months, in every case without any opposition on the part of the Government. In the present case the manufacturers asked that troops should be sent to expel the workers or prevent the agitation of plants. The Government refused to intervene. The following notice was issued by the federation:

"Metal workers: Romeo & Co. have proclaimed a lock-out, closing the gates and fortifying the establishment by all means. * * * Yesterday we issued the motto 'produce less, consume more. Don't cause lock-outs.' Today we simply tell you not to abandon the plants until the lock-outs are called off."

The metal workers were joined by the supervisors and the clerical workers, who voted to continue their work under the direction of the federation.

The manufacturers almost immediately proclaimed a general lock-out, which was answered by the following manifesto of the federation:

"Italian metal workers: Be ready and disciplined to the order of your organization. Wherever a manufacturer attempts a lock-out, follow the example of your Milan brothers. Long live the workers solidarity."

By September 30 more than 500—some say over 600—plants had been taken possession of by the workers. Food was provided in many plants by the Socialist cooperative organizations. Vigorous attempts were made by the workers to extend the strikes beyond the metallurgical field into the other industries, such as the chemical and textile industries and the quarries and to the transportation field, the railroad workers on September 7 voting to support the metal workers. The association of engineers voted to support the strikers. Attempts were made to secure raw materials for the factories and other branches of industry. The Government refused absolutely to intervene to protect private property. As a matter of fact, it did not dare intervene. The troops could not have been moved. The railway men would have struck. The soldiers might have refused. There would have been civil war. The workers took steps by the use of machine guns and wire entanglements to protect the factories from attack.

The federation took every possible step to insure against destruction of machinery and stock. It was obliged to fight against the campaign for violence organized by the rival organizations to the Chambers of Labor and the General Confederation of Labor. This rival is the anarchist syndicalist organization led by Enrico Malatesta. Malatesta has been the great trouble breeder of Italy during and since the war. He has bored from within into the Socialist Party and the trade unions. It was Malatesta who stood most in the way of the final settlement of the labor troubles through the acceptance of the Government plan.

The appeal which Malatesta issued to the workers on September 11 illustrates his plan. It reads:

"Metal workers: Whatever your leaders may be deciding upon, do not abandon the factories, do not return the mills, do not deposit your arms. If today you leave the factories, you will return tomorrow decimated after having passed under the yoke prepared for you by the employers.

"Workers of all industries, arts, and commerce: Follow immediately the example of the metallurgical workers by occupying all establishments, warehouses, naval yards, bakeries, and markets.

"Peasants: Occupy the land.

"Sailors: Occupy the ships.

"Railwaymen: Allow the trains to run only for the common cause.

"Postal and telegraph workers: Suppress the correspondence of the bourgeois. "An unforeseen possibility is in prospect through the occupation of the factories; that of accomplishing a great revolution without the shedding of blood or the destruction of national life.

"Do not allow this opportunity to get away from you.

"And you, soldiers, our brothers, remember that the arms which the masters have given you to defend privilege and to massacre the workers struggling for their emancipation can also be used against the oppressors and for the triumph of the proletariat."

It should be noted that Malatesta's activities after the settlement of the strike have led to his arrest.

After a certain time had elapsed since the beginning of the strike on August 20, the metal workers found they could not keep up the majority of the factories: could not secure raw materials, coal, or credit. They became amenable to accept the suggestion of the Government that a compromise was possible. This was made rather imperative by the meeting which took place in Milan, September 10-11, between about 500 labor leaders and representatives of the 156 deputies forming the Socialist bloc in the Chamber of Deputies. The meeting decided:

"That the struggle for workers' control for the time being be confined to the metal workers;

"That the metal workers be ordered, with all the forces at their command, to oppose any effort to oust them from the positions they have conquered;

"That the directorate of the Socialist Party be invited to take steps to guarantee the metal workers the turnover of the factories with direct management by the working staffs in the interest of the common welfare;

"That this syndical control in the metal trades be only a clearing of the way for those vaster conquests which must inevitably lead to socialization of industry."

The resolution to syndicalize and not to sovietize Italian industry was passed by the enormous majority of 591,000 to 245.

It is to be noted that while there was no disorder or bloodshed in connection with the seizure of the plants, because there was nowhere any opposition on the part of the owners, it is an open question what would have happened, had there been any such opposition. This is a reasonable doubt because of the indisputable fact that the workmen were armed, had many machine guns, fortified, and protected the works seized with barbed-wire entanglements and took every precaution for military defense.

The metal workers were organized in four separate unions. The largest is the F. I. O. M., or Federation of Italian Metal Workers, centered in Turin, with nearly 300,000 members. It stands closest to the General Confederation of Labor and is the least revolutionary of the four groups. Its secretary is the deputy, Bruno Buozzi. Next is the U. S. I., or Italian Syndical Union, with about 75,000 members, led by the anarchist, Armando Borghi. Slightly larger is the Italian Union of Labor, mainly of Milan. Finally, the White Syndicate (National Syndicate of Metal Workers), so called because of its connections with the Popular or Catholic Party.

When these organizations sent memoranda, in June, to the employers asking for higher wages and for industrial control, the employers, to show the impossibility of such an advance, published the budgets of all the firms involved, for the first half of 1920, showing the profits for 1919 to have been of the most meager description, averaging for Piedmont, 7.93 percent; for Lombardy, 1.09 percent; for Liguria, 6.52 percent.

The refusal of the employers led to the congress of metal workers at Milan on August 18, at which it was voted to take possession of all the metal and mechanical factories, beginning August 20. It must be noted that the lock-outs had not then been declared.

The terms offered to Premier Giolitti and accepted by the Confederation of Labor of the Socialist Party provide for the following terms:

1. The workmen's council must take cognizance of the purchase of raw materials.
2. Supervise the sale of finished products.
3. Fix the price of finished products.
4. Superintend the grading of wages.
5. Take cognizance of all goods unloaded.
6. Decide what task each workman is better fitted to accomplish.

7. Obey the conditions of employment of the industrial establishments.
8. Take cognizance of the general expense of the establishments and especially learn the expense of the present proprietors and contractors who will participate in the profits to the extent of 50 percent.
9. Decide when new machinery is necessary.
10. Supervise hygienic and sanitary conditions in industrial establishments.
11. Insist that the proprietors furnish necessary utensils.
12. The employers must not resort to artificial industrial crises.
13. The employers must prevent dumping.

As a typical instance of the attitude taken by employers during the course of the struggle we give here the resolution passed by a meeting of 300 employers held in Turin, September 9:

"The employers of the various industries of Turin in meeting assembled beg to repeat here to Your Excellency (Premier Giolitti) the protest which we recently have had occasion to present to the vice prefect of Turin, regarding the failure of the Government to protect our constitutional rights and to enforce the laws, a failure which amounts to connivance with lawbreakers.

"We ask the immediate intervention of the Government, not to carry out a victory and difficult repression for the misdeeds already committed, but to avoid by all means further crimes against property and the personal liberties of free press and inviolate domicile.

"We ask especially that the exchange of products between the occupied factories be stopped by an injunction on trucking from the plants mentioned. We further declare that the present attitude of the Government tends to destroy the faith of the defenders of the present institutions and the policy of said Government to uphold our constitutional liberties. Unless steps are taken to remedy the situation we shall be forced to institute through our own initiative the defense which the Government denies us."

The history of the readjustment of the labor troubles took place in September and early October. It was on September 15 that Premier Giolitti invited the representatives of the employers and the workers to meet him at Turin. These negotiations were continued at Rome. It was decided to adjust the consequences of the illegal occupation of the plants by a joint commission of employers and employees, based upon the acceptance of the principles of syndicalism by employees. Qualified form of syndicalism accepted by the employers involved the participation of the workers in the business, not their predominance. A meeting in Milan of the Confederation of Employers ratified the action of their representatives. This was followed September 26 by a referendum on the same subject of the metal workers, who voted by 127,904 against 44,531 to evacuate the plants and to agree to the conditions accepted by the labor leaders. The important points of the program presented by the representatives of the Joint Conference of Labor are here given. The details of the method by which this arrangement is to be carried out will be settled by the Chamber of Deputies which was not in session at the time the arrangement was made.

In regard to the political aspects of the situation, especially in connection with the problems of international socialism raised by Lenin, the radical side of the party is expressed in a sentence of a speech made by Bombacci, assistant secretary of the Socialist Party in Milan, October 1. He says:

"The third International is the highest authority accepted by all true Socialists of the world. We must obey its orders, expelling those among our leaders who do not accept revolutionary methods."

It will be remembered that Bombacci was the author of the famous Soviet constitution adopted by the party at the beginning of 1920 and circulated in order to accustom the Socialists and labor men of Italy to the idea of soviet organization. As expressing the opposite ideas to those of Bombacci, we will quote from the report of the Italian Socialist Mission to Moscow. It says of the Soviet regime:

"While the revolution tends toward the syndicalist system, in reality it is very different from the ideal program. The capitalist regime has been destroyed. But it has not been replaced by anything that meets even the most elementary needs of a civilized people."

The conservative reaction against the decision of the executive committee to accept Lenin's conditions is illustrated by the meeting of the conservative Socialists at Reggio early in October, which was attended by the most prominent members of the party.

These leaders are mainly G. M. Serrati, Constantino Lazzari, secretary of the party; Filippo Turati, the veteran founder of the party; D'Aragona, general

secretary of the Confederation of Labor; Modigliani, leader of the right wing; and Prampolini, leader in the Italian cooperative movement. All these men and practically 9 out of every 10 of the other leaders would have to be expelled if the executive committee's decision is upheld.

The National Socialist Congress will meet in Florence in December to ratify or to oppose the decision of the executive committee. At the Reggio convention the plea was made by the leaders in favor of participation in the government not for destructive purposes as planned by Lenin, but for constructive work. The principal Socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies were present and spoke in favor of this program. Modigliani stated that it was absolutely necessary for the Socialists to decide at once to what extent they are willing to participate in the Government. He predicted a serious coal situation during February and March and declared that a Socialist administration would be better able to cope with it than a bourgeois government, because "the Socialists have a greater influence over the masses and can ask them to make sacrifices which will lead to great conquests. To do this we must have a positive program to oppose the plans of the Communists. Only Socialists will be capable of solving the Italian international program, because they are able to break compacts concluded by bourgeois governments and to violate all political and economic traditions. We must have the courage to support this program openly, and delay would only force the proletariat into the arms of the Maximalists (i. e., Communists)."

The same attitude was taken by the deputies and the leaders, Turati, Dugoni, and Baldesi.

We read in the Call for November 17 the following summary of the Italian situation since the settlement effected between the Italian metal workers and their employers. It begins by disclosing the fact that the employers in some cases are drawing up a blacklist of radical workmen who will not be employed. It then goes on to say:

"The settlement of the metal strike received various receptions at the hands of the different elements in the radical labor movement. The anarchists, syndicalists, and certain groups of Maximalists were not satisfied with the way the strike ended. They contended that the factories should have remained in the hands of the workers and that the expropriation movement should have extended to all the industries in Italy.

"The workers' control in the management of industry is a huge defeat, for it will mean, they say, collaboration of the militant labor movement with the moribund capitalist system.

"The Syndicalist weekly, *Guerra Sociale*, insists that the metal workers were betrayed by the leaders of the Confederation of Labor.

"But the official journal of the Confederation, *Battaglie Sindicali*, calls the settlement 'Our real victory.'"

It considers the part given to workmen in the management of industry to be a real and important advance. The journal *Avanti*, the most widely circulated of the Socialist papers, is dissatisfied with the arrangement and calls it either a mystification or a graft.

The Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor have both during the past year especially been making superhuman efforts to bring the Italian peasantry into line with their revolutionary movement. This has been especially active in certain sections of Italy, such as Sicily, Romagna, and the north. The peasants have in a great many cases organized raids by which they have taken possession of great estates and parceled them up amongst themselves for cultivation. In Sicily this has been done on a particularly large scale. It has even been done under the sanction of the religious authorities and with the acquiescence of the great landed proprietors. In certain cases royal estates have been seized without opposition by the peasants. The Government, in fact, appears to have taken the same passive position it did in connection with the seizure of industrial plants by the workers. In fact, the greater part of uncultivated land in Italy has been taken possession of and also the great estates even when cultivated have been to some extent partitioned.

The general result of both the workers and peasant movements in Italy has been to abolish practically the sanctity of private property and to make it impossible to invoke the protection of the law in favor of the retention of private property wherever it may be considered to conflict with the interest of the masses.

The recent municipal elections in Italy which took place after the settlement of the strike by the Government show that the Socialist cause has rather suffered

than benefited by the strike, and the agitation connected with it. Bologna and Milan are the only large cities where the Socialists obtained a majority, and even here it was a reduced majority. In all other cities, notably Venice, Florence, and Naples, the Socialists were defeated.

Closely connected with the close of the labor struggle came the question of the Third International.

The executive committee of the Italian Socialist Party met in Milan to decide whether to accept Lenin's 21 conditions and ask for affiliation with the Third Moscow International, as has already been stated. The vote, after long discussion, was to accept Lenin's conditions—by a vote of 7 to 5. This decision was not final but was to be passed upon by a referendum of the entire membership of the party in December. If the executive committee was sustained, would it mean the expulsion from the party of the majority of the men who thus far have been its principal leaders, especially Turati, Modigliani, and D'Aragona, who were excommunicated by name by Lenin. The immense popularity of these leaders in the party, especially Turati, and the adverse report on Soviet Russia, drawn up by the delegation of Italian Socialists who visited Russia and attended the meeting of the Moscow International, was relied on to turn the tide against Lenin, especially as the Italian Confederation of Labor has followed the French confederation in refusing to obey Lenin's dictates.

Among the stipulations accepted by the Italian Socialist executive committee as the conditions of their affiliation with the Third International are:

The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be simply talked about.

Reformists and centrists must be removed.

An illegal political party must be formed.

Agitation must be carried on in the army—legal if possible; illegal if otherwise.

Agitation must be carried out among the farmers and not left to reformists.

The ——— of social patriotism and pacifism must be communism.

A clean break with all reformists must be made.

Agitation for the freedom of colonies must be made.

Agitation must be carried on in the United States.

The Amsterdam International of Trade Unions must be agitated against.

Acceptance of democratic centralization.

Unqualified support of every Soviet republic in battle against counter-revolution.

All decisions of the international to bind all parties that are members.

Names must be changed to include the word "Communist."

Parties that work legally must regularly clean their ranks of reformists and centrists.

All members of parties who do not accept these conditions to be expelled.

The general opinion of observers is that while Italian Socialists may reject Lenin's 21 conditions and Lenin's dictatorship of methods and tactics, the aim of the labor and Socialist elements in Italy is practically the same as Lenin's and the Third International. The Socialist and labor leaders in Italy openly confess that they have simply taken the first step which they are now preparing to consolidate. Their experience in running the factories has shown them that they still need education in business management. This education they are planning to obtain during the next few months. Then not at the dictation of Moscow but according to the best judgment of their own national leaders they expect to take the next and perhaps the final step. The only question would seem to be whether they will establish a permanent supergovernment similar to the council of action in England or whether they will attempt to overturn the monarchy and substitute a cooperative state.

[NOTE.—As we go to press the news comes that Lenin's conditions were accepted and affiliation was agreed upon, almost unanimously.]

NOTE ON CHAPTER IV

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN FRANCE

Pierre Renaudel, the well known French labor leader, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for September 1920, entitled "Socialist and Labor Movement in France," gives what may be called an authoritative analysis up to August 1920. He does this under the following heads:

1. "Socialist Party."
2. "General Confederation of Labor."
3. "National Federation of Consumer's Co-operatives."
4. "Economic Council of Labor."

We give the full text of this study in the documentary section, merely calling attention here to its value as a summary. Renaudel himself is a conservative Socialist who is particularly hated by Lenin as opposing communization of the French Labor Party. Consequently he was refused permission to accompany Cachin and Frossard to the Congress of the Third International.

Particular attention should be paid to the newest executive board described by Renaudel through which the French Labor Party plans to obtain increased power and advantages. It is called the Economic Council of Labor, which has already been discussed in this report. It had hardly begun its first investigation into the problem of nationalization of public utilities when its work was largely arrested by the May strikes which forced Millerand to take drastic steps against the National Confederation of Labor and to oppose any trend toward nationalization. The fearless attitude of the French Government toward strikes and strike threats in public utilities has been radically different from the policy of absolute noninterference of the Italian Government and that of compromise of the British Government.

As elsewhere the storm of stress of the labor and Socialist movements have centered about Russia and the Third International.

The report made to the Socialist Party of France by the two delegates which were sent to the meeting of the Third International at Moscow was distinctly favorable to Bolshevism. These two delegates were L. Frossard, national secretary of the Socialist Party of France, and Marcel Cachin, managing editor of the Socialist daily *Humanité*. On their return to France, August 11, after 7 weeks in Russia, Frossard made a preliminary statement in which he praised the power of the Soviet regime, predicted a splendid future for it and supported its policies. He praised the discipline and spirit of the Red Army which he claimed numbered 3,500,000, and claimed that with the disappearance of the bourgeoisie all exploitation had been abolished. He attributed all those painful deprivations from which the Russian people are suffering to the blockade and the war. It is an interesting fact that the French delegation is the only one to return from Russia with complete approval of bolshevism and that notwithstanding this fact the party itself was not convinced and repudiated the report of its representatives at the ensuing meeting of the party.

The well known Socialist, Jean Longuet, leader of the center section of the French Socialist Party, in visit to England, in September, gave a very interesting summary of the history and present conditions of international socialism, especially the present position of the Second and Third Internationals. Longuet has been attacked by Lenin and Zinoviev as "yellow" and a traitor to the cause of communism because he would not accept the Russian dictatorship and the immediate revolutionary program. Longuet made the following statement:

"The French Socialist Party has done all in its power to establish an International, including parties now in the Third International and also the German Independent Labor Party of England, and the other Socialist parties, both inside and outside of the Second International. At present, however, the Third International was insisting upon impossible terms.

"The blockade had been a blockade of intelligence—of news—as well as an economic blockade, with the result that the Russian comrades were living in a world of their own and were demanding a program of action which could not be applied to many other countries. The rejection of these principles by France or England did not imply lack of support of the Russian revolution. We absolutely unite in supporting our Russian comrades. We are fighting with all our strength against miserable efforts of Paris and of London to destroy the first great Socialist government the world has even seen."

In the summary of Longuet's remarks given in the Labor Leader of London for September 30, 1920, Longuet remarks, in connection with the order from Moscow that the following leaders should be expelled from parties desiring to affiliate: Adler, Ledebour, McDonald, Snowden, Morris Hillquit, and Longuet himself: "I don't take such things badly. I believe they come from an insufficient knowledge of conditions in western Europe and I will never say a word against my Russian comrades."

He said that Moscow insisted that the French Socialists should declare war upon the French General Confederation of Labor. He said that while Jouhaux and its other leaders did many things during the war with which he disagreed, to break with the trade unions on that account would make the Socialist Party ineffective.

The resolution passed by the Confederation of Labor at Orleans on October 2 opposing direct affiliation with the Third International was adopted by a

vote of 1,478 to 602. Otherwise it was extremely revolutionary in its wording. It urges on the French working class complete solidarity with revolutionary Russia and declared that its own aims were incompatible with present institutions and with its capitalism and its political expressions. It proclaims again its ideal of economic liberation through the suppression of the wage system. It calls for direct action by placing industry and commerce under the supervision of the organized workers. It urges an intensive campaign for the socialization of the basic industries and called on the International Federation of Labor for united international action to accomplish social revolution.

The speech against bolshevism at the Congress made by A. Merrheim contained the following arraignment:

"Russian communism has nothing to do with socialism or syndicalism. It can only exist by the dictatorship of an individual or a small group of men who impose a ferocious discipline upon its adherents and dominate by violence and terror, thanks to an army of mercenaries. The Bolsheviki themselves say and write this."

He cites a statement of the foremost program maker of bolshevism, Bukharin, that the proletariat dictatorship must last at least a generation, and says:

"This seems a generation bowed under the tyranny of force and violence. It is an admission that Russian communism can exist only by the aid of bayonets. That is why it is our duty to arise against such retrograde militarist doctrines which create a reactionary militarist caste as criminal, if not more so, than that engendered by capitalism. The hour has come for syndicalism and socialism to choose between the ravages of the destructive hatred which Lenin's so-called Communist Party desires and demands and the constructive work, action, and development of the collective social well-being."

The French Socialist newspaper, *Humanité*, published on September 9 a list of nine conditions laid down by Lenin which the French Socialists must accept in order to be affiliated with the Third International. This list was drawn up before the famous and ultimate list of 21 conditions and would be superseded naturally by the latter document, but it is interesting to reproduce the early form of Lenin's idea and to give the reaction of the French in this connection. These conditions were brought back by the French Socialist delegates, Cachin and Frossard, and were accepted by them. As published, incompletely, in *Humanité* they are annotated, point by point.

In his preface, from which we quote elsewhere, Lenin urges an immediate and bloody revolution, and an uncompromising break with all who do not accept his entire program.

The conditions are addressed nominally to France, but their application is universal. Lenin does not always speak of the French Socialist Party, but just the Socialist Party. The brief explanation after each condition is written by Daniel Renoult, one of Cachin's henchmen, acting as a mouthpiece of the majority section of the French Socialist Party which wishes to join the Third Communist International.

The conditions are as follows:

"(1) The Socialist Party must radically change the character of its daily propaganda in the press."

This, explains Renoult, refers to the criticisms addressed by Moscow to the Socialist press here—the *Humanité* and the *Populaire*—as not being sufficiently aggressive and revolutionary. He adds in big type, "We accept."

"(2) As regards colonies, the party must pitilessly expose the activities of the bourgeois imperialists and aid, not only in word but in deed, all movements toward liberation, taking as the watchword that the imperialists must give up colonies, that fraternal sentiments must be developed in French working masses toward the working population of the colonies, that systematic propaganda must be carried on in the French Army against oppression of colonies."

"We accept with enthusiasm," says Renoult. "We must cease platonically defending 'the rights of natives.' It is the revolt of these unfortunate populations that we ought to aid with all our force."

"(3) Expose the falsity any hypocrisy of social patriotism. Prove systematically to the workers that without a revolutionary upset of capitalism, no arbitration, no project of disarmament will save humanity from new imperialist wars."

"This condition involves the definite condemnation of the League of Nations," says Renoult. "We accept unreservedly."

"(4) The French Socialist Party must begin the organization of Communist elements in the heart of the Workers' General Federation in order to combat social traitors at the head of this federation."

Here Lenin is getting to the center of his dogma, that the Communist Party must be supreme in labor councils. To him moderate men like Gompers or Jouhaux, the leader of the French trade unionists, are Laodiceans, who blow neither hot nor cold, and must be spewed out. This condition worries M. Renoult, who says: "We accept with reservations," and tries to show that Lenin himself is opposed to schism in the trade union ranks. This, of course, is absurd, as Lenin's whole object is to make a clean-cut distinction between those who are on his side and those who are not.

"(5) The Socialist Party must obtain, not in word, but in deed, the complete subordination of the parliamentary group."

"This," says Renoult, "We accept; nothing is more urgent." It is worth remarking that Renoult there dodges the real issue, which is the subordination of the whole labor and social machinery to the Communist Party, which is to be in direct and flagrant revolt against constituted authority and can take no part in parliamentary government. A later condition which perhaps came earlier in the original, demands that the Socialist Party change its name to "Communist."

"(6) The present majority section of the party must break radically with reformism and free its ranks from elements that do not wish to follow the new revolutionary path."

Renoult says: "We accept, naturally," and adds: "If in the original document from Moscow there are more or less sharp criticisms directed against certain persons, there is no precise demand for their exclusion. It is a question of good faith. Those who will not admit the principles of the Communist International will retire. We hope they won't be numerous in our party." It is notorious in Socialist circles here that this refers to Lenin's thunders against Jean Longuet. Although Longuet is a son-in-law of Karl Marx himself, Lenin considers him precisely one of the "parlor Bolsheviks," who preach revolution without every trying to practice it, that he wishes to get rid of.

"(7) The party must change its name and present itself before the whole world as the Communist Party of France."

Here is the center of Lenin's dogma once more. He knows well, and the French Socialists know, too, that such a change would mean suffering and persecution, and they do not like it. Lenin is for revolution; they try to trim the word to mean peaceful change. Lenin advocates bombs; they prefer words. Renoult tries to quibble about socialism and communism being the same thing, but is finally forced to say that for the time being the party will keep the title it now has.

"(8) At a time when the bourgeoisie decrees a state siege against workers and their chiefs, French comrades must recognize the necessity of combining illegal with legal action."

In plain words, this means that when there is a general strike French "comrades" must go out and build barricades in the streets and fight. Again Renoult tries to evade the issue by saying: "We accept, because the bourgeois dictatorship, each day more brutal, will more and more force Socialists to daring action. Our masters we know well, no longer worry about illegality. The Socialists will act according to circumstances."

"(9) The French Socialist Party, as well as all parties who wish to adhere to the Third Internationale, must consider as strictly obligatory all decisions of the Communist International. The Communist International takes into account the various conditions under which the workers of the various countries are compelled to struggle."

Here is frank insistence on the infallibility of Lenin and blind obedience thereto. Renoult again shuffles: "We accept, because if affiliated to the Third Internationale, the French party ought to observe its decisions. For its part, the International will take into account the special conditions of France. Nothing can be more reasonable."

There appears to be some mystery about these conditions. The famous document in which they are contained was for some weeks before the publication in *Humanité* a topic of interest in Socialist circles, and it is generally understood that there were considerably more than nine conditions in the original. The *Temps* says so bluntly, speaking of "Lenin's 9 points, which, by the way, are really 21 or 18 or 14. Doubtless the most suggestive ones are omitted, and *L'Humanité* offers us only choice excerpts, carefully expurgated."

This assumption is strengthened by the cautious tone of Renoult's comments. The Cachin group could not withhold the publication, but was breaking Lenin's terms gently to the party, which it wishes to lead into the Bolshevik fold. Several weeks later Lenin's complete 21 conditions became known to the world.

One of the influences that has helped to turn French socialism and labor away from Soviet Russia has been the report of two French Socialist journalists who were in Russia during May. They are Albert Londres, of *Excelsior*, and Charles Petit, of the *Petit Parisienne*. A summary of their reports is given in *L'Illustration* for June 5, 1920, under the title of "Two French Journalists in Soviet Russia." They are both extremely opposed to the dictatorial, autocratic form of the Soviet government and explain it very clearly and the misery which has resulted from it to the radical element of the French Republic.

It is confidently stated in France that there is a decided turning from bolshevism to national syndicalism among the French radicals. It is also felt that the mass of industrial labor is more inclined to an increase of productive and harmonious work and against the use of the strike as a political weapon.

Three "red" leaders, including Loriot (chief of the Left Wing Socialists), Boris Souvarine, and Monatte, are still in prison for the May political strike against the state.

DOCUMENT—THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

The elections which took place in France on November 16, 1919, might induce the foreign observer to imagine that the French working class and Socialist movement was a movement of only second-rate importance. No one can deny the great success obtained by those political parties which united under the name of the National Bloc, nor could anybody attempt to ignore the defeat of the general strike of May, at least in regard to its main objective, or deny that such defeat might well be taken as confirmation of a pessimistic point of view in judging of the future force and prospects of the political claims put forward by the working classes.

The question is whether the triumph of French conservatism will be permanent, whether the campaign against the General Confederation of Labour and working-class organizations, which has been initiated by M. Millerand, or rather which has been promised by him to his parliamentary supporters, will be successful. No observer unacquainted with the real force inherent in the labor movement before the events of this May could possibly venture on any precise prognostications on such a topic: an impartial study of the problem will not be without interest.

In the first place, one characteristic of the French labor movement must be noted. Every branch of that movement is independent, or, as we say in France, autonomous. There exist, of course, common ideas inspiring both the economic side of the working-class movement, namely, trade unions and cooperative organizations, and also the political side, namely, the Socialist organizations. But no stable tie connects these groups; they do not meet in a normal and regular way to plan their policy, except in special, definite cases. There is no such system as there is, for instance, in Belgium, where action is intimately coordinated between trades-unions, political groups, and the cooperatives. There is no such basis as in Great Britain, where the Labour Party includes those who aim at political action but fails to distinguish between them and that trades-union backing from which it draws its most obvious strength.

It is no exaggerated statement to say that in France the organization of a political movement preceded the organization of a purely working-class movement; that political movement was born of a revolutionary tradition, which falls into historical periods separated by the dates 1793, 1830, 1848, 1871. It is only during the last 30 years that the trades-union and the cooperative movements have grown and developed in an uninterrupted and concentrated way.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party in its present form sprang out of what has been called the Amsterdam Agreement. Previous to the holding of the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress in 1904, French socialism was divided up into several schools; these schools contended with each other bitterly for influence over the labour world. They were generally known by the name of their existing or former leaders; thus, the Revolutionary Socialist Party or Blanquistes; the French Labour Party or Guesdistes; the Socialist Revolutionary Labour Party or Allemanistes; the Party of French Workers or Broussistes; the French Socialist Party or Jouressistes.

Unity came in 1905, after the Amsterdam Congress. The party assumed the name of the French Socialist Party (French Section of the Workers' International), a name which it still bears. It only counted 34,000 members. In 9 years it trebled its numbers; on the eve of the war, in July 1914, there were 93,000 registered members. Mobilization naturally caused a shrinkage in Socialist organizations, and in 1915 there were only 25,000 members. But little by little the upward movement began again. In 1918 the numbers had climbed to 133,000, and at the present time of writing, in 1920, 160,000 members' cards have been issued.

Party organization is based on a system of local groups in the communes called "sections." These commune sections are connected up into a federation of the department; such a federation has a great deal of autonomy in its relation with the central body. It is obvious that this organization follows the French administrative system. The party, which holds a general congress every year, is managed by a national council; this council, like the congress, is constituted of delegates from the federations. There is also a permanent administration commission, for the purpose of organizing propaganda and carrying out party resolutions.

Owing to that characteristic of independence attaching to the different organizations to which I have already drawn attention, work has come to be specialized; consequently, the function of the Socialist Party is limited to political work properly so called. For instance, it never has to decide on a strike. It is seldom, therefore, that its more active leaders are called upon to act as propagandists of trades-unionism or of the cooperative movement, except insofar as they may be personally connected with either of these movements. Then there is another characteristic of the French Socialist Party; it is, of course, in bulk, a party of the working classes; but it also includes a very large proportion of "intellectuals," who are members of the liberal professions, or even of bourgeois professions, or employers of labour; they are attracted toward socialism by a profound instinct for democracy. This instinct causes them to associate themselves with the effort of the laboring classes to turn the political republic into a social republic. The Socialist Party also includes a great many peasants; in certain districts it could never have carried elections except by the peasants' influential support.

The electoral force behind the Socialist Party might be held to be out of proportion to the number of registered members. It is in truth very considerable; no judgment of the real strength of the party could be based on the number of members alone. At the elections of May 1914 the Socialist Party obtained nearly 1,400,000 votes out of an electorate of 11,170,000, of whom 8,600,000 went to the polls. In the November elections of 1919 it obtained over 1,700,000 out of an electorate of 11,044,500, of whom 8,130,000 went to the polls, these figures including the three new departments of Alsace-Lorraine. In 1914 the voting constituency was the arrondissement, or administrative subdivision, of the department. There were two counts; the Socialist Party obtained about 40 seats on the first count, by absolute majorities (half the number of voters plus one), the remainder of its seats were obtained at the second count, mostly by means of coalition with the Republicans. The number of Socialist deputies elected was 102. In 1919 the constituencies were the departments, except for a few important departments which were subdivided. A pseudosystem of proportional representation was introduced. Sixty-eight Socialist deputies were elected.

The Socialist Party was unjustly robbed of the whole or the greater number of its seats in certain departments where it was the strongest of the parties. This was partly due to the coalition which was formed against it, partly to the untrue nature of the system for counting the votes, partly also to the wave of antibolshevism which was exploited against socialism. These three factors are temporary and passing. It is certain that the number of Socialist voters in the country will grow, and with them, and with the increase of support to the party, will also grow the number of Socialist deputies.

THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR

The birth of the General Confederation of Labour goes back to the creation of labor exchanges; these exchanges coordinated and protected the trades-unions of a given area. The first house rented for a labor exchange was in Paris in 1886. The Federation of Labour Exchanges was founded in 1892. Simultaneously craft and industrial trades-union federations were also formed, in which these bodies received a national grouping. The General Confederation of

Labour was formed out of both sets of bodies. Its birth may be traced back to 1895, but it did not truly begin to operate until 1903. These two sections—the labor exchange on the one hand, and the craft and industrial unions on the other—were formerly practically independent; even today they continue to exist side by side within the heart of the confederation, the first being known as the Section of Departmental Unions, and the second as the Section of National Federations. Each section has its own secretary attached to the bureau of the confederation.

The departmental unions are federations of all the labor exchanges of any one department. Eighty-eight such unions were represented at the January conference of the confederation; their number is fixed, as they correspond to the division of the country geographically into departments. The national federations represented at the Lyons conference (September 1919) numbered 43; in January 1920 there were only 41, as several allied industries had coalesced. These organizations, which before the war counted scarcely 500,000 or 600,000 members, on the 1st of May last had over 2,000,000. These 2,000,000 trades unionists are drawn principally from the mass of industrial and commercial wage earners, whose total numbers may be estimated at about 5,000,000 of persons of the male sex. Besides these there are the agricultural workers, who amount to about another 2,500,000 persons (1911 census). Thus there is still a big margin available for the possible growth of organized trades-unionism, a growth which, before the recent strikes, was making rapid progress.

The first article of the constitution of the General Confederation of Labour deserves to be quoted in its entirety. It runs:

“The General Confederation of Labour, as at present constituted, has the following aims:

“(1) To unite wage earners in the defense of their moral and material, their economic and professional, interests.

“(2) The confederation unites, apart from all political theses, all workers who are conscious of the struggle to be waged in order to destroy the system of wage earners and employers.

“No person may take part in any electoral political act whatsoever in virtue of his membership or may make use of the confederation for such purposes.”

Last year the confederation altered its constitution and administration, and set up a national council like that in the Socialist Party. This national council includes delegates from each of the departmental unions and national federations. It thus consists of 130 members, meeting three times a year. The council appoints an executive committee of 30 members and a bureau of 5 members responsible for the carrying out of resolutions. The confederation requires a subscription of 30 francs per thousand members per month for the use of its services; this subscription is paid by the departmental unions and industrial federations. It publishes a monthly bulletin, *The People's Voice*, to which the unions, the federations, and the trades-unions are bound to subscribe.

A very slight consideration of the nature of this body leads to the conclusion that M. Millerand's Government may perhaps be able to force the Confederation of Labour to change its name, not for the first time, but will not be capable of seriously interfering with its work. The Government will not draw blood unless, indeed, it hurls itself throughout the country into a persecution of the laboring classes, such as would not fail to arouse a formidable agitation against itself. The General Confederation of Labour has its roots very deep and very far down in the masses. It is a body which has matured slowly, and for that very reason has a solid strength; moral or physical violence will come to grief in contest with such a force. There may come a period during which progress is checked, but the forward movement will be resumed little by little. The snowball may possibly be a little soft at the edge; nevertheless it will be big enough to gather up in its renewed course, and more widely than at first, the masses who are still dispersed.

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CONSUMER'S COOPERATIVES

The consumer's cooperative movement has grown as rapidly as the two other movements which I have discussed. I here omit any discussion of cooperation by producers on the ground that such producers' movement has less real and permanent contact with the Labour world. The consumers' movement did not suffer from that arrested development which the war inflicted even on the political movement; on the contrary, the consumers' cooperative societies enlarged themselves during the war. They were assisted by the public authorities, who were thankful to be able to rely on organized bodies ready to act on the question of the

distribution of commodities with a loyalty such as is not always displayed by associations of individuals. The National Federation of Co-operative Societies was therefore on several occasions summoned to assist in the distribution of frozen meat, milk, coal, potatoes, and was instrumental also in organizing popular restaurants for factory workers during the war.

The cooperative idea received a further impetus by the formation of military cooperative societies. Along the front these took the place of the normal channels of trade which had been destroyed and checked the effect of that spirit of profiteering which was constantly trying to speculate in an underhand way on the shortage of goods. Here the civilian cooperative movement did good work, and at one moment the whole of an army corps was restocked by a system of motor lorry shops launched by the French Wholesale Co-operative Society.

The National Federation of Consumers' Co-operative Societies is another example of a fusion of different bodies. The cooperative movement, whose real growth dates from about 1880, began in a very scattered way from what might be likened to a fine dust of the cooperative spirit. But here again, as in other movements, an effort toward concentration and unity made itself felt. In December 1895 the Socialist workers taking part in the cooperative movement left the consultative chamber, which until then had been the federal unit of the French cooperative societies, and founded the Co-operative Exchange of French Socialists; a little later, in 1906, they set up the Wholesale Co-operative Society. Another section, not claiming to be purely Socialist, had also developed under the name of the Co-operative Union of Consumers; this society, too, had its wholesale organization. But in 1912 the two bodies joined. The process of union resulted in the formation of two institutions: firstly, an ethical institution, the National Federation of Consumers' Co-operative Societies, and, secondly, a wholesale buyers' society, the Wholesale Co-operative Society.

At its most recent conference in September 1919 the National Federation of Co-operative Societies claimed to represent over 2,000 federated societies, serving a million families and having a turn-over of a milliard of francs; in 1914 the estimate had been barely 300,000,000 of turn-over and only 500,000 families. These figures are admittedly very inferior to those shown by some cooperative movements in Europe, particularly by the movement in England; nevertheless, the trebling of the figures is a very marked symptom of progress.

The national federation is built up on distinct federations. These are very capriciously arranged; there is a suggestion to reorganize them by coordinating them with the economic districts established by M. Clementel as Minister of Commerce on the basis of a decree of April 1919. The financial resources of the national federation rest on a subscription of 3 centimes per 100 francs of turn-over paid by the societies. The last balance sheet showed receipts amounting to 106,516 francs, but it was based on a previous subscription of only 2 centimes.

The impulse toward unity which brought about the fusion from the top of the principal bodies in the French cooperative movement also affected the local movement in each district. It is interesting, in my opinion, to note the fusion of the two groups existing in the Paris district, the Union of Co-operators of Paris and the Union of Co-operatives; they joined to form a single society which will consequently include all the societies existing in the Seine and the Seine-et-Oise departments under the name of the Union of Co-operators. The Union of Co-operatives alone had a turn-over of 56,000,000 in 1919.

This short study of the French cooperative movement would not be complete without some mention of what the Wholesale Society, a buyers' and producers' cooperative society, stands for. In 1914 the number of societies having shares in this body was 425 with a turn-over of 13,720,000 francs; by the end of May 1919 the number of shareholder societies had risen to 1,088 and the turn-over stood at 79,000,000 in the 1918-19 balance sheet, and could be estimated at 130,000,000 for 1919. The Wholesale Society has its own factories of tinned fish and vegetables at Nantes, its own three boot factories, clothing factories, and coffee mills.

THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF LABOUR

Such are the three great political and economic bodies which sum up the activity of the French working classes. A new factor, however, has arisen, and this must not be omitted. Economic difficulties of every kind, which had accumulated in consequence of the war, induced the working masses to demand from the Government in the course of the year 1919 the institution of a National Economic Council. Such a council was to unite in common discussion workman and employer, producer and consumer. At that time M. Clemenceau was at the head of the Government, which seemed inclined to make trial of the suggestion;

it was even discussed for some weeks. Then the Government appointed a commission, on which it conferred the title of Economic Council, and this commission, I believe, never met even once.

The General Confederation of Labour itself took the initiative in setting up a body which should correspond to its desire. In order to do this it applied on the one hand to the National Federation of State Employees; on the other to the Trades Union of Industrial, Commercial, and Agricultural Technical Workers; and thirdly to the National Federation of Co-operatives. The National Federation of State Employees includes the greater number of State employees, both those workers and employees of the public services who are already members of the General Confederation of Labour and also those who by the trades-union law of France are still debarred the full rights of association. The Trades Union of Technical Workers (U. S. T. I. C. A.), which has recently been formed, unites those who until lately, with a few exceptions, seemed to hold aloof from social propaganda, namely, engineers and intellectual workers engaged in productive processes, whose brains cooperate with manual labor in making the forces of capitalism function. This union between the expert and the manual worker is clearly a sign of the times.

The first problem which the Economic Council of Labour has attacked is that of nationalization. Just at the moment when the May strikes broke out, the Economic Council was engaged in drawing up definite suggestions which were on the eve of being published and which dealt more especially with railways, mines, and maritime transport. The characteristic feature of these proposals is that they assign to producers and consumers as such, represented by trades-union and cooperative bodies, respectively, that share of the management of industry which the community ought to give them if interests are to be reconciled and the public welfare consulted by a really good administration of the public services. Events may be said to have taken the Economic Council by surprise; that is one of the criticisms which labor circles themselves are giving vent to against those who, by overhasty action, launched the railway strike without waiting until there had been time to instruct public opinion on this problem in the manner proposed by the Economic Council of Labour. The General Confederation of Labour could not disassociate itself from the call for solidarity which the strike evoked; but the best-informed militants in it were well aware that public opinion was insufficiently prepared.

Nevertheless, the question of nationalization has been started; by means of the Economic Council of Labour the workers' organizations will continue to concentrate their efforts on it; the problems of economic life will prevent it from losing actuality. The bodies engaged in studying it will concentrate on the search for a solution which shall satisfy the interests of the whole body politic, not merely their own corporate or professional interests. Doubtless the first great effort of these bodies will consist in breaking up the crust of prejudices with which the profiteering employer tries to surround such questions, prejudices which the strike was possibly instrumental in encouraging. The problem is, of course, political as well as economic. For this reason the Socialist Party, in spite of not being an original member of the Economic Council of Labour, will all the same work in an identical direction, side by side with the economic organizations. Recent events have made the struggle only too bitter; they were but a stage in the journey and may cause the working class to amend or to modify part of its tactics and unite still more closely. The prophet of the future must at any rate be acquainted with the forces at work. It has been my interesting task to discuss one of these.

PIERRE RENAUEL.

(Contemporary Review, September 1, 1920.)

NOTE ON CHAPTER VII

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN SCANDINAVIA

Denmark

The attitude of the Danish people toward communism has been somewhat influenced by the 10 months' residence of the Soviet representative, Litvinov, in Copenhagen. He came there with a staff on account of the refusal of Sweden to let him have his headquarters at Stockholm. The dream of a

tremendously lucrative financial and economic depression in Denmark was not realized. Fundamentally the workingmen of Denmark are anti-Bolshevistic. Even the radical labor leader, Borg Bjerg, editor of the Social Demokraten, who at one time favored bolshevism and went to Petrograd to negotiate with Lenin, is now regarded by the Bolshevik as a dangerous counterrevolutionary. The September elections gave 48 Socialist members of the Volkething, a slight gain.

Litvinov took advantage of his stay at Copenhagen to attempt to found a new communistic party distinct from the regular Social Democratic Party. He founded two daily papers, *Arbeidet* and the *Solidaritit*, as organs of syndicalism and communism, and backed them with Soviet money. Their propaganda was so little successful, however, that the elections in the summer of 1920 showed only about 3,500 Communist votes out of about 1,000,000 voters. It may, therefore, be considered that Denmark is no fruitful field for bolshevism. The executive committee of the Communist Party has accepted by 13 to 2 Lenin's conditions.

Two recent events have, it is true, modified the conservative attitude of Denmark. The congress of the Socialist Party of Denmark, which met early in November, decided at its meeting of November 8 to accept the 21 conditions laid down by Lenin for affiliation with the Third International and applied for admission, changing its name to that of the Communist Party of Denmark, in order to meet Lenin's requirements.

The second fact is the radical land law by which Denmark enters the group of nations carrying out fundamental and radical land changes.

These new land laws passed by the Rigsdag of Denmark are planned for the purpose of breaking up the big landed estates and distributing them to small farmers. The law gives big landowners until January 1, 1921, to sell 33 percent of their land to the Government at a fair valuation. They also place a special tax of 20 to 25 percent on the value of the land. If this plan is not accepted, an additional land tax of 5 percent will be levied during 1921. After this day the offer is withdrawn and the rate is increased by 1 or 1.2 percent on the capital value of the entire estate. One hundred twenty-five thousand acres of farm land will be taken from the lay landowners and 100,000 from the church lands. The land thus forced into public ownership will be distributed to citizens in good standing and nine-tenths of the value of any building put up by them will be loaned at a low rate of interest by the Government which charges a rental of only 4½ percent on the valuation. It is reckoned that in this way the Government will become the landlord of 10,000 families, each having a life lease renewable from one generation to another. (See New York Call, November 12, 1920.)

This appears the most scientific scheme for solving the farm problem, so acute in European countries, attacked in so illegal a fashion in Italy and so unscientifically in England.

Both in Norway and Denmark, as a result of the various strikes and threats of general strikes, the people have organized on a big scale a protective association of citizens under the title of "Community Aid" to enable the functionary of all necessary activities to continue in any emergency.

Sweden

As for Sweden, the situation is not so clear. The Socialist government, under the leadership of Branting, who is a convinced conservative Socialist, has recently fallen, through the failure of the Liberal Party to support him against the radical element. There is an ever-increasing propaganda carried on by the Swedish Left Socialist Party, financed by the Bolsheviks. The effect of this propaganda is more likely to be successful among the intelligentsia than it is among the masses of the Swedish workingmen who are too intelligent not to understand the reasons for the failure of the Russian Soviet Government. The mission of a select group of Swedish workmen to Russia which returned with an adverse report, advising the Swedish workmen against going to Russia, is extremely important in the probability of its influence on the Swedish mass. This Swedish labor delegation was composed of the men who would be considered normally the most sympathetic with Bolshevism—that is, representatives of the left wing of the Socialist Party. Their report was published in the *Social Demokraten* of Stockholm for September 9, 1920. They found workingmen in Russia, where they spent nearly 2 months, to be in a dreadful state of apathy. They found many undertakings absolutely ruined. In one factory 850

looms of the latest pattern had become so rusty through never having been used for a whole year that they were rendered almost useless. They noted an extremely low level of working capacity and an absolute lack of organization in the work. They found that the Russian industrial workers were struggling against their Soviet masters, just as much as, if not more, than the Swedish workmen were struggling against their employers.

We quote from the *New Russia* of September 30 from an article written by Axel Karlsen, published in the *Roda Fanor*, which is a Swedish Bolshevik newspaper. He says:

"In Soviet Russia public criticism is impossible; both private and public rights are controlled by a party dictatorship; the Extraordinary Commission is organized on the old Czarist system wrought to a pitch of diabolical perfection.

"The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission is the real master of Soviet Russia; the people have lost every vestige of the revolutionary spirit and have fallen into a state of utter apathy; all over the country there are city prisons for children.

"Formerly a live cooperative movement existed in Russia. Now it is ruined and abolished and its leaders shot wholesale. The Bolshevik authorities have spies everywhere, and it is exceedingly dangerous to express any views which may be unacceptable to the higher authorities. As a result of the suppression hundreds of trades-unionists have been imprisoned." Karlsen's general conclusion is, "Bolshevism in Russia is an institution founded on lies, fraud, and oppression, supported by violence."

When this opinion is voiced by a revolutionary Socialist in Sweden, we may well believe that Swedish workers have been inoculated against Bolshevik propaganda.

Norway

The situation in Norway is now, as it has always been, very much more favorable for bolshevism than in the rest of Scandinavia. This is partly due to a lack of continuous contact, and partly due to trade relations. The staple industry of Norway being the fish export trade, gives a great opening for doing business with Russia on a large scale and makes it quite natural that commercial and industrial pressure should be brought on the Norwegian Government to recognize the Bolshevik Government and its representatives. Thus far, however, the failure of Litvinov and his staff to carry through any large business deal with Norwegian firms has prevented any absolute action on the part of either the Norwegian Government or the Norwegian population, which has been influenced in an anti-Bolshevik way by the report after the meeting of the Third Internationale from the German and the Swedish workmen who visited with Russia.

It remains a fact, however, that the Socialist Party of Norway has become officially affiliated with the Third Internationale.

Also it must be noted that the National Congress of Trade Unions of Norway, held in Christiania in July and representing about 150,000 skilled workers, adopted some rather radical resolutions. One of these was about organizing workers' committees in all factories and workshops in order to obtain control of production as a first step toward nationalization. Another accepted the plan of the Norwegian Labor Party's nationalization committee for the nationalization and administration of industries. By a vote of 6 to 1 the revolutionary platform of the Labor Party was accepted, including the adoption of the Soviet system, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the use of mass action to secure the destruction of capitalism in industry and state. It sent a representative to the meeting of the Third International.

NOTE ON CHAPTER X

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Austria

Recent elections in Austria have shown a weakening of the influence of socialism over the masses and an increase in the strength of the Catholic or so-called Christian Party.

The Communist Party has not made progress, and Lenin's program has, here as elsewhere, disrupted the Socialists.

The Austrian Social Democratic Party is to have a convention in December at which it is to decide whether it will affiliate with the Third International or will join those groups that no longer wish to belong to the Second International and aim to form a Fourth International at the meeting scheduled to take place at Berne on December 5.

There have been two messages sent from Lenin to the Austrian Socialists and labor unions relating to the affiliation of the Austrian Socialists with the Third International. Fritz Adler, the leader of the Austrian Socialists, induced the party to withhold sending delegates to the Second International at Geneva, but the party never officially withdrew from the Second International. A group called the Labor Unions of the Revolutionary Social Democrats formed within the Austrian party, sent a telegram to the Moscow Congress in the name of the new left wing of the Social Democratic Party, stating its acceptance of the principles of dictatorship of the workmen's councils.

The executive committee of the Moscow International answered this telegram as follows:

"The Congress of the Third International receives your fraternal greetings with satisfaction. Parties in every country affiliated with the Third International have decided at this congress to realize the Soviet idea in all countries by the most rigorous discipline. In German Austria the fight will be made by the Communist Party. If you sincerely desire final victory for the world revolution, you have a distinct duty to perform in German Austria. You must wage a war of destruction against that portion of the Austrian Social Democratic Party represented by the reformist leaders and social traitors, Renner, Bauer, Fritz Adler, Hubner, Tomschik, and Domes, these being the most widely known. There must be an unconditional rupture with reformist Social Democrats and a fusion with the Communist Party of German Austria and a battle under the workmen's councils for the realization of the Communist program. The speedy victory of the world revolution will not be obtained by verbal affirmations, but by brutal revolutionary actions."

The official organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, *Weiner Arbeiter Zeitung*, declares that the conditions for affiliation laid down by the Moscow Congress are unacceptable and would lead to the defeat of socialism in central and western Europe. It recognizes that accepting dictation from Moscow would mean the complete renunciation of independence and autonomy. It states that Moscow has demonstrated that it does not desire the union of the great revolutionary proletariat party in an internationale of action but that it aims at the establishment in world power of the present Russian parties, which would support in different countries assaulting troops or storming parties directed from Moscow.

It especially condemns the declared intention of the Moscow International to break up the trade-unions which are the spinal column of the labor movement.

The second communication from Russia consists in a letter from Lenin written on August 15 and addressed to the Austrian Communist Party, which is extremely interesting as elaborating his present theory of urging the Communists in all countries to take part in parliamentary elections in order to obtain control of their country's institutions for purposes of destruction.

The letter reads:

"The Austrian Communist Party has decided to boycott the elections to the bourgeoisie democratic parliament. The second congress of the Communist International, which has ended, recognized as proper tactics the participation by the Communists in the elections to the bourgeoisie parliaments and in these parliaments themselves.

"On the basis of information received from delegates of the Austrian Communist Party, I do not doubt that the letter will regard the decision of the Communist International as outweighing the decision of one of its parties. The lackeylike services of Mr. Renner, the Austrian Socialist premier, have been sufficiently revealed and the indignation of the workingmen of all countries against the heroes of the second or yellow international is growing and spreading further and further.

"The Austrian Social Democrats in the bourgeoisie parliament, as well as upon all other fields of activity, even to their press, conduct themselves like petite bourgeoisie democrats only capable of swaying back and forth aimlessly in their actual and complete dependence upon the capitalist class. We Communists must plan to enter parliament in order to bar this humbug from the tribune of the completely rotten capitalistic system under which the workers and working masses are deceived.

"So long as we Communists still lack the power to seize control of the state and are unable to put through elections by the workers alone, opposing their councils to the bourgeoisie; so long as the bourgeoisie still controls the powers of the state and interests the most varied classes of the population in the elections, we are obligated to take part in the elections and to agitate among all the workers, not merely among the proletarians. So long as the workers are deceived in their bourgeois parliaments with phrases about 'democracy' and financial speculation, and all sorts of bribery are concealed—nowhere else is the fine art of bribing writers, deputies, lawyers, et al. so widely practiced by the bourgeois as in the bourgeois parliaments—just so long are we Communists in duty bound, right in this institution, which is said to express the will of the people, but which in fact conceals the tricks of the rich, to expose those deceptions absolutely, as well as every single case where Renner & Co. go over to the side of the capitalists against the workers."

Czechoslovakia

A ministerial crisis occurred in September which led on the 15th to the resignation of the Tusar cabinet. This was due to the clash of opinion among the Czech Social Democrats over the question of affiliating with the Third International. The united support of all 74 Social Democrat deputies in the Parliament was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of any political cabinet. Tusar himself belonged to the moderate element of the Social Democratic Party. His resignation was the first case in which a regular European cabinet has come to grief through a frankly Bolshevik revolt on the part of some of its followers. On this occasion several Czech politicians actually advocated the official endorsement by the Czechoslovak State of the creed of Lenin and of membership in the Third International. The only solution possible was the one that Masaryk decided upon—that is, the appointment of a ministry of nonpolitical experts in the various branches of government to which they are assigned. On this occasion President Masaryk himself made a declaration of official Marxian socialism. He says:

"I believe that Marx and those Socialists whose political experience and education enabled them to see things from world-wide standpoint that there are doubtless a few advanced peoples who know how to put through very far-reaching changes in the social order in a peaceful way. I believe that our nation with its republic and its democracy is one of those politically ripe and conscious peoples."

Insofar as the split in the Social Democratic Party itself is concerned, its executive committee declared itself against accepting Lenin's 21 conditions and refused to attend the Third International. The vote in the committee was 38 to 18. It gave as its reason that:

"The principles of Social Democracy and those of communism,* directed from Moscow, are in so sharp contrast that attempts to reconcile them within the frame of one party must prove futile."

The left wing of the party then seceded, taking possession of the office, and management of the party organ, *Pravo Lidu*, and demanded that the organization declare its acceptance of the program of the Third International. The right wing of the party is led by ex-Premier Tusar, Dr. Francis Soukup, Rudolph Bechnie, and other prominent deputies. They apparently feared that the left wing would be supported by the majority of the rank and file, so they put off the party convention from September until December 25, so that the rank and file may be shown that when the party voted to adhere to the Third International it was unaware of the drastic nature of the 21 conditions afterward prescribed by Lenin.

The left wing of the party is fighting for control of the entire party instead of seceding and joining the already existing Communist Party.

The events leading up to the crisis described above began with the freeing on May 30 of Alois Muna, the Communist leader, who had been imprisoned on the accusation of returning from Russia and Hungary for the purpose of starting a violent revolution in Czechoslovakia.

In June, Dr. Newman, one of the extreme Communists, had organized a separate Communist Party. Later still, a left wing began within the Social Democratic Party and part of the local party units, and instructed their delegates to the national convention, which was to meet in September, to vote for the unconditional affiliation with the Communist International. This is what led to the split and the resignation of the Tusar cabinet.

Czechoslovakia is overrun with Bolshevist emissaries and representatives. The Red Cross is used, as it was in Hungary before the Bela Kun revolution, as an excuse for the presence of Soviet representatives. The most prominent of the Red Cross Soviet members are Hellerson, Komsmin, and Yakobson, while the commercial representative of Soviet Russia is Tontchek. These and other Soviet representatives have been so far encouraged by the tendency toward bolshevism among the Socialists of Czechoslovakia that they demanded of the Czech Government that they should expel all Russians opposed to the Soviet Government. As a concession to Communist sentiment, which has both its dangerous side and its use as a safety valve, is the policy of the Government to nationalize all the public utilities of the republic.

In connection with the struggle and split between the right wing and the left section, already described, a conference of the right wing was held and a proclamation was issued calling for a struggle against the anarchist and Communist tendencies of the left group of the party. The left group answered by articles of a strictly Bolshevist character issued in the party organs, Liberty and Social Democrat. After the conflict between the two sections of the party took place at the conference at Smihov, a second conference took place at Kladno, at which an attempt was made to prevent an absolute split in the party. It is interesting to note that this split was actually opposed by Lenin's representative, Lucas Tontchek, who, in the name of Lenin himself, asked that there should be no breach between the different sections in the interest of communism as a whole.

There was then formed a commission of reconciliation in which the left was represented by Muna, who was the previous most prominent revolutionary leader, and Zapotozko; while the right section was represented by Behin, Swetzni, and Shalak.

In Parliament the Government is supported by the right section under the leadership of Tomashenko, who presides over the Parliament. The left section is unalterably opposed to the Government. As conditions have been developing during the last few weeks, it looks as if the tendency was increasingly toward communism and anarchy, and that it is only a question of time when bolshevism will triumph. This will be helped by the antagonisms between the different races in the country. The population consists of about 6,000,000 Czechs, 4,000,000 Germans, 3,000,000 Slovaks, and half a million each of Magyars and Carpatho-Russians. Aside from purely Communist activities, the greatest element of discord is the German population. In the German regions there are constant strikes and disorders, and in all these disruptive activities the Magyars support the Germans and the radicals, especially in Slovakia. Even under the guise of clericalism, agitators are carrying on their propaganda against the dominant Czech party. One of the sources of Bolshevist propaganda is to be found in the various Russian concentration camps, which still contain many prisoners not yet returned to Russia.

In connection with this there is a strong bolshevistic movement on the part of the new state, usually called Carpathian-Russia, or, as it is officially termed, Sub-Carpathia. The failure of the Government to agree to certain Separatist claims of the Russo-Carpathians has led them to turn toward bolshevism. Any bolshevistic military success, whether in Poland or in the Ukraine, is being hailed by these people as heralding a reunion to Russia, and this nationalist feeling assists the Communist bolshevistic propaganda.

We will quote from the New Russia of August 20, 1920, the observations of a Russian written in Prague, August 1, 1920. He says:

"The situation in Czechoslovakia gives little cause for optimism. The Bolshevist tendencies among the masses are growing, not daily, but hourly, not only in extent but also in intensity. When one listens to conversations in the queues in the trams; when one observes the meaning in which all speeches at meetings and political debates are interpreted by the audience, one cannot but become a prey to the same forebodings which tormented us all in August and September 1917 in Russia.

"Strikes are becoming frequent, and the political element is by no means relegated to a secondary plan by 'hunger economics,' the leitmotif of the entire strike policy being 'all power to the proletariat.' The Czech bourgeoisie is thoughtless and ignorant, while the local German bourgeoisie are not only flirting with bolshevism but are almost openly patronizing it. The Government realizes the danger, but, being composed of and overrun by Socialists, is following the path

of Kerensky. Czechoslovakia is on the eve of an outbreak. Will the clouds disperse or will the storm break out in thunder and bloody downpour? * * *

"Casual visitors to Czechoslovakia will probably tell you that the peril is exaggerated. They base their arguments on their talks with representatives of the higher intelligentsia; but that which is surging within the dregs beneath remains hidden from their eyes. They may refer you to the 'Sokol rally,' which is supposed to have proved the predominance in Czechoslovakia of national sentiments above all others. This would be an enormous mistake. As present, perhaps, no feeling in Europe generally, and in Czechoslovakia in particular, is so acute as the fierce hatred of the lower strata toward the upper; and this feeling exists perfectly well side by side with nationalism and all the other tendencies which, in the opinion of certain observers, form an antidote to bolshevism."

NOTE ON CHAPTER XI

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN THE BALKANS

During the last few months there has been an extraordinary development of communism throughout Yugoslavia—a condition which the enormous percentage of peasantry among the population would seem to have rendered improbable. In Serbia itself, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the peasants form 87 percent of the population. In Croatia and Slavonia the peasants form 78.8 percent of the population, and industrial element is as high as 13.4 percent, as compared with 8.4 in Serbia.

The Communist movement seems to have begun, as would seem natural, in Croatia. The movement is entirely distinct from any republican tendency opposed to the royalist constitution. The Communist movement went so far that a group of Yugoslavs and Hungarians attempted an armed insurrection at Subotitsa, which resulted in the overthrow of local authority and a proclamation of a soviet republic. The Communist movement is absolutely subject to the Russian movement and Lenin is the patron saint of it. The local Communists appear to be well supplied with funds. They have started daily papers and even a Communist journal for children. There are Communist bookshops full of propaganda. Public meetings have been held frequently in Belgrade by the Communists.

In June 1920 the Communist Yugoslav Party held its second congress at Bukovar. The program which was then issued stated that the immediate object of the Communist Party was the introduction of soviet rule immediately into Yugoslavia, because it "insures the dominance of the industrial proletariat, which has become the ruling class, owing to its better organization and greater political development." The resolution declares that the "Soviet Republic of Yugoslavia must enter into a fraternal alliance with all nations for the purpose of establishing a soviet federation of the Balkan and adjoining states as a component part of the International Federation of Soviet Republics, which will insure eternal peace to all nations." The resolution embodies a complete Communist program. For the greater part it corresponds exactly to Russian teachings. The only class of property holders that will not be expropriated and socialized is that of the small landowners who are to be converted to the process of socialization by experiment and example. "Yugoslav Communists will exert every influence to bring about the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government and will support its international propaganda in every way."

It is an interesting fact that where in local elections the Communists were successful this happened mainly in places where they were supported by the German element in the population, which voices in this way its opposition to the Government. It is reckoned by some Serbian politicians that in the elections to the constituent assembly, the Communists will not have more than 10 percent of the voters on their side. But the Communists have made it perfectly clear that they are not going to wait for electoral successes. The great majority of the peasantry are opposed to bolshevism.

On the other hand, the recent spread of communism has been shown very clearly in the municipal elections over the whole country in August. These elections foreshadow the possible victory of the Communists in the coming elections to the new chamber. The Communist victory has been absolute in the larger towns and cities, and naturally less so in the country districts where the industrial workers are not numerous, because peasants are not as thoroughly propagandized.

The capital, Belgrade, has a Communist mayor in Philipovitch, who is secretary of the Communist Party. The new municipal council at Belgrade is composed of 41 Communists, 8 radicals, 6 Democrats, and 1 Republican. The other municipal governments where the Communists obtained the majority were Nich, Monastir, Uskob, Leskovatz, Chabatz, Pirot, Veles, Prilip, Valejo, Koumanova, Outjitz, Oub, Sechnitza, and Kragonievetz.

In a number of other departments in the country districts the Communists obtained a majority and in many cases lacked but a few members of a majority.

The program of the Communist Party was a program without compromise, an extremist program which accepted the 21 principles of the Moscow Third International. The Communists aimed openly to enter parliamentary and municipal institutions in order to destroy them. The parties that were opposed to communism showed complete incapacity to organize and to form an alliance. The prospect of the establishment of a soviet government in Jugoslavia seems imminent.

Bulgaria

The split in the Socialist Party of Bulgaria has resulted in a decided gain for the Communist or left-wing element. The moderate Socialists who believed in political collaboration with the Government were badly defeated in the general elections in March, polling only 55,000 votes, losing 30 deputies and electing only 9 representatives.

The Communist Party obtained 60 seats in the chamber, with 181,500 votes. Its leaders are Blagoieff and Dimitrow. The old moderate Socialist Party, when called upon to decide as to the acceptance of the 21 conditions for affiliation, voted 106 to 28 against acceptance. The minority, led by the party's secretary, Yenko Krestof, left the party and joined the Communists.

The combination expects to take in the trade-unions as well as the political sections of the organization. Of course, the Bulgarian Communist Party had already accepted the 21 conditions and asked for affiliation, agreeing to stand squarely on the platform of the Third International. (See New York Call, August 14, 1920.)

The recent revolutionary measure looking toward communism in Bulgaria is the enactment of a law for labor conscription. It is different from the Soviet form of forced labor in this: That it does not demand continuous labor but only labor extending over a period of 16 months for men and 10 months for women. All men between 20 and 50 and women between 18 and 40 are obliged to work at assigned jobs unless physically or mentally incapacitated. The preamble to the law states its purpose:

"1. To organize and utilize the social forces in order to increase production and general welfare.

"2. To stimulate in all citizens, irrespective of their social and material condition, devotion to public needs and love for physical labor.

"3. To lift the people morally and economically by cultivating among the citizens the sentiment of duty to themselves and to society and by teaching them rational methods of work in all the domains of national economy."

In connection with this daring experiment is the plan to expropriate all land not already being cultivated, in order to increase production. The fact that the Government is run by the farmer party makes the entire scheme one based on practical instead of theoretical considerations.

The Government has legislated praiseworthy measures to correct profiteering and to limit both wholesale and retail profits. These, as well as other measures, and the labor law, have led into accusations of bolshevism. But this is in contradiction to the law introduced by Premier Stambolisky for the severest form of repression against all local or foreign propagandists who aim at the overthrow of the existing and constitutional law and order.

This was, of course, bitterly opposed by the group of 50 Communist deputies among the 270 who formed the constituent assembly or *sobranje*.

Rumania

Rumania has, in self-protection, joined the other Balkan states in an Agrarian Reform Act which has given about 5,000,000 acres of state, institutional, and private lands to the peasants. This land has been given to the peasants in outright ownership. The land given includes a large part of the royal holdings. As nearly 85 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, the new law has constituted a real defense against Bolshevik propa-

ganda. It has been in operation for almost a year, so that it has been thoroughly well tried out. Present conditions have made it difficult to market surplus in the crops. This is the only reason why the fertile fields of Rumania have not yet shown the results of the new law in an increased production.

These same tactics were finally imported into the United States. We also want to go into the report of this committee with reference to the beginning of the sit-down strikes in France, the methods and tactics used, and the men who were the leading agitators in the sit-down strike movements. There is so much of this that I will not take the time of the committee now to read it. The evidence indicates that this was originated by Communists. They outlined the tactics, which in general were to slow up production, seize control of the plants, refuse to permit employers access to the plants, until their demands were met.

In view of the fact that this report was written long before sit-down strikes occurred in the United States, it becomes valuable as a background for this inquiry.

There is also a chapter in reference to activities in Austria and Czechoslovakia that I believe should be gone into.

We will call first Jacob Spolansky.

TESTIMONY OF JACOB SPOLANSKY

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. State your name.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Jacob Spolansky.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in Detroit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have been in Detroit since January 2, 1927.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified before this committee at its hearing in Detroit, did you not?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to certain phases of communism?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair announced that the hearings on the sit-down strike would be resumed in Washington and asked you if you would be present; you were served with a subpoena and you are here in obedience to that subpoena; is that right?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your background? Were you once connected with the F. B. I.?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I was in the Military Intelligence Department of the United States Army during the war. I was assigned as a personal investigator to Gen. Leonard Wood. Immediately after I was discharged from the Army I was appointed as a special agent of the Department of Justice and I worked under the direction of Mr. Hoover up until 1924.

In 1924 I resigned from the Department of Justice and accepted a commission from one of the greatest publishers, the late Victor Lawson, of the Chicago Daily News. I made a country-wide survey of radical activities, and wrote a series of stories which they published and which subsequently was syndicated through the North American Newspaper Alliance.

I was employed by the National Metal Trades Association in an investigative capacity; by the Chrysler Corporation as an investigator; and for the past 4 years I was a criminal investigator for the sheriff's office of Wayne County, the State of Michigan. I am right

now a criminal investigator for the sheriff's department of Wayne County, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been a labor spy?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. No, sir. There have been some accusations made in the newspapers, attributed to an attorney, Maurice Sugar.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Maurice Sugar?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He is a well-known Communist. When Maurice Sugar served time in the house of correction for violation of the war-time Espionage Act, I was at that time chasing bomb throwers and bridge wreckers. That is the background of Maurice Sugar.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever had any experience in connection with labor, such as working for an employer, for the purpose of spying upon employees?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. No, Mr. Chairman. As a matter of fact, when I was employed by the National Metal Trades Association, in a number of public pronouncements, I stated I was opposed to the employment of private detective agencies for the purpose of industrial espionage.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there is absolutely no foundation for that accusation, that you have ever been engaged in that kind of work?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Absolutely not. I have been branded as such by the Communist press for my activities. I have deported some 150 Communists, including the gentleman which the chairman named in the report from which he read, Enrico Malatesta.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you deport that man?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I participated in collecting evidence that resulted in his deportation.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he in the United States?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir. He was active in the anarchist movement in the United States during the years 1918, 1919, and 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. And he was deported to Italy?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He was deported; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. After it was publicly stated that you would appear here in Washington, along with numerous other witnesses, to give the committee the benefit of your long investigation, what happened to you in the city of Detroit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Mr. Chairman, I have prepared a statement in which I have chronologically arranged all of the conversations and threats that I received from my superior officer, and with your permission, I should like to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you read that statement, let me ask you this question. Do you recall the witness, Padgett, who appeared before the committee in Detroit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone find out who was responsible for the threats that were made to him preceding his testimony before our committee?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I understand there were some threats made against his family, but I did not work on that case. It is in the hands of the Detroit police department.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me say that I think the mayor of your city is to be congratulated in following up the testimony taken by our committee in Detroit, in taking decided steps to clean up the situation in the city and in the schools there.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement to offer to your committee which I consider to be of the greatest importance. I cannot overestimate the gravity of events that have occurred following my testimony in Detroit, because it strikes at the very fundamentals of our concept of government and integrity of citizenship.

If you recall, gentlemen, the gist of my testimony dealt with the activities of one Joseph Kowalski, an accredited representative of the Communist International, and the one who conceived the intricacies and strategies of the sit-down strikes in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Joseph Kowalski was the man whom you arrested?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a Communist and an alien?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he has never been deported; is that right?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He was deported once and came back. I arrested him again and convicted him for illegal entry into the country, and he served a year and a half in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

The CHAIRMAN. And has not been deported since?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He has never been deported since the expiration of his sentence.

The CHAIRMAN. He is still in the United States?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He is still in the United States and is in charge of all the industrial operations of the Communist Party of America.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead with your statement.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Following the presentation of my testimony, my expose of Kowalski's record and his leading participation of the sit-down strike was made the subject of discussion by the executive committee of the Labor Political Nonpartisan League, the political department of the C. I. O. They then selected a committee, headed by Richard Frankenstein, to call upon the sheriff and demand my outright dismissal. The following morning, approximately 8:30 a. m., I was approached by Tim Gavin, a member of this committee and the head of the C. I. O. unit on the sheriff's staff. Tim Gavin told me rather bluntly that the executive committee of the L. P. N.-P. L. has been very much displeased with the nature of my testimony before your committee in Detroit and that a committee headed by Richard Frankenstein, and of which he, Gavin, is also a member, had made an appointment with the sheriff for 2 p. m., same day, and he advised my superior, Barney McGrath, chief deputy sheriff. He further stated that some sort of punishment will be demanded and that this committee would not be satisfied unless the sheriff will give me some indefinite leave of absence. My reply to Gavin is as follows:

In my testimony I related facts as they had occurred leading to the arrest and deportation of Joseph Kowalski and his subsequent illegal reentry, trial, and confinement to the Atlanta Penitentiary. Irrespective of what spiritual influence Kowalski exercises in the ranks of your organization, the fact remains that he is a secret representative of the Communist International; that he was formerly connected with the dreadful secret service of the Soviet Government. That there are three people living in the United States today who have been victims of his activities in Soviet Russia and can corroborate my story of the tortures that he imposed upon them. Those people are Major Estes, Captain Kilpatrick of the American Red Cross, and Margaret Harrison of the Associated Press.

I would like to make this request, Mr. Chairman. She wrote a book on her experiences in Russia. I imagine that that book is available in the Congressional Library. I could not get it in Detroit.

Margaret Harrison wrote a book in which she described her confinement in the Soviet penitentiary of which Kowalski had actual charge. All those people were snatched from the firing squad through the intervention of Senator Borah of the United States Senate.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Kowalski, after he had been deported, went back to Russia and was the head of this penitentiary?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Then he came back to this country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And after he came back he served a term in Atlanta, and is still in this country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes. I produced at his trial Major Estes and Captain Kilpatrick as witnesses in the case. The trial was held in New York City before Federal Judge Mack.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, may I ask you this question? Did you and others interested in the deportation of Kowalski prove that he was a member of a party that advocated force and violence?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Mr. Chairman, we submitted, prior to the arrest of all these Communists—

The CHAIRMAN. How many Communists did you arrest in Detroit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I did not operate in Detroit at that time. I operated in Chicago. I personally arrested in the neighborhood of between 700 and 750 Communists. I secured information leading to the indictment of all the leading Communists, including Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, J. Lovestone—and practically every member of the central executive committee of that organization. I had them indicted for violation of the State syndicalist law of the State of Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. I was interested in what the proof showed as to Kowalski.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. In connection with this, Mr. Chairman, prior to the institution of deportation proceedings against all the Communists, which we had at that time, we worked rather extensively and submitted briefs and evidence to the Secretary of Labor; and the Secretary of Labor ruled at that time that the Communist Party advocates force and violence and therefore membership in that organization, of an alien, is a sufficient cause for deportation.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go further, though, and submit evidence that the Communist Party did advocate force and violence?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Positively.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you show in connection with Kowalski that he had advocated force and violence?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you show that he had advocated sabotage?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I am asking that is because the circuit court of appeals, in New Orleans, in the *Strecker case*, held that membership alone in the Communist Party was not sufficient grounds for deportation. That was at variance with a long line of decisions of other courts, especially the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Now, I am interested in knowing whether or not, in the arrest of Kowalski and these other Communist agents, you and the others concerned went further and showed that the party did advocate force and violence, and that the member himself, the alien himself, advocated force and violence.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. We could not secure any warrant for deportation unless we proved that the organization, the Communist Party of America, advocates or teaches the use of force and violence as a method of overthrowing our present form of government or any other organized form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. All of your warrants contain that allegation or information, and you follow that up by proof?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir; that is right.

I further called Gavin's attention to the fact that only 2 months ago he, Gavin, revealed to me the infiltration of Communists into the L. P. N.-P. L. and that he and some of his associates were contemplating a trip to Washington to wait upon John Lewis with the request to cancel the charter of the Detroit L. P. N.-P. L., due to the tremendous influx of well-known members of the Communist Party. Further, that John Lewis would be requested to appoint Adolph Germer as a political dictator of the Detroit league, with power to reorganize the league and cleanse it of its communistic influences, to which Gavin replied that "this will be done in the near future"; but for some reason which he didn't care to explain, "it cannot be done now."

At approximately 12:30 p. m. of the same day I contacted the chief deputy sheriff, Barney McGrath, who informed me, using his expression literally: "There has been a 'beef' made by the L. P. N.-P. L." and that a delegation headed by Frankenstein will call on the sheriff and I should hold myself in readiness to defend myself.

The CHAIRMAN. What does "beef" mean in that connection?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. "Beef" is an underworld expression for complaint.

I told Mr. McGrath that I had not committed any violations of the rules of the sheriff's office, that there was nothing in my conduct that would put me in the defensive position, and therefore I don't see what kind of a defense I can offer.

At 2 p. m. of the same day I contacted again Mr. McGrath and advised him that I had a case of negligent homicide pending in court before Judge Jayne. He told me to stay in the office and to dispatch my partner to handle the case. He told me that he had just contacted the office of the L. P. N.-P. L. and contacted some member of this delegation, who advised him that they had been waiting for Richard Frankenstein, who had been absent and was due most any minute.

This delegation entered the sheriff's office at 2:45 p. m. I waited until 4:30 p. m. and was finally informed that Barney McGrath would see me the following morning at 11 a. m.

The following day at 11:30 a. m. I communicated with him over the telephone, and he in turn told me that he and Sheriff Wilcox would see me sharply after 1 p. m.

At 1:30 p. m. Mr. McGrath and myself entered the sheriff's office. The sheriff was livid with rage, and the atmosphere was charged with a deadly antagonism, and his first utterance to me was that newspaper boys were calling him up asking whether he was going to discharge me or not. My reply was, "Discharging for what?" His reply, "For your attack on labor." My reply was that he is "misinformed as to my testimony in regard to labor." I told him that I specifically stated that in all my work as an investigator of subversive

activities I found organized labor, namely, the A. F. of L., constantly combatting communism, and I brought to his attention a newspaper account that appeared in the Detroit Free Press the following day, verifying my statement. He then abruptly began to question me as to what authority I had to testify against labor friendly to him. My reply was, "By the authority of a subpoena issued by the United States Congress, annexed by the authority of my conscience as a citizen of the United States." I then told him to forget that he is my superior and reminded him that we were buddies together, facing dangers together in the Federal Department of Justice, and it will be proper for him to talk to me on this subject as man to man.

Knowing as I know Sheriff Wilcox, as a law-enforcement officer for over 20 years, I detected a tremendous change in this man—the threatening tone which he assumed, his lack of realization that he was speaking to a man who has been sworn in to testify in a matter of vital importance to the very existence of the Government of the United States. I then asked him whether he wants me to resign, to which he said, "No." I repeatedly asked him whether he was going to discharge me, to which he said, "No." Yet he kept on constantly talking of some dire consequences which may befall me if I testify on the sit-down-strike situation in Detroit on my next appearance before your committee. He examined my subpoena very carefully, first insisting that the subpoena called only for appearance in Detroit, whereupon I asked him to read further, upon which he agreed that I must respond to it in Washington. A discussion followed, in which his tone, demeanor, and attitude indicated a hostility borne of desperation. All caution was flung to the winds, and I was definitely instructed to make no mention of sit-down strikes or any condition surrounding them in Detroit. At first he denied that a committee of L. P. N.-P. L. called on him, and finally admitted that this committee did call and demanded my outright discharge.

Finally I made the following statement:

I am 50 years old; my activities for the past 20 years have been directed against the subversive movements in the United States. My concept of citizenship, character, and integrity have molded certain principles of patriotism which I am definitely unwilling to sacrifice even for the sake of political expediency. I raised my family on those principles. My oldest daughter is graduating from the U. of D., and in a few months from now she will step in the ranks of the legal profession. Her scholastic and social standing in the university was exemplary, and she stood at the height of every activity in the college. She has been proud of my stand on Americanism, and I want her to continue to be proud. I know that you will discharge me immediately following the election. You have sold your oath of office, allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, to a subversive crowd whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the very Constitution which you swore to uphold. I have offered you faithful service in the enforcement of the laws of the State of Michigan and the United States of America. I owe my appointment as a criminal investigator on your staff to no political party, class, or religious group. I hold it solely on my merit and experience. You hold no mortgage on my conscience and soul.

The sheriff abruptly left the office; I remained with Barney McGrath, chief deputy sheriff, for a short length of time, who made feeble endeavors to clean the heavy atmosphere left after our conversation. He volunteered the statement that the C. I. O. committee demanded my outright discharge and that he was the one that softened the situation.

I was made definitely to understand that because of the nature of my testimony that my usefulness to the office was ended, but because an immediate dismissal on the steps of my testimony could only bring grave criticism on his part he has withheld any act. My position was clear; I was either to be a clam before the investigating committee or take whatever consequences which would follow.

I took this proposition to my attorney, who, incidentally, is one of the leading Democratic lawyers of my city, to whom I related the entire scene; and it is our mutual decision that not only must all of the subversive activities known to me be fully disclosed but under my oath as a citizen, as a former Federal agent, as a present law-enforcing officer, I am duty bound to disclose every bit of information that can show how deadly tenacles of the subversive groups are exerting their deadly influence on the law-enforcing officers to the point where direct intimidation is exercised in the giving of that information. Therefore, in addition to the statements that I have heretofore made, I am glad to include the instant readiness with which the L. P. N.-P. L. group seized the first opportunity to go to the highest law-enforcing official, even though there has been no reflection against them, and he so coerced and ordered by them to discharge an employee who dared to speak the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us proceed with your testimony. Suppose you go ahead in your own language and state what you know to be the facts, of your own knowledge. First, I will ask you if you can name any representatives of the Communist International in this country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I can name practically every one of them that arrive in this country with the exception of a few whose identity we cannot penetrate because they have been camouflaged under some assumed names or party names. The first man to arrive in this country as the direct representative of the Communist International was of Japanese nationality. His name was Sen Katzama. The next group that came here consisted of Joseph Pogany, who had been connected with the Hungarian revolution of 1918 in Hungary under Bella Kun, who was the dictator of the revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he come?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He was here in 1922 or 1923. He was followed by Lozovsky, who was the head of the Trades Union International or the head of the Russian trade-union movement, in Soviet Russia. The next man following him was a man by the name of Boris Reinstone, formerly a resident of Buffalo, N. Y., and connected here with the Socialist movement and the Communist movement in 1919. There were a number of individuals whose identity we could not penetrate, because, as I said before, they were camouflaged by some party names, such as "Comrade" or "Sosha Kowalski." The last man that came in here was Henri Barbusse.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a Frenchman, was he not?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He organized the League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. That was his open mission here; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He died at the Kremlin, at Moscow.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir. Barbusse is credited with the perfection of the plan for the united front in France and the popular

front in Spain. He was the one who came here and corrected the situation in regard to activities in industrial plants in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by correcting the situation?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. For directing them in the proper procedure as outlined by the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that procedure similar to the procedure described in the report I read a few minutes ago?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Practically; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the beginning of sit-down strikes.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. It is applicable to sit-down strikes. That leads back to about 6 years ago, when the Communist Party broke up into two factions, one headed by J. Lovestone, known as the Communist Party Opposition, and the other one was headed by Earl Browder and William Z. Foster, which is the Communist Party of America. J. Lovestone inherited the Ruthenberg leadership of the Communist Party. J. Lovestone became the executive secretary of the Communist Party of America, and in that capacity he was the head of a delegation from this country to a conference of the Communist International at Moscow. On his trip to Russia, some 6 years ago, he offered serious opposition to the policies of the Communist International in regard to activities in the United States. He challenged Stalin, who was the Russian dictator as to the practicability of their activities in the United States. Stalin at that time ordered the outright destruction of the American Federation of Labor. Lovestone advocated a policy of boring from within, but Stalin insisted on a policy of industrial unionism and establishing a big mass organization as the only method of carrying on their propaganda in the United States, if they expected to achieve any kind of results there.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement is the same as the statement that Mr. John L. Lewis made in 1924 in the pamphlet that has been introduced in evidence here.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He evidently had the same information that you have, because he made practically the same statement.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. In connection with that remark, I am glad to inform you that I have been very active in helping out, indirectly or directly, John L. Lewis, when they had the bitter fight with the Communist element. I have been assisted in a number of deportation proceedings on evidence furnished by the United Mine Workers of America, as well as by the United Mine Workers Journal, which is the official publication of the United Mine Workers of America.

Continuing my statement about J. Lovestone, which I think is the most important part of the recent development of the Communist Party, Stalin insisted on the policy of industrial unionism. He further insisted that activities among Negroes should be greatly expanded. He insisted that Negroes should be given leadership in a number of the States, to which Lovestone could not agree. At any rate, a serious discussion took place, in which Lovestone accused him of not knowing the situation here, and Stalin ordered the arrest of the entire delegation. Lovestone escaped from there with the assistance of some aids of Leon Trotsky. The leadership of the party

was turned over to Earl Browder, in spite of the fact that Lovestone carried a majority of them. He represented a majority of the Communist Party of America. Following this conference at Moscow, the Communists immediately adopted an entirely different procedure in their operation in our industrial field. They concentrated on the mass-production industries. They claimed that in order to achieve or generate any kind of revolutionary psychology they must form a big organization—a dual organization to belong to the American Federation of Labor, and to give this organization the proper revolutionary tendency.

I have here an exact quotation of a statement that was made by Joseph Stalin, made by Stalin in connection with that historical conference. He said:

I consider that the Communist Party of the United States is one of the few Communist parties to which history has given decisive tasks from the point of view of the world's revolutionary movement. The revolutionary crisis has not yet reached the United States but we already have knowledge of numerous facts which suggest that it is approaching. It is necessary that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting the moment of crisis fully equipped to take the direction of future class wars in the United States. You must prepare for that, comrades, with all your strength and by every means. You must constantly improve and Bolshevize the American Communist Party. You must forge the real revolutionary leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class war.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that from?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. That was taken from an official publication of the Communist Party which I handed to your investigator, Mr. Howe. I have prepared a definition of communism. If your committee has not seen such a definition, I would be glad to give it to you.

Mr. MOSIER. We would like to have it.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have a scientific definition of communism based upon my own personal analysis of the various publications, books, official pronouncements, theses, and platforms which have been issued under the auspices of the Communist Party, and Mr. Marx' manifesto.

"Communism," a term generally used, is almost synonymous with socialism. Both conceptions cover a multitude of ideas—that is, Utopian descriptions of an ideal society, sharp criticisms of the unequal distribution of wealth, and, finally, the far-reaching political schemes which aim at nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole system of society. Common to all those variations, without exception, is their rejection of private property. They advocate a form of production which is in the hands of the community in which the ownership of the means of production is vested in the community. Generally, socialism and communism are confined to movements which aid in communalizing the means of production and justify their pursuit of this aim by a scientific analysis of the so-called capitalistic system of economics. According to the communistic interpretation, in a capitalistic age wealth consists of productive plants, factories, and warehouses. The private ownership of the means of production is being questioned by the communistic theory and contemplates the abolition of private wealth. It is convenient to apply the term "communism" to those movements in particular which rest to a greater or less degree on Marx and Engels Communist Manifesto which identify communism with the workers or laboring masses as a party to a class war and which, as the corollary to this train of thought, look to the communalizing of the means of production to bring about not merely increased total production and total consumption and more just distribution, but also a radical reorganization of all conditions of life, all creative achievements. The whole spiritual contents of the age, no inventive power, no fantasy is strong enough to deduce a world from one general principle. It

must be moulded by mankind through life, through the development of experience. This is the communistic conclusion drawn from a sociological survey of historical developments. This is a scientific analysis of communism as a theory.

The Russian experiment of 1917 and the subsequent developments throughout the world made a drastic revision of the original ideas and as communism stands today in its daily application it can be defined as follows:

A worldwide political organization advocating hatred of God and all forms of religion; destruction of private property and the rights of inheritance; abolish social and racial equality; promotion of class hatreds; revolutionary propaganda directed by the Communist Internationale stirring up Communist activities in foreign countries in order to cause strikes, riots, sabotage, bloodshed, and civil war; destruction of all forms of representative or democratic government, including civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and trial by jury. The ultimate and final objective is by means of a world revolution to establish dictatorship of the working class into one world union of Soviet Socialist Republics with a capital at Moscow.

This is more or less of a correct definition of communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there have been a great many instances that have come to this committee's attention in which the Communist Party has endorsed various public officials. I see in New York where they selected certain people that belonged to other parties and endorsed them, and in Minnesota we see where they endorsed certain officials that did not belong to their party, and the same thing in Michigan and other States. Can you explain to us what is behind that strategy; what is the purpose of that strategy?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. This is one of the practices of communism. Browder defends all of those endorsements made, calling that communism twentieth century Americanism. I know, for instance, in the State of Michigan the Communist Party endorses officially the present Governor, Murphy, for reelection. Now, Governor Murphy is not a Communist. Mr. Murphy is a liberal, a very honest man, and just as far away from communism as I am from China, and yet Communist organizations endorse him. I have talked to a number of people who are close to the Communist movement, and they explained this phenomena to me as follows: To their point of view Murphy represents a policy and philosophy of relief, W. P. A., starvation wages, a policy that does not improve our present conditions; a policy that perpetuates unemployment, industrial stagnation, and business mortality, the very stuff upon which Communists fatten. A Communist does not want any industrial remedies or industrial conditions improved in a healthy atmosphere. Where wages are high and conditions of work are healthful communism cannot perpetuate; it cannot propagate; it cannot live. It is unhealthy conditions, conditions of unemployment, where a Communist derives his following, because when a man is out of work he is desperate, he is depressed, and he is easily led to the communistic teachings.

Then we have another group of public officials who are endorsed by the Communist Party. This is another stage which is very interesting—the law-enforcement officers. Our present prosecuting attorney is backed and endorsed by the Communist Party. Now, here is an interesting example of how the Communist Party applies its work in that particular direction. They are artists in the field of psychology; they know human nature, and particularly the weaknesses of human nature. There is a public official who can be easily frightened, beaten into submissiveness, and we know the facts of where this

particular public official has turned the prerogatives of his office to the forces of lawlessness. Now, that man naturally is a big asset to the propagation of the communistic faith.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is the hidden aim or purpose behind the sit-down strike? Insofar as the Communists are concerned, and insofar as their participation in it or instigation of it is concerned, what do they hope to achieve?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. There is a newspaperman I have discussed this question with—Pim Swinehart, of the Detroit Daily News.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He has been connected with the Detroit Daily News, and I think he is in some other field now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know yourself what is behind it?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Pardon me.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not propose to quote from him, do you?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. No, no. I am trying to present to you a statement which I made to this man.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you made to him?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes; which I made to him as a newspaper man.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. We have discussed the communistic situation, and the hidden aims of communism, and I made a statement which I believe illustrates very vividly the aims of communism. In analyzing the activities of the Communist Party in America, there are two basic facts that every citizen of the United States should know. One is that the men who have engineered the so-called sit-down strikes are Communists, members of the Communist Party of America.

The CHAIRMAN. What other man besides Kowalski, Communist aliens, are there that you know of, those who have instigated sit-down strikes?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Mr. Chairman, there are hundreds of Communists who are occupying important positions in the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead with your statement, Mr. Spolansky, and then we will get to that.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. One is that the men who have engineered the so-called sit-down strikes are Communists, members of the Communist Party of America, and sent here for that specific purpose. The other is that the Communists don't want industrial injustices remedied; they want chaos, anarchy. Every man who followed the urging to seize industrial plants, and that goes for all of the United States as well as Detroit, did not help his own position, grievous as it may be, but played directly into the hands of the Communists. I mean by no means to infer that all workers on strike are Communists. Any and every man who believes that he has a just cause has a right to strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Has not your experience demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of laboring men are absolutely opposed to communism?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, irrespective of the unions, the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L., it holds true of both, doesn't it?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes. Frankly speaking, in some plants there have been conditions to justify striking. I am speaking about legiti-

mate strikes now, not about sit-down strikes. There have been, and there are, thousands of men on strike who have just cause for their strikes, but they do it in an orderly American fashion, and there is not a single individual who can condemn them. Striking for a just purpose of bettering unfair labor conditions is a recognized American right and is treated as such. Discrimination between a genuine working American man striking for his rights and a Communist is a simple matter of observation. The real American who strikes does so because he believes he is being imposed upon or is otherwise unjustly dealt with. The Communist, on the other hand, does not want the wrong or injustice for which he struck remedied. He is working toward the accomplishment of a purpose far in the distance, unseen by the average workingman, but which is almost the sole purpose of existence of every Communist in the United States. This purpose is to overthrow the American form of government and the organization of the American people on the plan of the Russian Soviet Government.

The Communist Party of America can never seize the Federal Government unless there is a general chaos throughout the country. That chaos can never be brought about without a general strike everywhere throughout the United States, with industries shut down, the railroads and all other public utilities paralyzed, and the masses of the people bewildered. That bewilderment of the masses in the United States is precisely the one basic situation that the Communists in the United States are seeking to bring about. To attain that bewilderment they seek by every means possible to bring about discontent and restlessness and resentment against the Government. One of their very best aids is to create general misery among millions of working men and their families. A simple way to bring that about is to cause widespread unemployment and resultant poverty, hunger, and eternal clashes between the workingman and law, foreclosure and seizure of homes and farms for delinquent taxes, and similar measures, and one of the most fruitful ways of creating unemployment is to seize any kind of pretext, just or unjust, to call a strike. For this reason the calling of the strikes in the automobile industry and the seizure of the plants was a strategic, well-planned, and a tremendous move from the Communist point of view. I am thoroughly convinced that the Communists operating out of the Detroit office—a small well-organized and disciplined group—was responsible for the chaotic conditions in the automobile and allied industries—conditions that dislocated our entire economic apparatus and caused widespread unemployment.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other acts of lawlessness besides the sit-down strike perpetrated on the people of this country by the Communist Party?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. The very same man, Joseph Kowalski, organized the strike against the high cost of living a short time ago. Women were collected all over the country, picketing small-business men and grocery stores, who did not have anything to do with the fluctuation of prices on the market. Those business establishments were picketed for a period of a week, and some as high as 2 weeks, causing them tremendous damage, and some of them went out of business. That particular strike was also one instituted and instigated by this fellow Joseph Kowalski and the organization which he represents.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other representative besides Kowalski who took part in the sit-down strike in this country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Henry Barbusse was very active.

The CHAIRMAN. What other Communist that you know of?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Weinstone.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Weinstone now?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He was secretary of the Communist Party of the Detroit district at the time the sit-down strikes were organized. I have prepared a list of about 30 names, and I have turned that list over to Mr. Howe. There are some other witnesses here who will follow me who have a more complete picture of their activities.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is Weinstone now; do you know?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Pardon me?

Mr. MOSIER. Where is Weinstone now?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Weinstone was removed from the Detroit office. I understand he is now attached to the national office in New York City, and his successor is a man by the name of Bill Gebert, who was moved from Chicago to Detroit. Bill Gebert was formerly national secretary of the Polish Federation of the Communist Party of America.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any acts of military espionage against the United States committed by the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have submitted to the representative of the Naval Intelligence of Detroit instructions issued by the Communist Internationale to the members of the Communist Party of America as to how to operate in plants vital to national defense, such as automobile plants, airplane plants, and heavy industries. Those plans are very specific and they call for acts of sabotage in the event of a war against the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. In the course of your investigation did you go all over the United States?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I operated in every State in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. You operated in every State in the country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your work in this connection is over a period of how long?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. A period of 20 years.

Mr. Chairman, I have a very interesting exhibit here to show the international scope of this. Earl Browder, prior to his appointment at the head of the Communist Party in America, operated in China, where he was very active in the formation of the Chinese Soviet Republic. I have a publication here entitled "The Pan-Pacific Worker," the official organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, with headquarters in Hankow, China, of which Earl Browder is editor.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to offer that as an exhibit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Spolansky Exhibit No. 1, October 18, 1938," and filed with the committee.)

Mr. SPOLANSKY. The membership of that organization in Detroit is considerably small, but, of course, it is a very compact and a very centralized organization. It is not an organization of masses. It is an organization of leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have they penetrated trade-union movements? Are the inside of any of the trade-union movements in Detroit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. They have no standing in the American Federation of Labor. They completely dominate and control the C. I. O. situation in Detroit—completely control; I mean it literally. Homer Martin, the head of the C. I. O. organization in Detroit, is definitely scheduled for the slaughterhouse. The Communists have assumed complete control of that organization, and they control every inch of its activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have occasion to personally witness sit-down strikes over the country?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I saw them in operation in Detroit, Mich. I saw the seizure of some of the largest plants, the seizure of hotels and department stores, and small stores, where management and ownership has been chased out. The Communists have assumed complete control of those establishments.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see Communists leading in the sit-down strike in Detroit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. How many did you see at various times?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I saw all the leading Communists I know of take a very active part.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they present upon the scene?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they making speeches?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Instigating the men?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know all the Communists in that area, do you?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I know practically all of the leading Communists. There are quite a few I do not know, but I know their names, and I know they are connected with the Communist Party. I do not know them personally.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent would you say the Communists were responsible for the sit-down strikes in the Detroit area?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. The sit-down strike in the Detroit area has been instigated by and the Communist Party of America can be blamed solely for the execution of those strikes. I understand there are some witnesses here, Mr. Chairman, who will testify because they participated in it. They are better qualified than I am for this reason, that I was not on the inside of those plants. I did not see the inside operations, and this is a very vital point. There are some fine labor leaders who I understand are to appear here and who have a complete picture of what transpired.

Mr. MOSIER. Was Weinstone present in Detroit when the strikes occurred?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes. He was just removed about 6 or 7 months ago.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he active in these strikes?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Very much.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it a fact that some of these Communist leaders went around in sound trucks and spoke to the men?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. When they were on strike?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything further to add at this time, Mr. Spolansky?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. There is nothing that I could add to the picture. I believe I have presented a complete picture of the situation. Of course, Mr. Chairman, this is quite a large subject, and naturally it is possible that I have missed a lot of things. It has a political background and it has an economic background, and it is physically hard to cover a proposition of that sort without missing something.

The CHAIRMAN. I was interested in your statement that when you arrested the alien agitators that a great deal of the information from time to time has come from labor organizations and leaders themselves.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I have been personally in contact with the late president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, and Matthew Woll has contributed a lot. He is one of the vice presidents of the American Federation of Labor. He contributed quite a lot toward the exposure of communism in America. All of those men have served in their organizations very faithfully and are splendid characters and have accomplished quite a lot, and the healthy situation of the American Federation of Labor is largely due to the fact that they have such men as Green, Woll, and Hutchinson.

The CHAIRMAN. You said a moment ago that Mr. Lewis had also furnished considerable information.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Mr. Lewis' organization was the most vulnerable organization for Communists. There is no other organization that I know of that suffered as it did from the communistic penetration, as the United Mine Workers of America. At one time I understand that Lewis was on the verge of being defeated by a Communist candidate, and then they caused a split in the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that the occasion for his writing this pamphlet of 1924?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the result of his experience that he had with the Communists penetrating his organization?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes; and incidentally Mr. Lewis was responsible for the large appropriation that was granted the Department of Justice to investigate communistic activities. It was through the influence of men like Lewis that the Department of Justice was empowered to investigate and instigate prosecutions against the leaders of the Communist Party in America.

The CHAIRMAN. Can these labor leaders do more than anyone else in driving communism from their ranks, outside of economic conditions?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And back of it all are economic conditions?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And they cannot thrive in the absence of low wages and dissatisfaction?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in addition to that, the labor leaders, by conducting activities in their own organizations, can do more to solve this problem than anyone else?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. You are acquainted with the so-called front organizations of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. The so-called correlated groups, and I have a survey of those groups which I can present if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a photostatic copy of a recent issue of the publication of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes; the International Labor Defense is a subsidiary of the Communist Party of America.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it do; what is its function?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. It is the legal department of the Communist Party. It furnishes attorneys and defense funds, and it is also active in the shop type of union, in favor of communism. This photostatic copy is offered of Equal Justice, which is the official organ of this organization, and there are articles in it with reference to you, Mr. Chairman. Some of those articles have been written by some very prominent people. There is a short article here written by Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, and another written here by Gerald J. Boileau, a Congressman, and another written by Congressman Frank Hook, of Michigan, and Samuel Dickstein, of New York, and one by Earl Browder, of the Communist Party of America. There is a very strange combination. And Samuel Dickstein—I have assisted Mr. Dickstein in his un-American activities, and I also assisted the Fish Congressional Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean his activities against un-American activities?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. That is right. I offer this as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as an exhibit.

(The copy of Equal Justice was marked "Spolansky Exhibit No. 2, October 18, 1938," and filed with the committee.)

Mr. MOSIER. I would like to ask you a little further about Mr. Kowalski.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is his case now?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Kowalski's case is similar to the one of Harry Bridges. Kowalski's position is actually the same kind of position in Detroit that Harry Bridges occupied on the Pacific coast.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, on that point, is not Kowalski's case even a much clearer case than Harry Bridges?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see how that could be.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. There is a deportation warrant right on top of Kowalski's file in the Immigration Department. Under our laws, Kowalski was to be deported immediately following the expiration of his sentence.

Mr. MOSIER. When did his sentence expire?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I believe in 1925 or 1926.

Mr. MOSIER. And he was released from Atlanta at that time?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Correct.

Mr. MOSIER. There is no question about his being a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Absolutely; we introduced evidence that he was national secretary—

Mr. MOSIER. He is a card-holding member of the party; there is no question about that?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. There is no question about it. We introduced evidence to the effect that he was national secretary of the Polish Federation and a member of the national executive committee of the Communist Party of America.

Mr. MOSIER. There is no question about his advocating the overthrow of the American form of government by force and violence?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. There is no question about that.

Mr. MOSIER. And yet that case rests in the files of the Department of Labor?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. There are a lot of similar cases. There is a case in Minnesota, and I understand somebody testified about this man here yesterday. I arrested that man.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that man?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Norman Telentire.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. His position is organization director in the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and some other States. He is operating largely in the Farmer-Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an alien?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He is an alien subject. I arrested him in 1922 at a secret convention of the Communist Party held in the State of Michigan, and I instituted deportation proceedings against him, and he is not deported yet.

Now, there have been a lot of people deported to Great Britain since then for other violations of the immigration law.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe in that Detroit hearing there were given the names of about four or five Communist aliens who had been arrested and had not been deported yet.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. There are quite a number of them whose names I cannot recall at the present time, because under the rules of the Department of Justice I cannot take any notes or copies of reports, and therefore I had to depend on my memory. There are quite a number of men against whom deportation proceedings were instituted and who are still in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking of Communist aliens?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Communist aliens; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Spolansky, we are deeply grateful to you for giving us the benefit of your information. As chairman of this committee, I want to say that if you are threatened with discharge or any punitive measures are taken against you on account of your testimony here, I wish you would communicate with the chairman at once and keep the committee informed with reference to it, as we are doing our best to protect the witnesses who are appearing before the committee.

We will adjourn until 1:30. You will be back, Mr. Spolansky? We may want to ask you some further questions.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the committee adjourned until 1:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

The subcommittee reassembled, pursuant to taking a recess, at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. REYNOLDS, BIRMINGHAM, MICH.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Walter S. Reynolds.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Reynolds?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of Michigan?

Mr. REYNOLDS. In Birmingham, near Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I moved to that particular point quite recently. I was born in Detroit and lived there all my life.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am a motortruck salesman for the General Motors Truck Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the American Legion?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your affiliation?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am chairman of the subversive activities group, which is a subcommittee of the committee on Americanization of the American Legion, Department of Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Over 4 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What have been your duties in connection with that position?

Mr. REYNOLDS. To investigate un-American activities and expose them whenever possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Has your committee been active?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Very active, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many do you have on that committee?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Officially we have five; unofficially we have had quite a large number that are attached to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a part of the general Americanization committee of the American Legion?

Mr. REYNOLDS. It is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights that was held?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to make a careful investigation of that conference?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it held?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That was the name of an organization which since has been changed to the Civil Rights Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. The original title of this organization was the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that name was changed to what?

Mr. REYNOLDS. The Civil Rights Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that changed?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I can tell you exactly, because they changed their literature at the same time.

The first piece of literature issued under the Civil Rights Federation was on December 28, 1937. Prior to that time it was known as the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us what you know about that organization?

Mr. REYNOLDS. The reason I am bringing this out at this particular time—

The CHAIRMAN. Your testimony all relates to the communistic influences in that organization?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to confine yourself to the Communist angle?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir; and their agitation.

I want to bring this out at this particular time for this reason. You have had plenty of evidence presented to you about the affiliated organizations of the Communist Party. There is no reason for us to elaborate upon the information you have received in reference to the International Labor Defense, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Young Communist League, the League Against War and Fascism, the League for Peace and Democracy, and all those other front organizations.

You have also received plenty of information about the infiltration policies of the Communist Party into these various organizations. I do not know why we should dwell upon that particular point at all.

But we have in Michigan an organization that has been functioning there for 3½ years, called the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, which, as I stated, was changed later to the Civil Rights Federation.

I want to tell you how it came into being, what its affiliations are, and what its action and policies may be.

Three years ago last spring the American Legion had introduced at Lansing, through two Legionnaires who were in the house of representatives, that is, Martin Dunckel and Joe Baldwin, a bill constructed to cope with un-American activities. That bill in its final passage was a simple one, and I would like to read the text of that particular bill into the record, as follows:

SECTION 1. Any person who advocates, aids, or takes any active part in the overthrow by force or violence of the United States and/or of any State of the United States, is guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment in the State prison for not more than 5 years, or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. Nothing in this act shall be construed to prohibit or abridge the lawful right of free speech, liberty of the press, or in any manner interfere with or limit the right of, peaceful picketing or striking in industrial controversies.

In other words, we had introduced and passed there a bill which is dealing with the overthrow of government by force and violence, and having nothing to do with labor controversies.

And yet, there arose in Michigan a group of men banded together under the name of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, who went out and worked tooth and nail to beat that bill.

I happen to be the organizer of a group that went to the capital at Lansing to fight for this bill. That happened to be my job.

We were sent down there to appear before a joint committee of the representatives and the senate, speakers, men and women, who were qualified to speak and to be known as true Americans.

One of the speakers for our side happened to be a former Governor of the State of Michigan, Wilbur Brucker, and on that night when he spoke at this joint committee hearing he did rise to the heights in expressing his Americanism.

Another speaker on our side was the commander of the Department of Michigan of the American Legion. Another speaker was the president of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Department of Michigan. Another speaker was the president of the Elks organization in Michigan.

We also had Father Luther, dean or head of the University of Detroit, and Father Nagy, of the Hungarian Church, all of them representative citizens.

On the other side the speakers included William Weinstone.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. REYNOLDS. He at that time was the State secretary of the Communist Party, that is, district 7, which at that time only included the lower part of Michigan, but which today includes the entire State of Michigan, plus the territory around Toledo.

There was also William Larsen, of the Socialist Party, who spoke against the bill; Morris Sugar, whose name has been brought up repeatedly. There was also Rev. John H. Bollens, of the Messiah Evangelical Church in Detroit, and Patrick O'Brien, a former attorney general of the State of Michigan. They came up there at that public hearing as representatives of this organization, the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights. The Rev. John H. Bollens was the chairman of their delegation.

In introducing himself, he said: "I am the chairman of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, and I am also secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union for the district of Michigan." He said: "Everybody who speaks on our side tonight is affiliated with this conference for the protection of civil rights." In other words, Weinstone, Larsen, Sugar, Bollens, and O'Brien were linked in the same category with himself. He, himself, tied them together in one common group.

I want to go back of that meeting for a few days and state about how this conference was organized.

The chief organizer behind it was on Aavrahm Mezerik, who was, as I have it in the testimony of witnesses in the city of Detroit, proven to be a Communist. Additional testimony will also be presented to prove his Communist connections and affiliations.

His wife goes under the name of Marie Hempel. She is the secretary of this Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, and although she does not carry his name, they are married. She is also the Michigan district secretary for the Detroit League Against War and Fascism. Mezerik and his wife were the organizers of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, and evidence will be produced here to prove that.

In other words, the very inception of that organization was communistic and they went up there to Lansing to fight a bill that was constructed to curb un-American activities.

I have before me a number of pieces of literature that the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights has put out, and I think the best evidence as to how they operate, and why they are functioning, and what they accomplished will be best explained by reading some excerpts from these pieces of literature.

I hold in my hand a letter they sent out, dated June 21, 1935, from which I would like to read this excerpt:

The conference will center its main activity at the present time, first, for the repeal of the Dunckel-Baldwin law. Second, to prevent the discrimination by boards of education in the use of the schools by labor groups. Third, to prevent the putting through of antileaflet laws. Fourth, to defend the right to strike and picket and to fight against the use of injunctions against trade-unions and generally to beat back the ever-growing forces of reaction and fascism.

Now, I hold in my hand a leaflet called Civil Rights Bulletin. This bulletin was mimeographed by Aavrahm Mezerik, when he was operating as the Nationally Advertised Foods, at 1965 Porter Street, in Detroit. This was run off on his mimeograph machine. I would like to read an excerpt from this bulletin, as follows:

Last April there was a Nation-wide strike of college students. At the University of Michigan 1,200 students expressed their opposition to war. Although we who maintain the university through our taxes are also opposed to offensive wars, the president of the University has refused three of the strike leaders reentry. President Ruthven singled out for discrimination three students with excellent scholastic standing who have been especially active in organization on the campus. They had also edited a student paper and opposed the Dunckel-Baldwin bill. Workers in industry will see here the same discrimination which is used against them in strikes, and when they issue leaflets.

The University of Michigan is a State-owned institution. Muzzling of students, suppression of civil rights, and denial of academic freedom happen in Hitler Germany as a matter of course, but in Michigan such things arouse protest, which is alive and outspoken. Address Alexander G. Ruthven, president, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, urging reinstatement of the three students.

Here is another one of the bulletins, under date of November 15, 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reynolds, will you suspend for just a short time to permit Mr. Tom Davis, who is here from Minnesota and wants to get away to New York shortly, and who desires to make a statement in reply to testimony given before the committee yesterday with reference to the Communist situation in Minnesota, to speak?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Certainly.

TESTIMONY OF TOM DAVIS, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name?

Mr. DAVIS. Tom Davis.

The CHAIRMAN. And your address?

Mr. DAVIS. 419 Metropolitan Bank Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to express my appreciation for the courtesy you have extended to me this afternoon.

Gentlemen of this committee, I understand certain witnesses before this committee on Monday, October 17, were giving testimony with

regard to the activities of the Communist Party in Minnesota and to their purported control of the Farmer-Labor Party. I desire to state that this is not true. It happened to be my good fortune to help organize the Farmer-Labor Party, and I was its first candidate for attorney general in 1918.

The Farmer-Labor Party was organized and grew to strength in Minnesota because for more than 50 years the privileged and plundering interests had controlled the State of Minnesota, as typified by the Northern States Power Co., Minneapolis Grain Exchange, the Steel Trust, lumbering and railroad interests.

In 1918, during the World War hysteria, the then Governor, J. A. A. Burnquist, now candidate of the Republican Party for attorney general, appointed the notorious Judge McGee as head of the so-called safety commission. That commission has gone down in the history of the State and Nation as a disgrace to free speech and free assemblage. As a result of the activities of that commission, every person of German ancestry was reviled and abused.

Meetings of farmers during those days were disrupted and mobs ran loose with the protection of the safety commission. This in part will explain why the Farmer-Labor Party received such tremendous support in Minnesota.

In 1930 Floyd B. Olson was elected Governor and was twice re-elected on the Farmer-Labor ticket.

No one in Minnesota doubts my unalterable opposition to the Communistic philosophy. It is alien to American thought and American hopes, but it is no more dangerous and no more subversive than the attempt of certain industrial and financial interests to create in this country an autocracy of industrialists and wealth.

It is unfortunate that the testimony of these men was given at a time when it can be done and is being used for political effect only.

Allow me to digress for a moment and say that not in any way do I intend to criticize this committee, for I fully realize that the committee was in no way to blame for that.

Information came to me this morning that the Twin City daily papers carried conspicuous headlines attempting to charge Governor Benson with Communistic sympathies and Communistic support. This again is a rank falsehood. Governor Benson in his opening speech for his reelection as Governor strongly denounced communism, Communist philosophy, and the Communist Party.

Let me say that it is undoubtedly true that Communists will enter any progressive movement, but they do not enter it to help. They enter it in order to destroy it, and the few Communists that have been attempting to control the Farmer-Labor Party have dismally failed.

The testimony given at this late date, just on the eve of an election, is merely a red herring drawn across the political trail in Minnesota.

I love my native State where I was born and grew to manhood, and the attempt to herald throughout this country that the party in power in Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor Party, is in sympathy with the Communist Party is not only disgraceful, but an injustice to the State of Minnesota.

These same attempts by the privileged interests were made 2 years ago when, in a campaign marked by bitterness and by appeals to

intolerance, these same vicious interests openly circulated the charge that the President of our Nation, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was a Communist; that Senator Lundeen, who was elected by more than 260,000 votes, was a Communist; and that Governor Benson was a Communist or in sympathy with their philosophy.

Were it not for the publicity given in Minnesota to the uncertain and evasive testimony offered before this committee yesterday, I would not be appearing before your committee.

It is true that this committee has tendered the privilege to Governor Benson and to the different Congressmen who were attacked in the testimony to appear before this committee and be heard by this committee, but this committee fully realizes that in the closing hours of a bitter and hard-fought campaign these men cannot leave the field of battle and come here to denounce and deny a most vicious kind of political propaganda.

For the past 3 weeks I have been in the city of Washington representing the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in the vicious drive made by the bankers controlling the railroads to effect a wage cut, and this accounts for the opportunity I now have to come before your committee in defenses of my native State, and in defense of the Congressmen attacked, and in defense of Governor Benson, an outstanding liberal, and one of the most conspicuous and loyal supporters of the present administration; a young man who during the World War served his country abroad, and who today, as Governor of Minnesota, has the faith and confidence of those who work and toil for their living and demand that Government shall serve the people and not the interests.

Mr. MOSIER. You do have a pretty good football team out there?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes. I do want to say, in addition to the political situation, and I announce it to you, Congressman, and to the world at large, that we have perhaps the best football team in the history of the University of Minnesota, and there is not a Communist in the squad.

I do want to say this also to you, that we have 10,000 lakes in Minnesota, diadems of beauty, and if you should ever have occasion to come to Minnesota you will find there a hearty welcome, and you will find there the reason why the people who live there love this country and will always love it.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reynolds, you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. REYNOLDS—Continued

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Chairman, to continue in reference to the type of leaflets that these leaders there have been sending out for several years, here is another Civil Rights Bulletin, dated November 15, 1935, where they refer to the State police and to picketing. They say:

In Battle Creek, at the A. B. Stove Co., State police attacked picketing A. F. of L. strikers. Although the plant management denies requesting State police, apparently Governor Fitzgerald furnished thugs and strikebreakers without waiting to be asked.

If you will notice, gentlemen, all through these letters and pamphlets they object to the lawful procedure of the police department, of the State police, and even of the courts.

Here is one dated November 15, 1935, in which they say:

A trade-union headquarters is attacked—the State police break a picket line—a leaflet is forged—a welfare commission tries to force a company union on its workers. Yes; all in Michigan, all in this month, and all very much the vital business of your organization.

Here is one under date of December 10, 1935, from which I will read this excerpt:

We ask, by what law does Commissioner Pickert, of the police department, abrogate the constitutional rights of the people and institute strong-arm tactics worthy of Hitler?—

That is the police department of the city of Detroit—

This action of Commissioner Pickert follows a series of actions denying the rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly and the right to organize throughout the city. The conference is prepared to offer evidence and has in its files many cases of police brutality and abrogation of civil rights, especially in the last month.

In the public interest the conference feels that it is the responsibility of the mayor, whose appointee Police Commissioner Pickert is, and of the common council, who are elected by the voters of Detroit, to now inquire into the systematic violations of civil rights practiced by Commissioner Pickert.

This not only happened in Detroit, but almost universally throughout the United States, wherever bodies such as the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union, began to pick upon the various law-enforcing bodies. It was not only just in Detroit.

Here is a form of resolution they got out for the investigation of Police Commissioner Pickert, and they tried to get other organizations to sign that. They got these out and sent them around.

Here is a pamphlet put out by the Professional League for the Protection of Civil Rights. On the cover of it they have a letter addressed to the members of the Professional League for the Protection of Civil Rights and signed by Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

That letter is under date of March 23, 1936, and, as I have said, addressed to the members of the Professional League for the Protection of Civil Rights, in which he states:

FRIENDS: You are probably not aware with what hope and high commendation we regard the organized campaign for civil rights in Michigan. The Conference for Protection of Civil Rights is the only united front in this field in the country. It has been tried, but only in Michigan have such diverse elements gotten together on a common platform without friction.

Your Professional League for Civil Rights fits into this picture, for the conference is a delegate body and yours a membership association. Nobody can render a greater service in the maintenance of civil rights than men and women from the professions. They are sufficiently involved to be concerned. Their sympathies are sufficiently with labor and progressive causes to understand what the issues are all about.

The Civil Liberties Union welcomes your unique form of appeal to a group too little enlisted before in this struggle. You can count upon our cooperation as we know we can count on yours in a common task.

That is signed:

Sincerely yours, Roger N. Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union.

This committee, and also the Fish committee, had plenty of evidence placed before it as to the Communistic affiliations and tie-ups of the American Civil Liberties Union, and here we have in Detroit this Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, which really is a

front organization, an affiliated organization, of the American Civil Liberties Union, acting as a front for the Communist Party in its operations.

Here is their first call for their first annual convention for the defense of civil rights, in Detroit, May 22-23, 1936.

Then they got out these leaflets against the police commissioner of the city of Detroit. And, incidentally, the police commissioner of Detroit is a brigadier general in the Michigan National Guard, a man who has done a splendid job in building up the police department and maintaining law and order in the city of Detroit, a thorough American, if there ever was one.

Here is a bulletin they got out directed against him. They had a public hearing in the city hall on the morning of May 22, 1936, at 10 o'clock a. m.

They spent several hours and produced 12 or 13 witnesses attempting to prove the brutality of the police department, saying that Commissioner Pickert was militaristic in his handling of criminal affairs.

This Morris Sugar, whom I definitely named the other day, is a Communist, and we can produce witnesses who will give evidence to that effect, and dare him to come before this committee and deny it. He was the main witness for the other side.

He offered the most testimony. He produced 19 or 20 cases, as I recall, relating to various acts that had been done by the police officials, as he said, proving them to be brutal.

One of the cases he told about was the story of an innocent young boy, 19 years of age, being caught trying to enter into a garage building, and the police officer caught him in the act, chasing him on the roof of the building, and chasing him behind the skylight to catch up with him, and shooting him, killing the boy. Of course, this only happened, as I recall, at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. He was 19 years old, just a youth. I don't know what he would be breaking into a garage for at that time of the morning if he was innocent. Anyway, the police officer killed this lad; and Mr. Sugar—you would think that he was putting on a jury case. He had a great big outline, a map of the human body, and tried to show where the bullet had entered and left the body. He attempted to prove that the police officer shot this boy while he was lying prone on the roof. He also had an outline of the roof of the building.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get down more specifically to the testimony that we are interested in here.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The reason I am bringing these things in, Mr. Chairman, is this: That all of these actions of every member of this Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights does—this hearing in Lansing, this hearing before the common council in the city of Detroit, the various mass meetings, every piece of literature that they have turned out—all of it has been against organized law and order. Their inception of this committee, as I stated before, was conceived and started by Communists. The men that have conducted the activities there are Communists. I know that Pat O'Brien is not a Communist. He is a political opportunist. I do not believe John Baldwin is a Communist. He is a minister. But he has been used as a front for these fellows; and even Masaryk, the fellow who is behind that picture, has been used as a front.

They have been a disturbing element.

We go through here and we find in every case, every piece of literature that they turned out, they are operating against law and order. This is the front organization for them there.

They started mass meetings out in the Ford plant. They went to the city hall a number of times. They have been repeatedly after the Dunckel-Baldwin bill, attempting to get that law repealed.

I have here a number of documents, if you want them, and, if you wish, I would be glad to read them into the record, but it would take a lot of time, of course. I should like to offer them in evidence to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you submit them to the committee as an exhibit for the examination of the committee.

Mr. REYNOLDS. As a group?

The CHAIRMAN. As a group. They are all to go in as a group, as one exhibit, in connection with this particular conference.

Mr. REYNOLDS. There are one or two back here that I think you would be particularly interested in, if I may read those.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Here is one dated July 1938, after the name of the organization was changed from the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights to the Civil Rights Federation. In this particular report they have an article under the heading "The Dies Committee." It states:

Announcement was made recently that the Dies Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities will open hearings in Michigan early in September. Representative Dies (Texas) is already beginning here with a squad of investigators.

A recent widely publicized exposure of an extensive Nazi spy ring in this country made it common knowledge that Hitler agents are engaged in such un-American activities as stealing military secrets, disseminating Nazi propaganda, and building Nazi organizations to destroy democracy. The extent of these activities is attested to by William Dodd, former Ambassador to Germany, who says that Hitler is spending 30 billions on espionage and treachery in the United States—much of this money being furnished by certain large local industrialists. We urge the Dies committee to start at once to investigate Nazi activities here. At the conference it was decided to ask the committee to investigate the activities of the police department and the chamber of commerce in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. They want everything investigated but the Communists.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I have something to say on that in a few minutes.

But the experience of Massachusetts must be a warning to us. There a similar committee whitewashed Fascist activities in the State and turned the investigation into a "political attempt to smear organized labor, Communists, and liberal groups," the Civil Liberties Committee of Massachusetts discloses.

There is already evidence that it is planned to use the Dies committee to institute a campaign of slander and persecution against the labor movement, against Governor Murphy, and against all progressive organizations. We must guard against such a move by insisting that the funds appropriated to the committee be really used against the enemies of democracy, the Nazi and all Fascist elements. Send letters and resolutions to this effect to Dies, President Roosevelt, and members of the committee: Representative Arthur D. Healy (Massachusetts), Joe Starnes (Alabama), John J. Dempsey (New Mexico), Harold G. Mosier (Ohio), Chester Thomason (Illinois), and Noah M. Mason (Illinois). Act now.

Then they go and talk about the Tom Mooney case and the Scottsboro case. They are against fingerprinting. Now, I was in the war, and it did not kill me to have my fingerprints taken. They registered them here in town. I do not know why any American citizen should object to having his fingerprints taken. But here is this Communist

front organization, with all these Communist affiliations, objecting to all of these things.

Later on in their literature they again talk about you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just offer those as one exhibit.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I shall be very glad to do so.

I want to make this one further statement about them: In every piece of literature that they have turned out since the spring of 1935 they picked on organized law. They picked on law-enforcing bodies. They have taken after every type of Fascist organization they can think of or imagine. But nowhere in any piece of their literature that they have put out have they ever mentioned Communist activities. In other words, they have labeled themselves most definitely by that very omission as Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to fingerprinting, which you mentioned, a great many communities have voluntarily come forward to have their fingerprints taken. That has come under my observation. Parents want their children fingerprinted. Such activity is being carried on voluntarily by police departments, is it not?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And civic groups of different kinds are sponsoring that all over the country?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is for the purpose of identification in case of loss or kidnaping, and those are in turn filed with the F. B. I.

Mr. REYNOLDS. But these people do not want any legal record of themselves. They want nothing by which they can be identified. They are just a front organization.

I will offer these in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much.

(The documents referred to were received by the committee for examination and marked "Reynolds Exhibit No. 1" of this date.)

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM T. GERNAEY

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is William T. Gernaey?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. GERNAEY. Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. GERNAEY. Born and raised there; 35 years of age.

The CHAIRMAN. You were at one time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GERNAEY. I was, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GERNAEY. I graduated from the Young Communist League into the party in 1934. I was a member of the Young Communist League from 1932 to 1934. I happen to be very familiar with the activities of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did you occupy with the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. In the Young Communist League I joined the organization, or I was recruited into the organization as a member,

became a member of the section committee, in that particular section of town; became the unit organizer, a member of the district committee of the Young Communist League; a member of the district bureau of the Young Communist League; district organizer of the youth sports group, under the control of the Young Communist League, called the Labor Sports Union; member of the different Y. C. L. fractions within different youth organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a sufficient background.

Mr. GERNAEY. In the year 1934 I have reached an age where I am graduating into the party. My approach to the masses is that of an adult as well as a youth. I am better fitted for the party because of my political knowledge.

Within the party I became a unit organizer, agit-prop director of the section, member of the section committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you become connected with the industrial union?

Mr. GERNAEY. No, I never did.

I should like to read, in respect to union work, an excerpt taken from one of our manuals; that is, one of the manuals of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you, Mr. Gernaey, for 2 or 3 years you were in the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And you held various offices in that league?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Then after you had been there 2 or 3 years you graduated into the Communist Party?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And how long were you in the Communist Party?

Mr. GERNAEY. Until the year of 1936, January 1936.

Now I want to read from this pamphlet entitled "Capitalist Stabilization has Ended." This says "Thesis and Resolutions" from the "Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

The Communist International, I believe we all know, is an organization which brings in the Communist Parties of all the different countries, where a program, where a policy of activity is carried out for the next period. And from this pamphlet I read why I was connected with the trade-union movement.

The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade-union organizations, basing themselves on the growing, spontaneous strivings of the workers toward unity in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and organizing this striving, must carefully prepare every economic struggle of the proletariat among the broadest masses of the workers, establish the closest contacts with the new worker activities coming from below and thus insure the revolutionary leadership of the struggle and the splitting of the social democratic workers from their treacherous leaders.

At this particular time, following the comintern resolutions, 1935, the Communist Party members were instructed to join mass organizations, to join trade unions, to join church groups. Those organizations which would not fit into the purpose of the Communist Party were to be organized to carry on the activities of the Communist Party. For this reason I was directed and instructed and put into a trade-union local.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that local?

Mr. GERNAEY. That local was the Painters and Decorators Local, No. 37, affiliated to the Detroit Federation of Labor and affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, an international brotherhood.

In this organization, this local union, I was the recording secretary. I gained this position through the activities of our party faction within the local union, a well-organized faction to carry on Communist activities.

The CHAIRMAN. What were some of the Communist activities that you were directed by the Communists to carry on in your union?

Mr. GERNAEY. There were numerous activities and problems. And here I again would like to quote from our booklets. When I say "our booklets" I speak for the Communist Party. When I say "our booklets" I do not mean in the sense that they are mine. I have here some of the articles that I think should be brought before this committee, in regard to the work that the Communist Party carries on in the trade-union movement, particularly since that is where I was working.

Mr. MOSIER. You were in a painters' and decorators' union?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Had you been a painter and decorator?

Mr. GERNAEY. I had worked at it. I was no painter and decorator. You must pass an examination before you become a member of the local union. This was all taken care of before I was examined, for the questions that would be asked me would be such that I would become a member. I had no difficulty in joining the local union, although I was more or less nonskilled in the trade.

I read here an article from the Party Organizer of March 1933, when the orientation of the party was toward mass work.

For the last 3 years the party seriously raised the question of trade-union work. Such slogans as "Every party member a trade-union member," "Every party member must give 80 percent of his time for trade-union work," etc., were heard everywhere. Yet the reports at plenums—section, district, and national—show that the big stumbling block in our work is our failure to make headway in trade-union and factory work. Now then, where does the weakness in our trade-union work lie? Why don't our trade-union fractions function?

My several years of experience in the party, especially in district 13, has led me to the conclusion that the main fault with the party's trade-union work does not lie in the methods or approach but in the basically wrong structure of the party units.

Our present territorial units are ideologically and organizationally divorced from any practical trade-union work. The units exist in territories comprising scores of blocks and thousands of people. With the small membership they are like a drop in the bucket. The regular party work which consists of visiting contacts, help build the unemployed councils, open-air meetings, affairs, etc., and special campaigns—elections, Daily Worker, Western Worker, Scottsboro, Mooney, hunger marches, etc., cannot artificially be linked up with the trade-union work. While it is hard but possible and necessary to build block committees and territorial unemployed councils, it is impossible to organize unions on such a basis. Yet the whole party's (district 13) orientation, with very few exceptions, is toward the neighborhood. The result is, when a worker joins the party and is assigned to a unit, the member is immediately faced with a vast territory, which could absorb hundreds of activities, with problems (street meetings, leaflet distribution, visiting for subs, affairs, etc.) which are exclusively territorial and have no direct, immediate connection with the building of a specific revolutionary trade-union.

Now, not to go into any lengthy analysis of the composition of our membership and the units unsystematic and improperly organized distribution of work amongst the membership, I want to make the following proposals:

I might mention that this is—

reprinted from an article by Comrade F. F., from California, raising the problem of how the party can do trade-union and factory work, and an article answering these questions raised by Comrade F. F. These articles deal with a burning problem of our party. We call upon all district, section, and unit functionaries to send in articles based on their experiences in the units concerning this problem.

Now, to go on:

1. That the territorial units be reorganized, to distribute the work on a percentage basis, not according to the individual member (that each member is to give 80 percent of his time to trade-union work) but according to the unit membership as a whole. For example, let us say 55 percent of the unit membership is to do trade-union and factory work, 25 percent unemployed neighborhood work, 20 percent fraternal and other work. Of course, I am just suggesting a rough figure.

2. But a mere mechanical reorganization of the unit is not enough. Comrades will raise the question if only 25 percent of the unit membership is to carry on party work in the neighborhoods, what will the rest of the membership do? How will they carry on the party work and the special campaigns? The answer to this is that all party work, general and special campaigns must in an organized and painful manner be carried over to the various fields of activities the members were assigned to. In other words, the members assigned to trade-unions (A. F. of L. and T. U. U. L.) and factory work must carry out the party's campaigns there, and so much those assigned to fraternal and other work. It means that when a member is assigned to a trade-union or factory, he or she should not be sent in the unit territory to visit contacts or get Western Worker or Daily Worker subs, etc., but do this in the organizations they were assigned to, in the trade and industry they work. Even leaflet distribution and signature drives should be carried out on this basis where possible, without endangering the job or the holding of membership in the particular organization—the fractions to correlate both party and specific organization work of its members.

In my opinion, if we reorganize the units on the basis of the above proposals, we will be able to overcome the stumbling block in our trade-union and factory work. However, comrades must not think that this will work like miracles—over night. It will be necessary to conduct a persistent ideological campaign for a long time, and where necessary take disciplinary action and we will be able to convince the membership of the importance of attending fraction meetings and to build the revolutionary unions.

MR. MOSIER. That was in 1933, you say?

MR. GERNAEY. That was in 1933. I mention this article, I quote this article to show the reason I was in trade-union work.

My initiation fee in the trade-union to which I belong was paid by a member. I was misquoted in Detroit in saying that it came from the Communist Party. It was the membership. The membership felt that they were doing the thing to be done by putting their members where they could be best fitted. And it was here that I began to carry on for the Communist Party its program, its policy of mass influence.

THE CHAIRMAN. What did you do within the union that you joined in order to carry out the policy and instructions of the Communist Party?

MR. GERNAEY. I should like to say first that as a member of the trade-union movement, the American Federation of Labor and the Detroit Federation of Labor, any member known to be a Communist is automatically expelled from the organization. A known Communist is not a member. He is given a trial and if proven, he is automatically expelled. It was for that reason particularly that the Communist Party members within this local union would never

admit their affiliation or their membership in the party. But they would carry on radical activities in support of the Communist Party within the local union.

You asked me who directed the activities, my activities, within the local union. We have a fraction within the local union, and Communist group members who are not known to the membership in the local as Communists plan the activities to be carried out within the meeting. As secretary of the local union, with the president of the local who will be very liberal, or whom I will be able to sway on particular points, the Communists have everything pretty much their own way. For instance, with communications coming to a local union, if it would be in support of the Dies committee, let us say, as a Communist I should wastebasket any communication from this committee. Should it be a registered letter where perhaps because of limited time in the local union I could not read the full contents of it, that would be different. But in this way communications coming from the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, for example, or the Detroit Federation of Labor—we would get continual appeals to subscribe or have the local subscribe to the Detroit Federation's newspaper, the Detroit Labor News. That would be put in the wastebasket.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as secretary it would be your duty to take any communications for the trade-unions.

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Being a member of the Communist Party, and secretary, if there was a communication that you did not see fit to convey to the membership it would be thrown in the wastebasket.

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir. If it should be a communication from the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, we will say, on the subject of a subversive picture, probably coming from Russia, which would have nothing of educational value in it, it would be handled that way. For instance, we had a picture called Youth of Maxims. The police department saw it and censored the picture. The Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights made quite an issue with the unions, asking for support in the struggle against the supposedly violation of civil rights carried on by the police department. Those letters would come to the local unions, and we would give support. We would give support in this manner, that we would have the Communist members appeal, and they would carry on. They would make motion after motion, which were endorsed and supported. They will go on record in support of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights on that particular issue.

At the time of the Weinstone defense committee they needed funds to carry on the fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney, and they would want delegates from members of the local unions who would vote for funds. If they did not, they would have a faction in there who would see that a financial donation was made. The directions would come from the district office of the Communist Party. The delegation within a local union would have its contact man or a chairman, representing the comrades in the delegation, so they would have contact with the district office. In that way the membership would not be seen around the Communist Party halls or headquarters, and could not be pointed out as members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the American Youth Congress, or did you have any contact or experience with it as a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. As a member of the Young Communist League, and as a young man, I was very much interested in the young people of the Nation. I have been an active member of the Y. M. C. A., and, as a Communist, I have been a leader in an active group within the Y. M. C. A.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the American Youth Congress.

Mr. GERNAEY. What I was going to say was in regard to the American Youth Congress. This is in relation to the Young Communist League, my position in the Young Communist League, in regard to youth work, and showing how active I was in that work. Before going into the American Youth Congress I would first like to give you and this committee the program of the Young Communist League on one particular issue, and that is on war, and also the Communist Party's position on war. I have some literature here on the party's position, and I would like to read it into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you read short excerpts from it, or give us the gist of it?

Mr. GERNAEY. This pamphlet is entitled "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Task of the Communists."

The CHAIRMAN. Who issued it?

Mr. GERNAEY. It is the "Resolution of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, July-August 1928."

What I am about to read is found on pages 34, 35, 36, and 37:

The teachings of Marx and Lenin and the experience of national wars in recent years indicate the following tasks and tactics for the proletariat in wars of national liberation:

(a) The support the proletariat renders in these wars and the temporary alliance which—in certain cases—it enters into with the bourgeoisie must, under no circumstances, imply the abandonment of the class war. Even when the bourgeoisie, for a long time, fights side by side with the proletariat against the imperialists, it still remains the enemy and strives to utilize the proletariat for its own aims.

(b) Therefore, the proletariat must not simply accept the policies and slogans of the bourgeoisie but must act independently, advance its own political program and slogans, and set up its own revolutionary organizations (party, trade-unions, workers' militia, proletarian military movements). The Communists must prepare the masses for the inevitable treachery of the bourgeoisie, take the strongest measures to retain the proletarian positions, do everything possible to hinder the bourgeoisie in its efforts to achieve its own class aims, and to prepare for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

(c) In national wars in which the bourgeoisie, or the bourgeois government, plays a counterrevolutionary role (as is the case in the struggle which the Chinese workers and peasants are now carrying on to prevent the imperialists' dismemberment of China), the Communists must work for the overthrow of the bourgeois government under the slogan of "national defense."

I bring this out particularly because of the political complexion of the world today. Reading further:

39. The tasks of the international proletariat in connection with wars of liberation of oppressed peoples, and with imperialist expeditions for the suppression of the national revolutionary movements and revolutions—with a few concrete exceptions—are the same as in imperialist wars against the Soviet Union, viz: (a) To fight against wars of oppression by intensifying the class antagonisms with a view to transforming this war into civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie; (b) consistent application of defeatist tactics toward the imperialist country and its armies, to fight for the victory of the oppressed nation, and to

support its armies; (c) to resist, primarily by means of revolutionary mass action, the despatch of warships and munition transports to the colonies by the imperialists, to oppose the extension of the period of military service for soldiers fighting in wars against the colonies, etc., to oppose increases in war budgets and the granting of loans by the imperialists to the counterrevolutionary governments and militarists in the colonies, to fight against imperialist war preparations in concession territories and on railways and inland waterways in the colonies; (d) to take measures to counteract the butcheries perpetrated by the imperialists in the colonies and the support which they render to the native counterrevolutionary governments in suppressing the masses of the toilers.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you not extend that in record? I think that we have the gist of it, in a general way. In other words, it is to be directed against a country that is opposed to Russia. That is the sum and substance of it.

Mr. GERNAEY. No, sir; not necessarily. This is in relation to the Spanish situation, and in relation to the Chinese-Japanese situation. I believe this is the international position of the Communist Party of the United States and of the Comintern, of which the Communist Party is an affiliated body.

Reading further, under the head of The Proletariat's Attitude Toward Armies in Imperialist States, they say this:

In imperialist states the attitude of the proletariat toward armies is determined by the following:

No matter what their form of organization may be, armies are a constituent part of the bourgeoisie state apparatus, which the proletariat, in the course of its revolution, must not democratize but break up.

In the light of this task, the organizational difference between standing armies and militia, between conscript armies and volunteer armies, etc., disappears. The slogan, "Not a man, not a penny, for the army," i. e., relentless struggle against bourgeois militarism, against its armies of whatever form, voting against war budgets, etc., holds good.

With regard to the American Youth Congress, the American Youth Congress works among college students in schools, and it was very active in taking part in opposition to our armies in this country, or in any way supporting those countries which are not favorable, such as the Spanish revolutionists. There was a member of the Young Communist League who formulated a faction within the Youth Congress. It was a member of the Young Communist League who formulated that faction within the league and which had control.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean a faction within the American Youth Congress which controlled the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GERNAEY. They took over the administration of the work for the most part, but that is a part of the American Youth Congress. That is the reason I desire to point out that the Young American League's position at the present time is to be put into effect in another form, through another organization. Now, in the building up or commencement of the American Youth Congress, you might say that it started in New York City. The Young Communist League members put on their white shirts, which the Young Communist League were very happy to extend to this membership. With the new policies, the membership was to go out and address people. The Young Communist League had full control and leadership, and this was simply a group of Young Communist League members. They were able to get this organization, and they endorsed this program of the congress. The Michigan Youth Congress in one of its conventions started the second American Youth Congress that was

held out there. You will understand that the Communist League members were not put into this representation of the American Youth Congress; because, being in the American Youth Congress, there would be a duplication. The Young Communist League selected chosen people who would carry on certain activities among different groups of people, and they were selected to work with the American Youth Congress. I would like to read into the record the names of some of the people and a statement of what their duties are.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean Young Communist League members?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about that personally?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir; because I also had my duty to perform as a Communist in the American Youth Congress. There was Gil Green.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. GERNAEY. In New York City. He lives somewhere in New York, but he is mostly traveling over the country. He is the national secretary of the Young Communist League at this time. In a movement of this kind, people are required who can direct this movement. There is Waldo McNutt, a young man from Kansas, who was a very brilliant young man and who made a very fine appearance before groups of people.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He went into this American Youth movement.

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he take an active part in it?

Mr. GERNAEY. In the Second American Youth Congress he was chairman of many of the leading sections. However, he was from a distant State. He was a very busy man in his contacts, but he needed support in the direction of the factions within the Youth Congress in carrying on their activities. He had all the rein he needed. Then there was Serill Gerber, and I have been told that he was the champion debater of the State of California. He was a very brilliant young man.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a member of the Young Communist League.

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir; like Waldo McNutt, his business would be to advise and instruct the membership of the league how to carry out the movement.

The CHAIRMAN. He held a position in the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GERNAEY. He was a member of the American Youth Congress as a member of the executive committee. In his time, or in the time of McNutt, he was chairman—that is, for the time he was the president.

There was Marie Himoff, who gave political guidance to the membership of the Young Communist League.

Nydia Barker, at this time being employed in an automobile plant, was very active in her local union. She directed and carried on the youth activities among young women in the factories of her local union, and, being very well acquainted in the Negro section in Detroit,

in the Y. W. C. A., she was also very active in getting the Negro youth organizations to participate in the American Youth Congress, such as Negro church groups, and so forth. There is Aaron Kishner, whose sister, Sophia Kishner, for the last 5 years has been secretary to the district secretary of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. He is a member of the Young Communist League; yes, sir. His activities were directed to the field of trade-union work.

Joe Roberts at this particular time is district organizer of the Young Communist League, and gives political guidance.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position?

Mr. GERNAEY. He was a member of the executive committee. You will understand, Mr. Chairman, that this is not a duplication of the Young Communist League. The people chosen within the organization must have ability to carry on that particular phase of the work.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anyone else?

Mr. GERNAEY. There is Arthur Clifford, a young man from the University of Michigan, with special honors. He is a writer. It was Arthur Clifford who wrote up the constitution of the American Youth Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir. It was Arthur Clifford who, in 1935, was able to organize a Young Communist League nucleus within the University of Michigan. That was Arthur Clifford's job, as well as representing the American Youth Congress. His job was to get college-student groups behind the American Youth Congress.

The next is Marian Raskin. Her job was to work within the Y. W. C. A.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And also of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was her work?

Mr. GERNAEY. Marian Raskin's duty was to work within the Y. W. C. A., or to get industrial groups within the Y. W. C. A., or socially minded people, interested in the Youth Congress. She would secure quarters for out-of-town delegations at the Y. W. C. A. Her job was to become very well acquainted with the executives of the Y. W. C. A. She was active in important gatherings, for instance, of church people, which looked very legitimate within the Y. W. C. A. They would have ministers to come there and address meetings. It had a very good face, looking clean and white.

Jack Raskin was on a "white collar" job with the W. P. A. That was in its infancy at this particular time. His job was to work within the W. P. A. unions, especially "white collar" unions, to get their support of the American Youth Congress.

Another one was Marian Gilpin. As I say, these young Communists are chosen people. They have certain jobs to do. Marian

Gilpin had been employed by the Hudson Motor Car Co., and some strike had taken place there. Marian Gilpin had been interested in, or participated in, the picket line. I might say that her appearance and clothing, and the way she conducted herself, made her a person who would not be a very good person to organize young girls in factories. They were chosen people. Of course, we had Barker, who had that approach, but Marian Gilpin did not have that approach. To look at Marian Gilpin you would say she was probably a young lady who was interested in social science and social-service work. Marian Gilpin's position was to carry on tactical activities in the American Youth Congress. She was a good person to speak to church groups, and she was a good person to contact business people in the city of Detroit. She was able to go to one large stationery house and secure the loan of furniture for the American Youth Congress office. The Statler Hotel provided her a suite of rooms for the use of the American Youth Congress. She had a good approach for businessmen.

The next is Marian Henry.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does she live?

Mr. GERNAEY. She lives in Detroit. She was a Detroit girl. Marian Henry's job was to work among church groups. She worked within church groups. She was a member of the Central Methodist Church, one of the largest and most influential churches in the city of Detroit. She was able to secure a following among the membership, although she did not appear to be especially any religious person. In fact, she was of a different faith. She was able to carry on Communist activities within that church group and to secure credentials from people in the church group. She would go out and speak to other church groups and get them interested.

My position was naturally in the trade-union movement, as a Young Communist League member.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the formation of this Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights?

Mr. GERNAEY. First, my position is very important, inasmuch as I had done much union work for the purposes of the Communist Party within the Detroit Federation of Labor. It is my duty to go there with the program of the Communist, or of the American Youth Congress, setting forth the platform of the Congress. I had a following in there, and there were other Communist members within the Communist Party in the American Federation of Labor. Credentials were given to us to speak for the American Youth Congress in the name of the Detroit Federation of Labor. With the credentials they gave us, we could penetrate every local union in the city of Detroit. We could go to any of them with the name of the president of the Detroit Federation of Labor on the credential. Any president of a local union who felt there was a catch in it would have confidence in the president of the Detroit Federation of Labor. In this way we were able to go over and gain the support of many local unions. Incidentally, in this connection it was our duty not to wait until the next meeting for the union to elect delegates that would support the Congress financially. We would not wait until the next meeting. We would stay or wait to see what delegates were elected. When we got the names of those delegates that were elected from the local union, we immediately contacted them. Where the question

was raised, we were invited to speak. We contacted the delegates, and they were the people we worked on to get support for the American Youth Congress. That was my position, visiting the various local unions for the Young Communist League and securing support for carrying on the activities of the American Youth Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through with that phase of it?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what part you played in the formation of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights?

Mr. GERNAEY. Previous history shows the birth of that organization. I played a part in the trade-union movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do all of those people whose names you have mentioned reside in New York, or do they live in different places?

Mr. GERNAEY. Gil Green, Waldo McNutt, and Serrill Gerber are national figureheads.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do they reside?

Mr. GERNAEY. Where they give their address, hardly anyone will ever know.

The CHAIRMAN. They travel about the country?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes; they travel about the country. I imagine Gil Green's home address would be New York City. Waldo McNutt would travel around the country, although I say I believe Kansas City was his home. Serrill Gerber comes from California. The balance of those I mentioned are Young Communist League members in the city of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they travel about any?

Mr. GERNAEY. Oh, yes. They travel around quite a bit. Mary Himoff and Gil Underwood traveled the country, back a few years ago in the political campaign for the election of William Z. Foster and James W. Ford. Mary Himoff's home is in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, get back to this committee, this civil rights proposition.

Mr. GERNAEY. The Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights—I took an active part in this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Who formed it, and for what purpose?

Mr. GERNAEY. You have heard the name of Mezerik mentioned. I heard that in the testimony given. Mezerik had a company, a business company, called National Advertised Foods. I should like to tell something about that. I think it would be very interesting to know about the nationally advertised foods, the relationship to it and the Communist movement. That advertising organization advertised nationally known products. A shrewd man, Mr. Mezerik—cunning. He was able to convince firms such as Armour & Co., and Libby, McNeill & Libby. I do not believe it is necessary for me to go further. I mention those two to give the significance of the companies, nationally known companies. He was able to get signed contracts with these concerns in advertising their foods in the city of Detroit, and one of the points he brought out very emphatically to these food manufacturers was the question of samples; in order to advertise something and sell it, you must have samples. Some biscuit company in Pennsylvania sent us a whole carload of cookies. Do you know where the samples went? To the Workers' School, the Communist Workers' School.

Mr. MOSIER. The Communist Workers' School?

Mr. GERNAEY. The Communist Workers' Schools. They were supposed to go out as samples. It would take 2 or 3 months before a manufacturer learned the nature of Mezerik's work. Insofar as the business was concerned, no results came out of this program. The samples went in, but who got them the manufacturer never knew, and naturally the contract would be terminated after a few months, and it was necessary to continually get new contracts.

The CHAIRMAN. Getting back to your conference, you have described Mezerik or the organization of this conference.

Mr. GERNAEY. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, may I ask—can I submit this to the Chair when I have finished with it, or is it necessary that this material be used now? Is that permissible?

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. He is one of the committee reporters.

Mr. GERNAEY. Mezerik, a businessman, was a very active Communist. As his employee in a business way, I did practically everything there was to be done for him in the way of a servant. I would clean the house, take his clothes out, a valet service, and I was office boy. I was store demonstrator, and I also naturally had a very active part in the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights in carrying out the technical part of the activities of the conference. For example, I was at the hearing in Lansing on the Buchner-Baldwin bill. My job was to immediately get out mimeographed leaflets on activities that were taking place in the hearing, immediate issues, immediate information that the people must get there. It was my duty to mimeograph them and give them out to the people. In the office of Mr. Mezerik I would get out the mimeograph leaflets, typewrite the stencils or prepare the stencils, and prepare other literature that was going out on the conference. Mr. Mezerik, when necessary at a conference meeting—when there was someone there who would not choose to pick up a certain issue—I would be called upon to raise that particular point as a member of the faction within the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights. The mimeograph machine for the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights had been turned over to Mezerik to use in the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights by the Communists. The addressograph machine which had been used in the old Trade Union Unity League office, the same as the machine that cuts addressograph plates, was all turned over to the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights and the Nationally Advertised Foods.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that company that sent them the biscuits that you were talking about?

Mr. GERNAEY. It was a Pennsylvania concern. Should I hear it, I would remember it, but I do not recall the name of the concern.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. GERNAEY. Mezerik and I would have quite some squabbles. I would not be satisfied about many things, such as working Saturday afternoon, perhaps, when I had a Communist Party meeting to attend. Confliction between a rank-and-file member of the Communist Party and the boss in business was a rather confusing situation. He had business for me to do, to go out and demonstrate in a store. I do not mean to carry a placard or a banner. I mean for people to taste tomato juice and maybe a biscuit. "Here," I would say, "what is your position on the party if I am not able to carry out my party work?"

"Well, comrade, you make your decision." So I would attend my meeting and go to the store demonstration afterward.

The CHAIRMAN. You are no longer a member of the Young Communist League, are you?

Mr. GERNAEY. All of the members—

The CHAIRMAN. I say, you do not belong to the Young Communist League any more?

Mr. GERNAEY. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you expelled?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes; I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Why were you expelled? What was ground of the expulsion?

Mr. GERNAEY. During all of this activity that I had carried on as a Young Communist League member, and as a Communist Party member, it was under-cover work. I was paid by a company to do this. I want it emphatically understood that I never had anything to do with industrial work. I was investigating Communist activities. My activities within the trade-union movement were all Communist activity. My service as an under-cover man was never desired there. Yes; I was expelled from the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have a trial?

Mr. GERNAEY. The trial consisted of two party members, one a member of my local union and another member of the Young Communist League who was active in the movement in the Youth Conference came up to my house on a Sunday morning and invited me to a special meeting at the Communist Party office, 5969 Fourteenth Street. I was told that this meeting was a special meeting of the local union on our fraction in trade-union work, and Comrade Weinstock from New York City—Weinstock was active and has been active in opposition work of the American Federation of Labor in New York City and nationally—to speak at this special meeting on Sunday morning, and that I should come along with these two members, which I did.

In Weinstone's office—district secretary of the Communist Party in Detroit—in Weinstone's office I found about 15 Communist members. Upon looking over the office I felt it was very strange that while this was to be a trade-union meeting here was a person such as Jack Wilson. Jack Wilson is interested in industrial unionism, and there was another member I should mention, Carl Prussian, also interested in industrial unionism.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, they tried you?

Mr. GERNAEY. And along with those were two or three of the Communist members of my local union. They asked me to take a chair, which I did. After about 10 minutes the New York Communist who had come in there and was doing some sort of investigation that I did not know anything about and had no interest in, peeked his head into the door and said, "We have a stool pigeon within our group." About this time a couple of blackjacks appeared on the desk and a couple of revolvers. Everybody looked at each other. I looked at everybody there, and they told me I need not look any farther; that I was the person. Naturally, I denied it until shown proof.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, that was the final action, and from then on you ceased to be a member?

Mr. GERNAEY. I might say I was told before I had seen the proof, and I will mention the proof in a moment—before the proof was

produced they did not want to produce; from what I observed there they did not want to produce this proof. So threats of intimidation were made, slapping me down and taking me down to the basement—do most anything to me. This was the method that was used in order to seek a conviction. Proof is what I asked for. "Show me the proof." And they would get a confession. They did; they showed me proof, showed me photostatic copies of expense vouchers, photostatic copy of a shopper's service. I do not know if you know what a shopping service is. It is where you go into a store and you buy something and give the reaction on the clerk. I had bought a water heater. A salesman waited on me in a gas station, and I had bought a water heater, and I told this survey of the ability of this salesman in selling me this heater. They showed me these things. I was at a loss to know how in heaven they could get it, where it could have come from, because of the facts—

The CHAIRMAN. Talk a little louder; I cannot hear you.

Mr. GERNAEY. I say because of the fact that these reports, such as this expense voucher, were put in the mail; as soon as I had signed anything it would go into the mails.

Now, I was shown photostatic copies of these reports, these vouchers. So I signed a confession that I had been an under-cover man of the Communist Party, refusing to sign an affidavit, though, that I was a labor spy.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that we have pretty well covered that point.

Mr. MOSIER. I want to ask a question, if I may, Mr. Chairman. You said that when you arrived at this meeting apparently a committee was assembled there in the presence of someone who was doing investigating work. Do you know who that someone was?

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute, before you answer that. Do you know absolutely who that person was?

Mr. GERNAEY. That person was a Communist Party member; that particular person. In Detroit I was questioned as to this, and at this particular time I am somewhat reluctant as to that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOSIER. I would like to have the witness answer it if he can as to who those people were who were making that complaint.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you absolutely know who those people were?

Mr. GERNAEY. The statements I will now make, Mr. Chairman, are authentic; the truth. Following the confession I was taken out of that room. After my signature was attached to a document stating my under-cover activities I was taken into another room, when two gentlemen entered this room. Our meeting is now adjourned. We are now in the lobby of the Communist Party office. Two gentlemen entered the room, and this investigator, this Communist whom I mentioned a moment ago, who was the investigator for the Communist Party, said, "Well, it is all over; we got him." These two gentlemen smiled and said, "Fine," and immediately pulled out a La Follette subpoena calling me to appear in Washington within 24 hours' notice, on, I believe they said, a date about 6 weeks ahead of that time.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, he was an investigator for the La Follette committee?

Mr. GERNAEY. Their names were signed to the subpoena—no; they were not signed to the subpoena. I found out who the two men were

through pictures in the paper, as investigators for the La Follette committee, Cranfield and Allen.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that they were investigators for the La Follette committee?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you know one of them to be a Communist?

Mr. GERNAEY. No, no. The man that worked with them was a Communist, the investigator for the Communist Party, and is the man who appeared in the door, who had made the charge at the opening of the meeting. These other two gentlemen I spoke of came in the door after it was all over.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they say anything about their producing evidence that these men used to convict you?

Mr. GERNAEY. At that particular time, if I may say so, Mr. Congressman, in regard to its subversive activities, I felt I was doing my country a service with the activities that I had carried on and had reported in those years, undermining of our Government and revolutionary overthrow of the Government.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; I think I understand that; but I want to find out, if I can, if these men intercepted somebody's mail or got somebody's mail and took it to the Communist Party to be used against you.

Mr. GERNAEY. The Communist Party had that information. The Communist Party had those reports; photostatic copies of those reports. Where did they get them? They had been nowhere but in the mail.

Mr. MOSIER. And these men said to you, "Well, we got you?"

Mr. GERNAEY. The Communist Party member said to the La Follette men, "Well, we have got him."

I have been reluctant to speak on this.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know Cranfield's initials or Allen's?

Mr. GERNAEY. I do not.

Mr. MOSIER. Were they publicized in the city of Detroit as being investigators of the La Follette committee?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes. Now, we did not end there. After receiving this subpoena, I did not end there. I was about to walk out of the door, when I was called back, and all of these Communist Party members are in the room, and the La Follette man said, "Comrades, this man's life is not worth two cents. He is of no more use to the capitalist class, and he will be destroyed."

Mr. MOSIER. Do you remember who said that?

Mr. GERNAEY. It was Cranfield.

Mr. MOSIER. Cranfield?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes; Cranfield. He said, "Now, I suggest to all you people in this room, from now on—from now on keep a day-to-day and hour-to-hour record of your activities—a day-to-day and hour-to-hour record of your activities."

Mr. MOSIER. Cranfield told that to these assembled Communists?

Mr. GERNAEY. That is right; that is correct. "Because this man probably will be killed within the next 24 hours, one of you here will be charged with the murder." That ended it. With that, the two comrades, Communist Party members, who had escorted me to the meeting, escorted me home. I voluntarily turned over to them the local union stationery and everything in my possession that was owned by the local union.

The CHAIRMAN. You were never hurt, though, were you?

Mr. GERNAEY. No; I was never hurt.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any effort made toward your life at all?

Mr. GERNAEY. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Then how do you account for that statement that was made about the identification?

Mr. GERNAEY. I believe that probably was through a little bit of what you might say spectacularism, perhaps, on the case, or perhaps it was the idea of someone to do this. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they were trying to scare you, intimidate you into remaining quiet; is that right?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, when did this happen, Mr. Gernaey, if you can remember?

Mr. GERNAEY. The date? Just a moment.

Mr. MOSIER. When did this happen?

Mr. GERNAEY. In January 1936.

Mr. MOSIER. January 1937?

Mr. GERNAEY. 1936—1937.

Mr. MOSIER. January 1937?

Mr. GERNAEY. 1937; yes; a year ago last January.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. GERNAEY. I might say in closing that 5 or 6 weeks later the subpoena was canceled. I got the notification from the La Follette committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You will stay here, will you not, and wait on the committee, because we may not be finished with you and we may want to recall you. Thank you very much.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Mr. Spolansky here?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you take the stand, Mr. Spolansky, for just a question or two?

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF JACOB SPOLANSKY

Mr. MOSIER. You have been sworn and you testified this morning?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Correct.

Mr. MOSIER. I believe in your testimony you stated that you knew most of those active in the Communist movement around Detroit?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I do.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you ever know a man by the name of Cranfield?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I know a Mr. Canfield, but he is not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. He is not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. No, sir. He is a high-class gentleman, an attorney from Wisconsin, connected with, I believe, the National Labor Board, and assigned to the La Follette committee.

Mr. MOSIER. I see.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I had a 2-hour conference with him once. I imagine he was impressed, or somewhat impressed, or understood that I was sort of a labor spy, but after talking to him 2 hours we parted very nicely, and he agreed with me, actually admitted with me that the Communists had been influencing the La Follette committee

and continued awhile and said, "You can be sure that the La Follette committee has nothing against you."

Mr. MOSIER. Did he operate around Detroit for the La Follette committee?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. He operated around Detroit for the National Labor Board.

Mr. MOSIER. Was anyone with him?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. No; when I talked to him he was all alone.

Mr. MOSIER. He is more or less of a personal friend of yours?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. No; that is the first time I met him. I met him the second time in a night club.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know Mr. Cranfield's initials?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. I do not know, Congressman; I do not recollect his initials. He is very active with the Labor Board. He is a Wisconsin attorney; I have checked up on him myself, and he is definitely anti-communistic. As a matter of fact, he approved my activities, and said he was going to submit an affidavit to Senator La Follette more or less praising my work. That was his expression after I left.

Mr. MOSIER. That is all.

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Mr. Chairman, I have submitted a book here in which Kowkleski is very prominently mentioned as the head of the American section of the Russian Cheka.

This is the woman that was in Russia and confined in the penitentiary; she is Mrs. Margaret Harrison, of the Associated Press. There is quite a write-up about her experiences while she was in Russia.

Mr. MOSIER. This is the book we have here?

Mr. SPOLANSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further questions, the committee will adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned, to meet tomorrow, Wednesday, October 19, 1938, at 10:30 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1938

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

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. The committee is receiving telegrams from all over the country from people who want to testify. From practically every city we are getting these telegrams and letters, but manifestly we cannot have all of the witnesses who wish to appear, because we do not have the money with which to pay their transportation. However, we will have as many as we can from as many different sections as possible, and will run right along as fast as we can until we reach exhaustion.

The first witness this morning will be Mr. Clyde Morrow.

TESTIMONY OF CLYDE MORROW, DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. MORROW. I live at Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your address?

Mr. MORROW. 203 South Navajo Street.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. MORROW. About 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you work for?

Mr. MORROW. I am working now for the Ford Motor Co. as a millwright.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been working there?

Mr. MORROW. For 3 years, but laid off at times every year during the 3 years. Every year during that time I have been working part of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the Americanization committee of the American Legion?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been furnishing information for that committee?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at any time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; a member of the Communist Party, district 7, section 2. District 7 is the State of Michigan, and section 2 is the city of Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. You say you have worked off and on for the Ford Motor Co. for 3 years.

Mr. MORROW. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Has the fact that you are working for the Ford Motor Co. interfered in any way with your getting at the truth of the matters about which you are to testify?

Mr. MORROW. No, sir; it has not. Practically every statement I make here will be backed up by documentary proof—almost every one.

Mr. MOSIER. I asked that question because there has been some doubt cast upon the credibility of some of the witnesses because they worked for a living, and the fact that they are not on the W. P. A. You do not feel that the fact that you are working for a living would influence your testimony?

Mr. MORROW. No, sir; I have always had to work for a living, and I think I can tell the truth and still work for my living.

The CHAIRMAN. Some seem to think that we should get all our information about the Communist Party from Earl Browder.

Do you have your membership card in the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. I have the membership card here, which shows me a member of the Communist Party under the name of C. Main. That was my Communist Party name. We usually take those names from gravestones, form books, and so forth. We use party names in the Communist Party. That is a common practice.

The CHAIRMAN. And you joined under the party name of C. Main.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date you joined?

Mr. MORROW. My Communist Party membership book was issued to me on December 19, 1932. John Schmies was the organizer for district 7, and the membership book is numbered 4268, and it contains all the due stamps showing that I have paid dues, including dues for the Communist Party of Germany, for the support of the national convention, and so forth, with all Communist Party assessments.

The CHAIRMAN. You joined for the purpose of getting this information, did you not?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir. Previously to being a member of the Communist Party I was in the Unemployment Council, and I gradually got into the Communist Party through the Unemployment Council out there.

The CHAIRMAN. The Unemployment Council was merged with the Workers' Alliance, was it not?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; it is the successor of the old Unemployment Council.

The CHAIRMAN. It was purely a Communist organization.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; every member of the executive committee of the Unemployment Council was a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hold any position with the Unemployment Council?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; as an organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you finally graduated into membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; I was approached by a man to run for State office on the Communist ticket in 1932. He told me that I had taken part in the unemployment struggles and riots and should be a candidate of the Communist Party on account of that work and leading them to the welfare stations.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the man who approached you?

Mr. MORROW. Gus Berzer.

The CHAIRMAN. The candidacy was for what?

Mr. MORROW. The State legislature on the Communist ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did he hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. He held the position of unit organizer, unit 2, section 2, district 7, Communist Party, United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN. He approached you and asked you to join, and you did join?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is your membership book.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will let that go into the record.

(The membership book was received in evidence and marked "Morrow Exhibit No. 1, October 19, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you why you should join the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. He told me that after the revolution the leading Communists would still be the leading Communists, and that I would have something to gain by that.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, that you would be in the select group.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; in the new bourgeoisie.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you participated in any demonstrations or riots?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; I had been arrested at relief stations, by officers at relief stations, at different times. I had been arrested, and that made me qualified to be a candidate of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in 1932.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you participate in the organization of this T. U. U. L.?

Mr. MORROW. The T. U. U. L.?

The CHAIRMAN. The T. U. U. L. What is that organization?

Mr. MORROW. It is the Trade Union United League. There was a "red" union up to 1934. Previous to 1934 the Communist Party had organized industrial unions throughout the United States, and they were affiliated with the "red" international trade unions, with headquarters at Moscow, Soviet Union. One of the leading industrial unions which was a necessary part of the Communist Party was the Auto Workers Union, which led the Briggs strike in 1932 and the motor products strike in the same year. They organized strike cam-

paigns and participated in the hunger march at the Ford plant, where five men lost their lives.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of that league?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir. I was a member. I was a member of the Auto Workers Union. I was president of the Chrysler Local Auto Workers Union, No. 34, which was affiliated with the T. U. U. L.

Mr. MOSIER. How many men were in your local?

Mr. MORROW. In my local we were not very strong. In the Chrysler local we were not very strong, because they received fairly good pay, and we could not get them to join; but in the Briggs plant, the Motor Products plant, and in the Haines Body Co. plant we succeeded in organizing thousands. In fact, most of the employees in the Briggs plant at one time belong to the Auto Workers Union, and they pulled this plant into a strike. They later found that it was the Communist Party and drifted away into the American Federation of Labor and other organizations. We could not hold them.

Mr. MOSIER. When they started the strike at the Briggs plant, how many employees of the Briggs plant were members of this union?

Mr. MORROW. At one time there were about 4,000 people, so that every plant, or every part of the plant, shut down.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that union a Communist-controlled union?

Mr. MORROW. Absolutely. There was not an officer of that union who was not a member of the party. They worked through blocks that controlled the elections and stuffed the ballot boxes to get our men in.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that; or how did they work?

Mr. MORROW. For instance, we will take the Y. M. C. A. or other organizations, where they elect officers: The Communist will meet ahead of the regular meeting of the Y. M. C. A., and they arrange whom they will nominate for president, vice president, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they caucus.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir. Then we go into the regular meeting of the Y. M. C. A. and scatter through the hall as though they do not know each other. If I am nominated by a Communist another seconds it, and in that way they get control. In some places it is not organized like the others.

The CHAIRMAN. Through the power of organized groups of Communists they control other organizations?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. By reason of the fact that you are organized you get control of other organizations?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir. We do not represent all the workers in Detroit, but at one time we had practically every shop under our control.

Mr. MOSIER. When did the strike start in the Briggs plant?

Mr. MORROW. Some time in the year 1932.

Mr. MOSIER. Was it in 1932?

Mr. MORROW. In the year 1932 the big strike occurred. There were strikes in some other plants.

Mr. MOSIER. They were not sit-down strikes, were they?

Mr. MORROW. No, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That particular plan had not been evolved at that time out there?

Mr. MORROW. No, sir; the sit-down strike did not come until about a year later.

Mr. MOSIER. In this particular strike they just ordered a walk-out?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; and they picketed the plant.

Mr. MOSIER. Just what has been the technique in pulling a strike? The word "pulling" is the term that has been used?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. If you wanted to strike, or if your particular organization decided to strike, how would you go about it, or how would you accomplish it?

Mr. MORROW. I did not work at the Briggs plant. The leader of it was Phil Raymond. He never worked at the Briggs plant, but during the strike he was the head of it.

Mr. MOSIER. That is Phil Raymond, the well-known leader of the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; and a candidate for high office under the organization. The way they would organize the strike would be to distribute leaflets through the plant to produce dissatisfaction, suggesting some form of discrimination, low wages, or any grievance that they could discover or manufacture. In the Briggs strike they manufactured badges that were like the badges that the employees of the Briggs Co. wore. Then with about 200 Communists in one of the compartments of the Briggs plant they shut down the switch block that controlled the conveyor line, and all of those departments were forced to suspend. Then they took workers along in other departments, and told them that the other departments were on strike.

Mr. MOSIER. Where did they get the men that were used?

Mr. MORROW. From among the Communists.

Mr. MOSIER. Is it true, or not, that the strike technique developed in that section was such that they reached out, not only to get men in other parts of the State or city, but that they went to Toledo, Ohio; Youngstown, Ohio, and even to Pittsburgh?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; and they went even farther than that.

Mr. MOSIER. Communists were at the head of those strikes?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir. I, myself, went to Flint, in the Pontiac strike, and to Toledo during the Autolite strike. We fought much during the Autolite strike. There they went all over the country, with squads from different States. We sometimes used unemployment organizations, and would have a picket line of 5,000, while the strikers would number only about 500.

Mr. MOSIER. When a strike is called, or a walk-out, you establish picket lines.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. In that picket line, you place unemployed men. You use unemployed men in the particular plant involved.

Mr. MORROW. In the picket line, we will have first some employees. Complete enthusiasm must be worked up among them.

Mr. MOSIER. When the picket line is established, what do you do to keep enthusiasm up among the men?

Mr. MORROW. One method is to start rumors that the company is moving in carloads of scabs or strikebreakers. We always think of that the first thing. Even if the plant is shut down tight, and cannot work, we tell them that scabs will come in by the carloads, and

keep the plant open. We call on them to guard the shops and keep them from coming in. That is one of the first tactics. In case we have some leader who belongs to the right wing in the plant, we undermine him as leader. We start slanders about such leaders, such as stealing union dues. We do that so the Communist Party leaders can get control. We use that method to keep control, and maintain control of the situation. That has been done in hundreds of cases.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you make speeches attacking the men?

Mr. MORROW. They always do that by a campaign of slander, and they utilize any available methods. For instance, during the Briggs strike, in the strike of 1932, before the strike of 1937, there was a factional fight between the right wingers and the left wingers.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you mean a left-wing group in the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. No, sir; a left wing group in the United Auto Workers Union. The strike was under that leadership at first. In 1937, or last year, the right-wing leader was a man named Ralph Knox.

Mr. MOSIER. He was a right winger.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir. He was the president of local 212.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he here?

Mr. MORROW. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. He will be a witness.

Mr. MOSIER. He was a right winger, and was he also a Communist?

Mr. MORROW. Knox was a right winger in the Communist Party nucleus unit when they got rid of him. He was popular in the early days of the Briggs strike. They instituted a campaign of slander against him. One of the slanders was attacking a secretary in the office, and they charged that at another time he was convicted of a serious crime. Through a campaign of slander like that they did undermine him, until a man named Emil Mazej was brought up. Mazej was a member of the Communist Party. He was a substitute man who would give service to the Communist Party as a fellow traveler. Mazej was made president of the local union, and Knox was forced to resign.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Mazej, the president of that local, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. He is a fellow traveler.

Mr. MOSIER. He is a fellow traveler?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; he is a member of the Proletarian Party, which is an offshoot of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. Going back to the technique of the strike, when you have a strike or walk-out, you would get men from Toledo, Youngstown, and other places to come to Michigan to help out?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How would you get them?

Mr. MORROW. We would call on Communist Party officers in those places. We would call on district organizers there to pass the word out to section organizers, and they would pass the word on to the unit organizers. There would be hundreds of those units, and they would pass the word along to the membership. That would be done by distributing leaflets on the streets showing that a strike was on, and it would be passed around by word of mouth.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us an outline of one of those strikes, from the beginning of a sit-down strike, showing how it progresses and how it comes out.

Mr. MORROW. The Communist Party experimented with the idea of sit-down strikes in the Hudson Motor strike in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. MORROW. In 1933, at the end of 1933, or the last 3 months of 1933, and in 1934. Of course, various people claim the credit for originating the sit-down strike, but that technique was first worked in the case of the Hudson Motor Car Co. in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. In this country?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; so far as I know. In a sit-down strike, where we had control of it, we would stop the line, we will say, for an hour, until our demands were met, or until a certain man was reinstated. We would close the switch until we could get the man reinstated. Then, in 15 minutes, the line might be going again, and then we might have the line shut down in another part of the plant. In 1 month there were, perhaps, 200 stoppages of departments, so they could not run. The idea of the sit-down strike was to hold them up until it came to actually taking control of the plant. The first sit-down strike in Michigan resulting in the actual seizure of the plant, as a result of a mass attack on the plant leading to the ultimate seizure of the factories, was conceived and executed at the Midland Steel Co.'s plant.

Mr. MOSIER. When was that?

Mr. MORROW. I do not remember the exact date, but it was in 1936 and in the following year. I was there and I knew the hour beforehand when it would occur. They had presented some demands to the management through John Anderson, who was nominated for Governor by the Communist Party in 1934. Nat Ganley—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Who was he?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; that is right. His book was introduced in evidence. Ganley was formerly State organizer in Massachusetts for the Communist Party. He appeared on the Detroit scene in 1934 very early, or possibly late in 1933. He organized the industrial unions in the fur workers, chicken pickers, store industries, and light industries. He was organizing, he was in the office of the old Communist Auto Workers Union, 4210 Woodward. Then he graduated into the Mechanics Educational Society of America. In fact, he was a member of several unions at one time under different names. These men headed the strike at Midland Steel, directed the strategy, assisted by a Communist nucleus in the steel plant. Their meetings were held in a hall about a half a mile from the plant, and they kept the workers in this plant at fever pitch by claiming that strike-breakers were coming to take their jobs, that militia would come down and throw them out, and various rumors, and the strike lasted, if I remember correctly, about 4 weeks, maybe 5 weeks, the members sleeping in the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they permit anyone to go into the plants?

Mr. MORROW. No one.

The CHAIRMAN. No outsider could go into the plant? Did they permit the management to go into the plant?

Mr. MORROW. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They could not go to their offices?

Mr. MORROW. No; they could not. Food could be sent in to the strikers, and ropes were lowered out of the windows, and the members could tie cigarettes in a basket and send them up to the strikers, or a can of coffee, and the strikers themselves were not permitted to leave the plant. Many were told that they would have their brains beaten out if they did, and some jumped over the fence at night and did get away. I saw that myself. Of course, many of them were for the strike, but many of them were in the plant because they had to be.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Communists from outside of that area participated in that strike?

Mr. MORROW. Oh, a great many. I could not say just how many. That would be impossible. But I personally saw William Weinstone there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is William Weinstone?

Mr. MORROW. William Weinstone is district organizer of the Communist Party of Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an alien?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; he is Russian-born.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else did you see there prominent in Communist activities?

Mr. MORROW. Francis Puzio.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell it?

Mr. MORROW. P-u-z-i-o.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Francis Puzio?

Mr. MORROW. He was a section organizer for the Communist Party at that time, and now assigned to Flint, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an alien?

Mr. MORROW. No; he was born in Pennsylvania and came to Detroit in 1934. I saw Nat Ganley there and Paul Kirk.

The CHAIRMAN. Paul Kirk?

Mr. MORROW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. K-i-r-t-h?

Mr. MORROW. K-i-r-k.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, K-i-r-k?

Mr. MORROW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. MORROW. He is a Negro organizer and was at one time in the U. A. W. but was kicked out later by Homer Martin. He was not an organizer in the United Automobile Workers before, but he did get on the pay roll in 1937 for several months until Homer Martin caught up with him and kicked him out. I saw many Communists—in fact, every Communist on the east side had to be there bringing food and assisting in the strike, so many that I could not name them all. They were just too many.

The CHAIRMAN. Were Communists there from outside towns?

Mr. MORROW. Oh, yes; Toledo.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they get on the inside of the plant?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; they held dances in there. They held dances in the plant for outsiders bringing in food and things like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any destruction of property?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, there was; and while I am on this matter I would like to read, if I may be permitted, a report by William Weinstone at a membership meeting of district 7 of the Communist Party on the sit-down strikes in Flint.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that is a correct report?

Mr. MORROW. I know it is a correct report. I do not think that Mr. Weinstone would dispute it at all. He was quite proud of his part in the sit-down strikes in Michigan. He wrote a book called *The Sit-down Strike*, in which he takes full credit for the sit-down strike. I might say, while I am on this, that I still have many contacts in the Communist Party, and that is how I know what is going on in there. I am going to read this report right now:

MARCH 10, 1937.

Communist Party:

District No. 7, consisting of Michigan and Toledo, Ohio, held a general membership meeting at the Finnish Hall, 5969 Fourteenth Street, which lasted from 8:30 p. m. to 11 p. m.

Phil Raymond, Communist firebrand, acted as the chairman. He said that, "We happen to have a man with us tonight who does not need any introduction—William Weinstone."

William Weinstone, Russian Jew and general secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan, spoke next. A very good speaker and organizer of subversive movements at which he has few equals in the United States. He went into a long history of the "the none too militant American Federation of Labor" which extended back 50 years into the labor movement. Of how the American Federation of Labor originally tried to organize the workers into one big union, and, failing in this, started organizing craft unions. As time went on the militant sections of the American Federation of Labor began to realize that craft unions could not cope with the modern production system of capitalism. That the American Federation of Labor was being held back because of its reactionary leadership. Weinstone's method of making speeches is Socratic. He asks questions and then answers them himself. "What about sit-down strikes?" "With the profound gratitude of the Communist Party the seeds were sown in South Bend. Some people say that the sit-down strike is a French idea. Some say it was imported from Moscow. The crux of the matter is that it is an American idea; of course, with the approval and sanction of the Communist Party."

"Why do the workers choose to use the sit-down strike?" "They have come to the conclusion that it is the only effective way to beat the bourgeois exploiters." "Why didn't they sit down years ago?" "Up until 1933 the bourgeois and exploiting elements did not afford the workers the opportunity."

I quote further:

Section 7a of the N. R. A. was most profoundly welcomed by the Communist Party and all militant organizations. It gave the workers the freedom the Constitution provided. This brings us to the Flint area. I spent considerable time in Flint. I have been through the plants, Fisher No. 1 and No. 2, and I asked some of the boys what their idea of the sit-down strike was. They explained that their idea of it was: That they did not have to go out in the cold and walk picket lines; that when they are sitting at a machine a scab cannot come in and operate that machine. I noticed as I walked through that the boys were well provided for, that they had nice barricades, they had nice armor plate at the windows so that they could cool off the militia with the fire hose. That in the armor plate was small holes to push the fire hose through. They had the most elegant looking clubs one could ever lay their eyes on. When the riot broke out they had nice door hinges about a foot long, and if hit in the head by one of these, "a scab's soul traveled to hell fast without much expense." "What about the sound trucks?" "This is the most advanced method which our nuclei used. I am not going into details, names, or addresses, but I cannot help mentioning the fact that Victor Reuther sure did an elegant job in Flint, Mich."

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Victor Reuther, right at that point?

Mr. MORROW. Victor Reuther is one of the three Reuther boys—Walter, Victor, and Roy. Victor played a very important part in the Flint strikes by driving sound trucks through the area of the strikes and inciting the workers in various ways, and he was a leader

of the sit-down strikes up there in Michigan. He is a member of the Socialist Party. He has been to the Soviet Union, and has received training in agitational methods there, and a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union, an important figure on the strike situation in Michigan. At this present time I believe he is a paid official of local 174.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that, a local of the U. A. W.?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; that is the west side local of U. A. W., Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MORROW. I am going back now into this paper.

As the boys said in Flint, "It was the battle of Bull Run with all the bulls running from the strikers. After all the smoke blew away and we picked up the wounded we decided to use other tactics." We called a meeting of organizers and shop stewards in the Pengelly Building at Flint.

I believe the Pengelly Building is the headquarters of the U. A. W. there.

There was about 60 present. Being aware that stool pigeons must be in the meeting, Comrade Travis suggested that we seize plant No. 9 of Chevrolet. This was not our real plans but was talked about merely to mislead the stool pigeons. Sure as Hell the next morning the Chevrolet people had the militia there all prepared for us. People started to crowd around plant No. 9; deputies and militia poured into the scene.

Finally the time arrived and we took the plant. But not No. 9, for we never had any intentions of so doing. Instead, while the militia was milling around plant No. 9 we seized plant No. 4 of Chevrolet. This, my friends, is strategy of the kind used by the C. I. O. with the backing of the Communist Party.

He was referred to in this meeting by Weinstone as Comrade Travis.

While all this was going on our good militant leader, Victor Reuther, was in his sound car and told the boys when to hold their fire and when to let loose. When we took plant No. 4, we found it difficult to picket because it takes in a vast area. We overcame this by welding the doors of the plant.

Our good friend Maurice Sugar led the fight in it's legal aspects against the General Motors who were attempting to evict the sit-down strikers. That the General Motors finally obtained a writ of dispossession and sent their sheriff in the plant to read it our boys pulled his hat down over his ears and they kicked him out of the plant.

Now, I quote again:

Do you think for a minute there would have been a strike, do you think for a minute there would have been a victory, if it had not been for the whole-hearted cooperation of the Communist Party? While the C. I. O. is broad in its scope, it does not have enough organizers. Another proof that the strike would have been lost without the aid of the Communist Party. In Saginaw, Bay City, and Pontiac we had no nuclei. In those cities we admit there was no victory won. Why? It was due to the fact that no Communist nuclei existed to direct and lead the strike. Due to the fact that we had 100 party members in Flint and the Socialist Party had 9, we won a victory. Had it not been for these nuclei there is no doubt that the Flint strikes would have been lost.

In the event that this strike had been lost it would have given the "Go" sign to Henry Ford and his high-speed production lines. In the Flint strikes we gave out 150,000 copies of the Daily Worker and it was well received. There is no one that need fear to join the Communist Party because they don't dare fire one.

Now, that is the end of the quotation, and it goes on about passing out Communist Party and shop papers called Flash, and how to get the Daily Worker, and so forth, into the shops.

Weinstone says that he has his nuclei in every shop in the city. "Woolworth had a sit-down strike. Do you think Kresge will not have one? When the

Marlum Tower had a strike do you think the Book-Cadillac and Hotel Statler won't have one? You are crazy if you think they won't."

His inference was that he had a nucleus in each of the above.

"Crowley-Milner had a strike. Do you think J. L. Hudson will not have one? You're crazy." He plainly inferred that his nucleus will tie up the town and paralyze all commerce in order to achieve his aims. He promised strikes at Krogers, A and P, in C. F. Smith and Krogers, and also among the milk-wagon drivers. Also promised a strike of bakers.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Mr. Morrow, after those strikes you refer to, were there subsequent strikes that followed there?

Mr. MORROW. Oh, yes; even the papers were closed down; for several days I could not buy newspapers on the streets.

Mr. MOSIER. Was there a strike at the Book-Cadillac Hotel?

Mr. MORROW. There was a strike at the Book-Cadillac Hotel. Our good Governor was sitting in, and he got marooned between floors a couple of times while he was there.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, Governor Murphy, Governor of Michigan?

Mr. MORROW. Frank Murphy. While I am on this I would like to show or give a picture of Detroit in 1937, just a brief picture. We had strikes in Detroit in 1937 and at the end of 1936, in the Book-Cadillac, the largest hotel, and strikes in the Statler Hotel. We could not get our newspapers sometimes for as much as 3 days. They were on strike. The restaurants were on strike. The factories were on strike. The dairies were on strike. In fact, the city was practically paralyzed there for about a period of 6 months. As fast as one strike would be settled another would be pulled.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, were the Communists active in all of these strikes?

Mr. MORROW. Yes. I would say that I have reports of a great many strikes, and I find that there were at least two or three Communist executives of the union mixed up in these strikes in some way. They were the organizers or the directors of the stock. They pulled the strings or came out openly as leaders of the strike.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you this: To what extent do the men in the factories when they are on strike—let us say at the Briggs body plant—to what extent do they know, or do they know to any extent that the Communists actually are directing and are responsible for the strike?

Mr. MORROW. They do not. The average member of the unions—and, in fact, I would say 95 percent of the union in any local in Detroit—if their president or any of their officers would own up and admit to being members of the Communist Party, they would throw him out of the window, as they have thrown them out of the windows; but they do not know it.

Mr. MOSIER. And the men who are involved here and who are out striking, or anyone who sympathizes with them, really is helping the Communist technique, are they not?

Mr. MORROW. That is right, but they are dupes. They do not know that they are helping the Communist technique. I mean the workers in the shop do not. Is that what you ask?

Mr. MOSIER. I asked you specifically about the workers in the shop—that was my question—but there are some of the so-called fellow travelers in the country, and I cannot conceive how they could be so dumb.

Mr. MORROW. Well, they are dumb; that is all; they are just dumb. We have Pat O'Brien, and before I leave here I would like to read his

record. His Americanism cannot be questioned, but he is just a tool of the Communist Party. That is all I could call him. We have other men who know what they are doing. Maurice Sugar, he knows what he is doing. He is too smart to carry a Communist Party book, but he knows what he is doing.

Mr. MOSIER. He is a lawyer out there who defends them when they get into trouble?

Mr. MORROW. His job in the Communist Party, or the Communist affiliate, the International Labor Defense, is to rally the Negro race to the cause of communism, and the Negroes are the most uncommunitistic people in America.

Mr. MOSIER. The Negroes?

Mr. MORROW. The Negroes are the most uncommunitistic people in America; but through the issue of the *Scottsboro case* in the South, defending these Negroes who were accused of attacking white girls, they went out into Negro neighborhoods and rallied support for the International Labor Defense, which is an affiliate of the party. In Detroit we had a case called the *James Victor case*.

Mr. MOSIER. Just while you are talking about Mr. Sugar, it is true that his wife is enrolled as a teacher in the Detroit public schools?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; I have her record here. I will read that before I leave. She is a teacher in the Detroit public schools. In fact, I believe she is assistant superintendent of health education. I know she has that title either in the whole city or in one of the schools.

Mr. MOSIER. Were you familiar at all with the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo? That is in your district?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; I was.

Mr. MOSIER. To what extent were the Communists involved in that strike or responsible for it?

Mr. MORROW. While I was not inside when the strike broke out, I was in the Hudson Motor Co. union then in the American Federation of Labor, the old federation local. I was the chief steward there. The minute we had heard of it we called special meetings of the Communist Party, and our part in the Hudson local was we sent a young man down there whose name was Fred Zackrie. Now, Zackrie was a very good speaker, in the *Daily Worker*, and Heywood Broun, he was also in the Auto-Lite strike. They met down in Toledo and made speeches to the strikers at the Auto-Lite. And in fact the Communist members report that our men whom we sent down addressed around 20,000. We sent them down, and we sent money down, and that is how we supported them, and Communists poured in from all over Michigan and other States to support the strikers.

Mr. MOSIER. Into Toledo?

Mr. MORROW. Into Toledo; we sent a lot of them down to Toledo.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for the situation we ran into in Detroit? Here was this Dr. Shafarman operating for a long period of time getting money from the city of Detroit. The facts that were developed there finally resulted a few days ago in his discharge. How do you account for the fact that they can use city funds to advance the Communist Party for a long period of time before it is exposed? Of course, I am not saying anything against the mayor there, because the minute this evidence was produced he promptly fired these doctors, and he is taking, apparently, sincere measures to

put a stop to it, and also the school-teacher situation; but what I cannot account for is how a situation like that can go on in a community without someone speaking out against it and stopping it.

Mr. MORROW. It is not so healthy to talk in Detroit sometimes. Some people want to live in Detroit, and they want to live there a long time, and that is their home, and they have mothers and fathers there, and when you talk of these people who are squeezing the city of funds through manipulations—

Mr. MOSIER (interposing). It is sort of like a Congressman talking about communism in the W. P. A., is it not?

Mr. MORROW. Oh, yes; just like it.

The CHAIRMAN. But there were cases, open and notorious, where they were using city funds, public-health warrants, paid as a matter of record, for the examination of these boys that they had selected to go to Spain, and they were also using these funds for several officials in the labor unions and other men who were making good salaries.

Mr. MORROW. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And where your city was paying hundreds and hundreds of dollars for that kind of a situation.

Mr. MORROW. And they paid a lot they will never know about. In 1933 or 1934, in order to bring out a little incident there, I had a job. I turned down jobs because I was too busy organizing for the Communists to work for a living, and they told me I should not work, that I did not have time to work, and my wife became ill, and I was given a note to Dr. John L. Rosefield, 3630 McAbees Building, and told that I should take my wife over there. We went there and he did give her some treatments. I told him "I cannot pay you." He said, "That is all right, the city will pay me. I want you to go to see another doctor about your eyes." My eyes were quite all right, about 20-20 or normal efficiency, or 30-30. He told me, "We have Communist doctors in the city, and if you fellows come to us, after all, the Government has to pay for it. You might as well let us have the business as go to the enemies of the party." I took my wife, I went myself, and I took my children, and we all got medical treatment. I felt all right, but the doctor wanted the money, and I went in and took medical treatments for the back, and sore feet and various things.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been going on all along up until a few days ago when they fired these doctors.

Mr. MORROW. That has been going on since 1933 to my knowledge. They have not found out one one-hundredth of what has happened, and the doctors, I understand, refer to U. A. W. members to get Communists to call a doctor, and go to another doctor, to Dr. Lendrum, Dr. Rosefield, Dr. Bennish, and Dr. Mary Salutsky. Then they have another racket in connection with this, that when you go to get your prescription filled they send you to a Communist drugstore, which is called the Seward Pharmacy. It is on Hamilton Street in Detroit, and you go over there to fill the prescription, and it is owned by Don Bavaly, who has been arrested in Communist demonstrations. He has a summer home in the Liberty Camp, which is the Communist camp in Michigan, 35 miles out of Detroit, and I have often wondered myself why it is all these doctors do not become members of the Communist Party, or affiliates of it, because it is so good a racket.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they fired all of these doctors since we met in Detroit?

Mr. MORROW. I have heard that they fired Dr. Lendrum and Dr. Shafarman.

The CHAIRMAN. They have not fired these other doctors?

Mr. MORROW. No; not to my knowledge, unless it has been in the last 3 days.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us a list of the names of Communists in that section that are operating? Do you have a list of names of well-known Communists?

Mr. MORROW. You want a list of names of Communists?

The CHAIRMAN. And what they are doing, what unions they are in, and what they have been doing.

Mr. MORROW. Well, it will take some time, but I will start it, anyway.

Mr. MOSIER. We do not want to lose sight of the fact that this inquiry is directed to communistic activities within the sit-down strike. Naturally that leads us into the Automobile Workers Union. Now, would you be able to prepare a list for the committee which you can testify to later, of those whom you know were members of the Communist Party or, we will say, strong fellow travelers working with them who, at the same time, were in the U. A. W.?

Mr. MORROW. I will be able to, but I would like to introduce about six or seven names right now. It will not take very long, and their party membership books.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Mr. MORROW. All right.

Mr. MOSIER. But remember that, to prepare that for us.

Mr. MORROW. A list of names of Communists within the U. A. W.?

Mr. MOSIER. That is right.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; that is right. I want to submit to this committee at this time a picture taken by the Detroit Free Press, September 24, at a demonstration in front of the German consulate in Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. September 24 of this year?

Mr. MORROW. 1938.

Mr. MOSIER. This last month?

Mr. MORROW. That is right. This demonstration was, ostensibly, sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy, but really no one participated who was not also a member of the Communist Party. Now, in this picture you see what we have, "Fascism is War," "Hands off Czechoslovakia," "Chamberlain is Hitler's Chambermaid," and "Call Hitler's Bluff—Save World Peace."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recognize any of the people in that photograph as Communists?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; I do. In the forefront is William McKie of the Ford local of the Automobile Workers Union.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a Communist?

Mr. MORROW. A member of the Communist Party, and organizer of one of the Ford units. They have many.

Mr. MOSIER. While on that point, Mr. Morrow, I think it would be interesting to the newspapermen, and I know it was to me when I went to Detroit—these factories are so large in Detroit that it was

almost incomprehensible to me—when you say “Ford unit,” to know how many people the Ford Motor Co. employs.

Mr. MORROW. Nearly 85,000 at the Rouge River plant.

Mr. MOSIER. Nearly 85,000?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; normally.

Mr. MOSIER. How many units do they have over there?

Mr. MORROW. They have seven that I know of, nuclei of the Communist Party in the Ford plant.

Mr. MOSIER. Seven nuclei of the Communist Party in that one plant?

Mr. MORROW. In that one plant; seven.

Mr. MOSIER. Then you have the other plants in Detroit?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, we have the other plants in Detroit. We have in one plant, to my personal knowledge, 85 party members, and it is not so big a plant.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mr. MORROW. And they say if they cannot start a strike with less than that it is a poor nucleus. We used to start them with three in a plant or about four.

Mr. MOSIER. You do not depend on numbers?

Mr. MORROW. No; we depend on key positions always. I want to submit this, and the committee can keep it. This is William McKie [indicating], the gentleman with the cigarette in his hand there, and, by the way, I am quite sure that this afternoon I can introduce the United Automobile Workers official records which will show that he was a paid organizer at that time, of local 37 of the U. A. W.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a well-known Communist?

Mr. MORROW. Absolutely. I do not think he would ever deny it. He is well known.

The CHAIRMAN. How many other Communists do you recognize in that first picture?

Mr. MORROW. I will not say I recognize many by their names. I went to the meetings. I went to so many meetings that I do not know all their names. That is the only way I can tell the names in this picture.

The CHAIRMAN. You know they are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. Yes. They gathered at 1413 Randolph, the party headquarters, before the demonstration started, which is about three blocks away from the German consulate.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they go under the name of the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MORROW. They got more support in that way; that sounds better. Everybody is for peace and democracy, but everybody is not for communism. That is the way they rope in the people.

Here I have another picture taken on the same day. In this picture William McKie is trying in that picture to show that he is not in the picture.

Here [indicating] is Marian Trevillar, alias Marian Gilpin, about whom it was testified in this committee that she was a director for the American Youth Congress. Right beside her is William McKie again [indicating].

I was with Marian Gilpin in 1933 in the Hudson unit. She was in my local union. She was active in marking the sidewalk and helping to hang out red flags in city-owned parks.

I submit that picture as a part of my evidence.

Then we have here [indicating] a picture of Ray Burke [indicating photograph]. He is vice president of the Briggs local, a C. I. O. union of the U. A. W. A.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. MORROW. He is a Communist Party member. I have his membership book here.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he serve time?

Mr. MORROW. He was arrested for several offenses, and I believe he served a prison sentence in the Federal prison, but I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. You have his membership card?

Mr. MORROW. Yes. Burke's real name is Barker Verbal. He was arrested under that name several times, and a check-up reveals that his name is Barker Verbal. In the union he is known as Ray Burke. Here is his Communist Party book [indicating], or a photostat copy of it, issued to Ray Burke, State of Michigan, district 7, county of Wayne, city of Detroit, section 2, unit 5. The number of his membership book is 92581.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is vice president of the union?

Mr. MORROW. He is vice president of the Briggs local of the C. I. O., and they have a huge local there. They work perhaps 30,000 men in their plant there.

I want to submit also another picture taken at the strike in the Briggs plant a couple of months ago, a sit-down strike, a picture showing Ray Burke on top of a car, with Emil Mozby, talking to a bunch of members. In the middle is Dan Myers, vice president of another one of the Briggs locals.

I am only going to submit a few more of these. I have Communist Party membership books from the Murray unit, the Ford unit, the Briggs unit, the Hudson unit, and several other units.

I have here the membership book of William Koskie [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a citizen or an alien?

Mr. MORROW. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a Russian?

Mr. MORROW. No; I believe—I believe he is a Russian, although I am not sure of that. If you go by the name, more than anything else—

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he hold?

Mr. MORROW. He is a chief steward in the molding plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. That is an important position. A chief steward can start a strike in one department and shut down other departments.

William Koskie was in the party under the name of William Kass. His 1938 membership book is No. 62435, and he joined on 3-12-38. Here is his membership book [indicating].

I have here the membership book of Anthony Chircop [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Those are all photostat copies?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; they are all photostat copies.

This man is chief steward in the Highland Park plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. His Communist Party name is Tony

Borg and his Communist PParty membership book for 1938 is No. 79231.

Then we have here the Communist Party membership book for Jack Steiker. He works in one of the three Briggs plants; I forget which one—it is the Mack plant.

Jack Steiker is a leader of what the labor unionists call the "beef squad of terrorists," who took fellows who did not want to come on the picket line and slapped them down.

Jack Steiker joined the Communist Party on 5-31-38, and his membership book number is 92553. I have his own signature, in his own writing, showing that he received the book.

We have something here which is quite interesting. We have here the signature of a Communist Party member that he received his Communist Party book on a certain day, 7-7-38. His Communist Party name is James Proflitt, and his control card number is 62766.

This man's name is James Jones. He is chief steward at the Highland Park plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co., and he is a brother of Lloyd Jones, who is president of the Murray local of the U. A. W. A. Lloyd Jones was one of the 24 men that controlled the business of the U. A. W. A. until about a year ago. He is now president of the Murray local. Lloyd Jones is also a member of the Communist Party. That can be proven.

(The photographs and photostat copies referred to were marked "Morrow Exhibit No. 2, October 19, 1938.)

Mr. MORROW. That is all I am going to submit on Communist Party membership books right now. I have over a hundred of them here.

The CHAIRMAN. You have over a hundred here of those who are in the U. A. W. A.?

Mr. MORROW. There are some who are not. A woman may not be in if her husband is in and she does not belong; she may belong to the women's auxiliary.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they hold strategic positions?

Mr. MORROW. Many of them do, and some do not. Some are just lay members who go out and do what they are told. I have their applications.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to ask you this question before we take a recess.

Did the infiltration of the trade-union movement begin prior to 1924? The reason I am asking that is because Mr. Lewis in his book in 1924, stated that the Communists were trying to seize control of the unions, especially the United Mine Workers Union. He wrote a rather lengthy article telling of the Communist strategy and the methods they wanted to employ.

I am wondering if that began before 1924, when Mr. Lewis saw it coming.

Mr. MORROW. That is possible, but I do not think so, exactly like Lewis said. If my memory serves me correctly the Stalinist-Communist Party was not organized until about 1923, and it was called the Workers Party and it was very weak, but the program had always been to seize the unions.

Then they developed the strategy to organize dual unions, in opposition to the A. F. of L. Later on the dual unions became so

weak that we all received orders to go and join the A. F. of L. and take them over; I think that was in 1934.

I think that was the Communist Party strategy from the very first but they were not strong enough to gain control of important international unions.

The CHAIRMAN. I am wondering if all of these facts were before Mr. Lewis when he wrote that strong article?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; I believe he was right in that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he had the facts before him relative to the beginning of the infiltration and the effort to gain control.

Mr. MORROW. I think Lewis knew exactly the strategy, but the Communists were too weak to achieve what they wanted at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 1:30 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the committee took a recess until 1:30 p. m. this day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.)

TESTIMONY OF CLYDE MORROW—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Morrow, you may resume your testimony.

I believe when we adjourned you were giving us a list of names.

Mr. MORROW. Yes. I would like to go through my names here, and while all of these are not Communist Party members I will state whether I know, when I give the names, that they are Communists or with whatever political party they are affiliated.

I am going to read, with the permission of the chairman, a list of school teachers in the city of Detroit, many of whom have been in my home, and some who have not been.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to include the 10 that were brought into the Detroit hearing?

Mr. MORROW. I could not say; I do not know which ones were brought in there.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there were some membership cards introduced at the Detroit hearing in connection with school teachers.

Mr. MORROW. Yes; I believe there were.

The first name I want to submit is Hulda Fine, a school teacher. She is corresponding secretary of the Detroit Local No. 231 of the American Federation of Labor. According to my last information, she taught in the Priest School. She is a member of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that league?

Mr. MORROW. That is one of the front organizations of the Communist Party; also, the people in it are Socialists and Liberals, but it is dominated by Communists, almost exclusively.

She is on the executive committee of this organization. She is also on the executive board of the Teachers Union of Detroit.

For confirmation of this, see the Detroit Labor News of January 3, 1936.

The next name is Ethan Edloff, who teaches in the schools in Detroit; that is, in the public schools. He is a member of the League

for Industrial Democracy, and also a member of the executive committee of the same.

In 1936 he was a candidate of the Socialist Party for the office of county drain commissioner of Wayne County, Mich. He is a public school teacher.

The next name is Eleanor G. Laffrey. This woman is a teacher in the Detroit school system.

On May 29, 1935, she attended a meeting at the Jericho Temple, 2705 Joy Road, Detroit, Mich., where Richard Kroon, a known Communist out there, spoke. At this meeting it was resolved to run Morris Sugar for councilman.

She drove her car in the parades advocating Sugar for councilman and Sugar for judge.

On the fifth month, fourth day, 1937, she was at a meeting of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, which is a front organization for the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Morris Sugar served time?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; for evading the draft.

The CHAIRMAN. And he had his license to practice law revoked?

Mr. MORROW. That is right; in the Federal courts and in the State courts.

The CHAIRMAN. He had his license restored in the State courts but not in the Federal courts?

Mr. MORROW. Yes. On July 15, 1937, she was at a Communist meeting at Camp Liberty, about 35 miles from Detroit, maintained by the Communist Party.

On October 28, 1935, she was at a meeting of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, where she was elected to be a delegate at the Toledo Conference of the League Against War and Fascism on November 2, 3, and 4, 1935.

On April 7, 1938, she was present at the Detroit Art Institute, a city-owned building, at a meeting sponsored by the Wayne University unit of the Young Communist League, at which about 150 people attended and heard William Weinstone make a speech in justification of the execution of high Soviet leaders. He said the executions were justified and that makes them ready to be shot at sunrise.

On April 11, 1938, she was present at the Detroit Art Institute to hear Earl Browder, where the sum of \$464 was taken in as a collection.

I do not think there is any necessity of reading any more of these cards in that case.

Next we come to Mrs. Merlin D. Bishop, whom I am not sure is a teacher now but who used to be a teacher. She is the wife of Merlin D. Bishop, associated with the C. I. O. in a prominent capacity.

On the tenth month, twelfth day, 1937, at the Denver (Colo.) Convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was charged by John P. Frey, of the metal trades division of the American Federation of Labor, that Mrs. Bishop was using this position just to spread C. I. O. propaganda. Mrs. Bishop resigned under fire after denying the charges.

She claimed she is a member of the American Federation of Teachers, of the A. F. of L., and in connection with this I have a clipping

taken out of a Detroit newspaper headed "Accused W. P. A. Teacher Quits." That is another teacher.

They all seem to be in the Federation of Teachers, and that allows them to come in there and use it as a cover-up.

Now, we have another teacher who I may say is a member of the Communist Party. Her name is Isabel Beaton. She attended a membership meeting at which membership books had to be displayed—that is, of the Communist Party, at Finn Hall, October 4, 1935.

She is believed to teach at the Gideon School. I know she teaches in Detroit.

Mr. Mosier. I wish you would not be too specific in saying where these teachers teach, because, as I recall, when the testimony was adduced at Detroit, concerning some 10 teachers, the witness made a mistake in four of five instances as to the schools where they were teaching, and that was taken up as a great defensive measure because the witness made a mistake. While they were still in the Detroit school system, the witness made a mistake as to the school where a teacher was teaching.

Mr. Morrow. I remember that incident, but the facts were not denied. They had been transferred the day before.

The next name is that of Christine Benton, a member of the Communist Party, and a school teacher in the Detroit school system.

Then we have Vera Catz Raymond. This woman is a school teacher in the city of Detroit on leave of absence temporarily. I may say that I have sat in at closed meetings with her, in meetings of the nuclei of the Communist Party myself. She is the wife of Phil Raymond, who led the great strikes in 1932 and 1933, and is now organizing recruits for the Loyalist Army in Spain.

I will state that she is a member of the Communist Party and produce several affidavits from party members to that effect. Her husband has been a candidate for office on that ticket and she goes around with him.

Here is a name to which I would like to draw the attention of the committee, that is, the name of Jessie Sirota.

This woman is a teacher in the public school system of Detroit and is the wife of William Mollenhauer.

I happened to be acquainted with this woman very well, and in 1933, perhaps in the end of 1933 or the beginning of 1934, she visited my home and attended closed nuclei meetings with William Weinstone, and, in fact, for several months, I thought she was his wife until I met his wife at a Communist meeting a year later.

Her husband was in the Soviet Union at that time, and he used to be in the American Federation of Labor as president of the Musicians Union of Detroit, and he was expelled several years ago for his "red" activities. In my home I have a picture of her in her Communist regalia. She is a school teacher and a Communist Party member.

Now, we have the name of a man here whom I am not going to name as a Communist, but I am going to bring out his name because he has been active at some of their meetings. I personally do not think he is a Communist, but he is a Liberal and swings along with the Communists in many things.

That is Victor Sugar, a brother of Morris Sugar. He is a member of the Federation of Teachers and active in their meetings, and a teacher in one of the schools in Detroit.

The reason I am not bringing his name out too prominently is because he might have been active in his brother's candidacy but still not have been commuunistic.

Now, I would like to bring out the name of Prof. Walter G. Bergman, who is in the research department of the Detroit Board of Education. I might say that he could have been transferred from that department a week or two ago, but he is connected with the Detroit educational system, Wayne University.

On May 27, 1933, the Communist Party held a demonstration at Grand Circus Park, Michigan. Bergman asked the audience to arise and sing the Internationale, winding up his talk by saying that the only form of government needed here is the same that we have in the Soviet Union.

He has taken an active part in the organization of the Friends of the Soviet Union and in the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, and has condemned the police for action they have taken.

He attended the conference in Cleveland on January 3, 4, and 5, 1936. He claims to be a Socialist Party member but he gets around a lot with the Communist boys.

The next name is that of Gertrude Mayer, a teacher in the public-school system of Detroit. She is a close friend of William Malhi, and on September 1, 1934, she drove with him to the meeting of the F. S. U. and later drove him to the Finnish Hall, the State headquarters of the Communist Party.

Her sister, Emma Mayer, teaches school in Detroit and also attends Communist meetings, and has been at Mollenhauer's home at Roe City, Mich. This home at Roe City was the nudist colony, and also the address where mail was received from the Soviet Union for the high officials of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. That place was out in the country and nobody noticed it very much.

We have Gertrude, Emma, and Jane Mayer; three Mayer girls who are all sisters.

Jane Mayer is the assistant superintendent or supervisor of the health education in the Detroit schools, and the common-law wife of Morris Sugar, marrying him on April 6, 1923, and divorcing him on May 17, 1932. She never used the name of Sugar but taught under her maiden name, by permission of the superintendent, Coady, of the Detroit school system.

On January 3, 4, and 5, 1936, they attended the Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism held in Cleveland, Ohio, and were in company with Sugar and left with him for Detroit. They are still good friends.

Mr. **MOSIER**. They are fellow travelers.

Mr. **MORROW**. They are fellow travelers, I would say, even though the divorce has gone through.

Then there is Emil Bates, who is a teacher, or was recently, of social science in a school in Detroit. Communist Party meetings have been held at his home, with debates on the subject of communism. He always takes the position of the Communist Party in these debates. Parents have complained about the activities of this man, but nothing has been done.

The next name is that of Ida Goodman. This party attended a lecture given by Anna Louise Strong, editor of the Moscow Daily

News, held at the Deutsches Haus, on February 16, 1936, in Detroit, Mich. She is a teacher.

The next name is that of Spencer Fishbaine. He attended the lecture given by Anna Louise Strong, editor of the Moscow Daily News, on February 16, 1936, at the Deutsches Haus. This lecture was sponsored by the Friends of the Soviet Union, a Communist Party affiliate. She is also a teacher.

The next name is that of Sarah S. Goldheimer. She is the wife of Edward Goldheimer, an active Communist Party member. Edward appeared in meetings and demonstrations as early as 1934. At that time, active in the Sugar for judge parade and also active in the United Labor Conference for Political Action. Attended the lecture given by Anna Louise Strong, editor of the Moscow Daily News, on February 16, 1936, at the Deutsches Haus. Edward Goldheimer has been seen at various Communist meetings in Grand Circus Park, which is the Union Square of Detroit.

The next name is that of Rose Estrin, 634 Holbrook Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with some of the names you have read, the mere fact that they attended a lecture would not necessarily indicate that they were Communists or communistically inclined.

Mr. MORROW. If they only attended one; but if they keep repeatedly attending them. Many of these people I could place at 30 or 40 meetings if I had the time to put on it.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean these people have been seen at these Communist rallies and meetings?

Mr. MORROW. Repeatedly.

The CHAIRMAN. Over a long period of time?

Mr. MORROW. Yes. Rose Estrin is a member of the Communist Party. She is a school teacher in Detroit. She went to Russia with Jacob Raimi and Gertrude Mayer, and if I remember correctly I think they were in Russia in 1934. I am not sure it was 1934, but I think that was the year.

The CHAIRMAN. A person can certainly go to Russia without being a Communist.

Mr. MORROW. That is true, too. But they cannot go around with James W. Ford, Vice Presidential candidate of the Communist Party on the Communist Party ticket, without being pretty well in sympathy with the Communist Party movement, and she did that. I think I have her here at several meetings, and on May 31, 1937, she was at Camp Liberty, which is sponsored by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about that camp; where is it located?

Mr. MORROW. Camp Liberty is at Twelve Mile Road and Halstead Road, about 39 miles out of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How many acres does it occupy?

Mr. MORROW. I would say it occupies—I am just guessing—perhaps 100 acres, or perhaps more. There are about 40 acres belonging to prominent Communists in Detroit, with houses or cottages, usually cheap one-room affairs, and out there on Sunday they bring such national figures as Earl Browder and James W. Ford, who have spoken there numerous times, and their speeches are put on an amplifying system.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Ford a Negro?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; he is. They have had that as a meeting place outside of the city because in the hot summer months, when it is so warm, people want to go to a cool place in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they get big crowds there?

Mr. MORROW. They have as many as 10,000 people there. They just have a concrete floor there covering a lot of ground, and the Negroes and whites dance together there. That is one of the prime requisites of communism—racial intermixture.

Then they also have a swimming pool there, and it is quite an affair.

I said Rose Estrin was in Russia and was a member of the Communist Party. She lives on Holbrook Avenue, in Detroit, or did very recently.

Now I am going to name Blanche B. Shafarman. She is the wife of Mr. Shafarman, a discharged employee, who got to be quite a racketeer in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the one who examined volunteers going to Spain?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; and the city paid for the examinations, under the pretext that they were tubercular patients.

This woman was a member of the John Reed Club, which has now gone out of existence. She attends meetings of the Deutsches Haus when the Communist Party has mass meetings there.

We have a man by the name of Herbert S. Eiges. He is a teacher in Detroit. At a meeting of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, May 22, 1936, at the Central High School; attends Communist demonstrations; and on August 6, 1938, at Times Square Park, Detroit, attended one which was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy. The purpose of the meeting was to lift the embargo on shipments of munitions to Loyalist Spain. He was seen to shake the hands of many leading Communists at this demonstration.

Would you like to hear, Mr. Chairman, a little of the record of Prof. Walter G. Bergman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you might give us something about him.

Mr. MORROW. He is in the research department, as assistant director of the research department, Wayne University, which may not be true in the last week or two. They usually transfer them ahead of these investigations, so that the facts may come out a little garbled, or so they say.

On Saturday, May 27, 1933, Arthur Bishop, of the proletarian party, introduced Bergman at an open-air meeting held in the Grand Circus Park, the meeting and demonstration held in protest against the Hitler form of government and the Fascist movement. He stated, as I said before, that he wanted the Internationale sung before he started speaking, which was done. He attacked the C. C. C. camps, and added that this country is fast becoming a Fascist type of government, the same as Mussolini in Italy.

He closed his speech with the statement that the only form of government needed here is the same as in Russia, the same as they have in the Soviet Union.

He was at the Film Exchange Building viewing the Soviet movie, Youth of Maxim, which was censored by the police department and stopped.

He was at the Third Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 3, 1936.

He was at the F. S. U. meeting held February 16, 1936, at the Deutsches Haus.

He appeared at the common council with Sugar, Bollens, and others, bearing petitions from the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights for the removal of Commissioner Pickert, the police commissioner, who he said was violating the civil rights of Detroit citizens.

He is a member of the county committee, Farmer-Labor Party, Wayne County branch; and I might add the information that at the convention of the Farmer-Labor Party I was there and I did not see any farmers and I did not see any laborers. They were mostly full-time Communist organizers.

Mr. MOSIER. Where was that convention?

Mr. MORROW. St. Andrews Hall, Detroit. That is where it was held.

Mr. MOSIER. That was the Farmer-Labor Party?

Mr. MORROW. Yes; which has no farmers and which has no laborers, I might say. He was on the arrangements committee of the committee to aid the Spanish democracy at a mass meeting held at Cass High School on December 7, 1936.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to bring up one thing more. I notice in the papers that Superintendent Cody said that if he had 10 school teachers who were "reds" and the rest well read, he would be satisfied. I have a clipping here taken out of the Detroit Times April 10, 1936, where Cody says that he knows of four or five teachers who are members of the Communist Party and he has them under constant surveillance. So he knows that he has Communist Party teachers there, but he forgot that the other day.

That is all on the teachers, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to furnish us with a complete list of well-known Communists who are identified with the labor movement there?

Mr. MORROW. Well, I am going to give you as complete a list as I can. Nobody can give you a complete list. It is too much of a job. I will do the best I can.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, you are going to give us more information on that subject?

Mr. MORROW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When can you have that for us? Can you prepare that this evening sometime?

Mr. MORROW. I can give you as much as I have by that time. The time is so short. To list Communist Party members in Detroit and in Michigan in a few hours is almost impossible, but I will do the best I can. There are too many of them.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you this question, Mr. Morrow. You testified this morning about the Communist influence in these sit-down strikes.

Mr. MORROW. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. What if any effort was made on the part of the law-enforcing authorities of Michigan to cope with the sit-down strikes in Detroit in 1937?

Mr. MORROW. Mr. Chairman, I would say that it would be almost impossible to convey a picture to anyone not on the scene, of the break down of law and order in Michigan at that time. I lived right there,

in an industrial neighborhood, about a block from the Hudson Motor Car Co., a large plant; about two blocks from Chrysler and near Briggs, and many other plants.

During these strikes there were pickets inside the plant. There was no one who tried to go to work. The plants were closed down tight and they were occupied.

In the Chrysler plant I noticed one morning, as I went by the plant in the street car, inside the plant, at a gate, there were about four dozen men marching up and down. The gates were welded and locked, as were all the gates. No one could get out unless they had a pass from the strike committee. The pickets were going up and down with long rubber hose in their hands, about 2 feet long, the ends of which were filled with lead. It was plainly noticeable that the pickets took over the direction of traffic in many cases, telling the police to get out of the way, "We will direct the traffic." For instance, there was one thing that happened at the Chrysler plant that I would like to bring out. The Chrysler Corporation had closed its plant down. The strikers were in possession of the plants, including the offices; that is, the Chrysler Jefferson plant and other plants, and that is where the records were kept for their business all over the world. The Chrysler corporation executives and officials, from the highest on down, were refused admittance to their own offices. They had to move on down to the Buhle Building, downtown in Detroit, several miles from any of their plants, and transact what business they could without their records. That was during the sit-down strike in the Chrysler plant.

Mr. MOSIER. How long did that last?

Mr. MORROW. If I remember correctly, at Chrysler's, just about 1 month.

Mr. MOSIER. About a month?

Mr. MORROW. About a month; it might have been a day or two over or under.

Mr. MOSIER. You said something this morning about Heywood Broun being out in that section.

Mr. MORROW. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. You mean the newspaper writer?

Mr. MORROW. That is who I mean. He was down at Toledo.

Mr. MOSIER. He was at Toledo; were you there?

Mr. MORROW. I was down at Toledo part of the time during the Auto-Lite strike and the rest of the time I was up in Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. That was during the Auto-Lite strike?

Mr. MORROW. The Auto-Lite strike; yes. That was in 1933, I believe.

Mr. MOSIER. 1934; was it not?

Mr. MORROW. 1934; yes.

Mr. MOSIER. What did Broun do there? What did you see or hear him do?

Mr. MORROW. About the only thing I saw Broun do there was consult with a Communist Party leader from Detroit; I say "consult"; he talked to him and bought a Daily Worker off of him. That is the only thing I personally saw Broun do there. I think he was down there reporting the case for some newspaper that he was working for.

Mr. MOSIER. He was not taking part in the strike?

Mr. MORROW. I did not see him take any part in it. He was sympathetic to the strike. That is all I can say about Broun.

Mr. MOSIER. That is all now, I think. You might take your time, Mr. MORROW, about making up that list of names. We will not need them tonight. Any time tomorrow, if we can get them.

Mr. MORROW. I shall do the best I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. MORROW.

The next witness is Mr. KNOX.

TESTIMONY OF RALPH KNOX

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is what?

Mr. KNOX. Ralph KNOX.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. KNOX?

Mr. KNOX. I live in Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. KNOX. A little over 2 years this last time. I have lived in Detroit several times.

The CHAIRMAN. You have lived in Detroit several times?

Mr. KNOX. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us the periods of your residence there.

Mr. KNOX. Oh, I should say about 4 years altogether. That is because of the nature of the job, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. What job did you hold?

Mr. KNOX. Door fitter.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a door fitter?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did you have in the union?

Mr. KNOX. In local 212 of the U. A. W.?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KNOX. I was president of local 212 of the U. A. W.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you president of that union, Mr. KNOX?

Mr. KNOX. Six months; the first 6 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what year?

Mr. KNOX. That was the inception of it; last year.

Mr. MOSIER. 1937?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the membership of that, Mr. KNOX?

Mr. KNOX. The membership—at that time, when we first started, we started from 21 men and we built it to 24,000 in a 6 months' period. Since I was removed from the union that membership has fallen down to less than 10,000.

Mr. MOSIER. That was the largest unit in the country, was it not?

Mr. KNOX. It was the largest local unit in the U. A. W. and one of the largest, if not the largest, in the world. And it was one of the best set up; we had the steward system, grievance system, athletic programs, newspaper, everything that goes with a group of well-organized labor.

Mr. Martin himself at the convention called a meeting of his lieutenants from all over the United States and took the platform and bragged on the condition of this union and pointed out to those delegates who were present at that time just how much the Communist

and other political party members in the U. A. W. had done to tear it up.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we can get a further background of your own activities, Mr. Knox. Where do you come from? When you went to Detroit, where did you come from? We would like to get a few preliminary facts before we come to your story.

Mr. KNOX. I was born and raised in Tennessee. I am 37 years old. I left home when I was a child and have worked up North practically ever since. Sometimes I go home and work when the jobs close down.

Prior to this last engagement with the Briggs Manufacturing Co. I worked for a textile mill in Tennessee. We had a union there, the United Textile Workers of America. I was president of that local. I was president of that local at the time I was elected president of this local, and I had to resign one in order to be eligible to be elected to the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us in your own language exactly what happened, what your experiences were with reference to the Communist infiltration into the labor movement, in your local and also in other locals in Detroit?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman: I will.

Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well first, as a sort of background, to give the reasons why these people came in.

The CHAIRMAN. Just develop it in your own way.

Mr. KNOX. This has reference to the development of the U. A. W., showing the Communist Party fight for control, with considerable success.

In an effort to organize mass industry, ostensibly within the American Federation of Labor, certain A. F. L. international unions formed the Committee for Industrial Organization. Its organization was opposed by the A. F. L. conservative element, headed by President William Green and other leaders who said it would lead to dual unionism—competing with the A. F. L. Events proved them correct.

During the existence of the National Recovery Administration, operating under the National Recovery Act—later outlawed by the United States Supreme Court—the A. F. L. established organizing offices in mass industry centers, including the automobile industry. Headquarters in the auto drive was Detroit, as the natural center of the industry. William Collins was sent here in charge of organization of automobile workers into Federal labor unions, which were chartered directly by the A. F. L., having no parent body, called International Union. His headquarters was in the Hofman Building.

Under Collins, and his successor, Francis J. Dillon, more progress was made in organizing automobile workers than the A. F. L. had ever been able to make in its former efforts to organize them into its component craft, or horizontal, unions. Under the Federal Labor Union plan the A. F. L. organized them into industrial or vertical unions, as were the A. F. L.'s Brewery Workers Union, its Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, and so forth.

As more and more Federal labor unions of automobile unions were chartered by the A. F. L., they began to work together more closely, finally setting up a general executive board, with representatives of each union, from all over the country on it. The United Automobile Workers Union then was operated as a loosely connected group of unions in the same industry.

The A. F. L. put the U. A. W. off for a while, meaning to give the new organization some practical experience before issuing the international union charter it was clamoring for. After a year of this the A. F. L. decided the U. A. W. had had its "baptism of fire," as it was expressed, and issued the charter, relinquishing its direction, but retaining some measure of control by appointing Dillon as the U. A. W.'s first president. This was resented by the radical element of the union; but as the A. F. L. had spent a lot of money in organizing the union, and as it still was supporting it and paying the president's salary for the ensuing year, they could not do much about it. At the end of the year Homer Martin was elected president. Dillon was not given an opportunity to oppose him. His being practically "read out of office" was common knowledge within the union and the labor movement, long before the election of Martin by the annual convention. Dillon was considered too slow and conservative by the radical element of the U. A. W., which formed the spearhead of the attack on him. The convention was in Detroit, in August 1935.

Mr. MOSIER. What date was that when Martin was elected?

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Chairman, I would have to consult the proceedings to get the exact date. I think it was in 1936.

Mr. MOSIER. That is all right; I just want the year.

Mr. KNOX. The convention was held from April 22 to May 2, 1936, I think.

Mr. MOSIER. Where was the convention held?

Mr. KNOX. The convention was in Detroit. I think I got the date wrong. It was in August 1935. There must have been a probationary period of 1 year. I am not familiar with this part of it. I was connected with an affiliate part of the C. I. O., out of this section.

I helped to get funds contributed to forward the C. I. O. I took up a collection among girls who were making \$8 a week; none of them made more than \$10 a week, and I sent it up here to organize these automobile workers before they had the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. KNOX. Meanwhile, the U. A. W. had increased its strength by mergers with a number of independent unions, some of which had been A. F. of L. Federal labor unions which had broken away. Included in the mergers were the Associated Automobile Workers of America (A. A. W. A.), the Automobile Industrial Workers Union (A. I. W. U.), some locals of the Mechanics Educational Society of America (M. E. S. A.), and some individuals from the M. E. S. A.), and the entire membership of the Communist Party's Auto Workers Industrial Union, commonly called Auto Workers Union (A. W. I. U. or A. W. U.), of the Trade Union Unity League (T. U. U. L.). This T. U. U. L. was the Communist counterpart of the A. F. of L., but was disbanded by orders of the Communist Party, when it ceased trying to organize its own unions, in favor of it members joining mass organizations, principally the A. F. of L. unions.

Although the Communists had achieved some success in gaining control of many A. F. of L. local unions and some A. F. of L. international unions, there was not enough ground gained to satisfy them, so they backed the formation of the C. I. O. as a part of the A. F. of L., plotting even then to swing it over to being a separate organization where they would have more control. In both the A. F. of L. and

C. I. O., incidentally, the Communists hide their Communist membership, work to become union officials. If they cannot do this, they form blocs to railroad measures through that they want and to oppose others they don't want.

Mr. Chairman, if there is any question about the manner in which Mr. Dillon was removed and Mr. Martin was elected, I can consult the records.

The CHAIRMAN. Please do not talk so fast and let us see if we can get a clear picture of this from the beginning. We are not interested in that phase of it—about Mr. Dillon being removed and Martin elected. What I want you to tell us is a logical, chronological story.

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you asked at any time to join the Communist Party while you were president of that local?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who asked you to join it?

Mr. KNOX. Fred Williams. He has an alias, Jack Wilson. He is a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he also identified with the automobile union?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; at the time he was organizer connected with Local No. 7. That is in the Chrysler main plant in Detroit. He is now business agent of the Bohn Aluminum in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of that company?

Mr. KNOX. Bohn Aluminum & Brass. We usually refer to it as Bohn Aluminum.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone else ask you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. I have been asked by others; Donald Henderson in 1934. In 1934 I had a case before the Labor Board here in Washington. I won the case, by the way. The decision was unanimous. Mr. Henderson at that time was trying to form a union of canners and cannery workers, oyster shuckers, and so forth. He was formerly a professor at Columbia University?

Mr. Henderson did everything he could to get me to join the Communist Party. He offered to make me an organizational director of the southern half of New Jersey. That was at a time when they had a very bad strike down on some farms there. He told me a lot about the Communist Party and thought he had me hooked, but I did not join. I went back to Tennessee to continue developing my A. F. of L. union.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Henderson doing now, if you know?

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Henderson is now president of the United Canners and Packinghouse Workers, and so forth. It is a C. I. O. affiliate body.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone else ask you to join?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. There is a fellow named Eldridge here—I have forgotten his first name. He was connected with the National Recovery Act and the National Advisory Board here in Washington at that time.

Then there was Ben Wood, or Ben Wolf—whatever his name is. He was an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board and had been reading my letters. I had written up here letters regarding grievances that we had down there, and he had formed the opinion that I was a Communist.

Well, they took me all over town and gave me introductions to everyone. They were going, so they said, to spend a lot of money on me and make a Communist of me. But I did not fall for it.

Mr. MOSIER. You mean they took you all over Washington?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; practically.

Mr. MOSIER. That is when you were here on this case which you had pending?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; I was here 30 days, I believe. They took me all over the city of Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they introduce you to other Communists in the Government?

Mr. KNOX. Well, not all of them—I guess they did. But not all of them would admit that they were Communists. They got a very attractive young lady that they introduced to me. I imagine that they told her to take pretty good care of me. She did the best she could. I mean by that she took me around. I did not have to buy any meals and I did not drink. That is, I did not then; I do now. They wanted me to drink cocktails, and so forth. They took pretty good care of me. An ordinary person, I would say, would have been swayed very much, and with the offer that they made I imagine they would have been converted to communism.

The CHAIRMAN. They knew that you were in a very important position in the labor movement, did they not?

Mr. KNOX. Yes. I have a wide circle of friends all over the country. They used to send for me for a hundred miles in every direction any time they had any strike. I have been in 42 strikes, I believe, and I never lost a strike, the strategy of which I conducted.

I am just telling you this, not boasting, Mr. Chairman, but to give you the reason why these people did as they did. They evidently knew it, because it developed in the case itself. Mr. Wood or Wolf read all of this correspondence. In fact, he handled that particular end of it. That case had first been tried at Atlanta. I won the decision at Atlanta and the case was appealed to Washington here to the National Labor Relations Board itself.

Mr. MOSIER. I would like you to go back a little, Mr. Knox. Would you give for the purposes of the record and for the information of the committee the history of how you came to Detroit and got into the labor movement. Did you start down at the bottom of the movement, and if so, how did you arrive to be president of the largest local in America?

Mr. KNOX. Well, if there is such a thing as a bottom, I guess I started there.

Mr. MOSIER. Just in short.

Mr. KNOX. Yes. I started in to work at the Briggs Manufacturing Co. October 2, 1936.

I was a member of the Textile Workers and I knew that the automobile workers were making an effort to organize the automobile workers all over town. We had no local union in the Briggs Manufacturing Co. at all. They had 29,000 employees, the largest body plant in the world and I could not find a union man there, at all, anywhere.

So, I began to make inquiries. I confined my inquiries to a certain group of skilled men who, I felt, if I could get, we would at least control the department.

A short time later on, about 3 weeks, as well as I can recall, I led this group of men over to the Dodge local, where we were signed up by Richard T. Frankenstein, the organizational director of the U. A. W. And from that group of 21 men we came back and we began to enlarge. A number of us got discharged. It seems that the men that got discharged were the men that joined the union. And they were the skilled men whom they needed at the time.

So we had to use different tactics. We had to sign them up individually and not have any meetings anywhere. We called off our meetings.

Do you want me to continue with how we built up this organization?

Mr. MOSTER. Yes.

Mr. KNOX. All right. This is very much from memory. We started to work on the Meldrum plant, because the Meldrum plant is a custom-body plant. It is owned by the Briggs Manufacturing Co. They make the Lincoln Zephyr and the Chrysler custom jobs. In fact, we make there the highest type automobile bodies in the world. They are sent all over the world. We make special jobs there.

With that type of men we thought, if we could get them in, we could organize the rest of them.

We did. We had a strike there on the 4th of January, I believe. I had been discharged 4 days before.

Mr. MOSTER. What date is that?

Mr. KNOX. January 4, as well as I remember.

Mr. MOSTER. What year?

Mr. KNOX. 1937. This was a sit-down strike. It started in my department. It started by men that I had joined up with my group. They sat down for about 3 hours. There were not enough of them at that time. They did not have any leaders whatever. I was on the outside. I do not mean by that that just because I was out that they did not have any leaders. I had been discharged.

I was over in front of the Packard Motor Car plant at the time I heard of this sit-down strike. I immediately rushed back to my plant, and by the time I had gotten over there the workers had been evicted. I saw all of my friends come out carrying their tools, and I knew that they had lost that particular strike. They came out one by one.

I immediately called a meeting, and by that time one Emil Mazey, a young part-time organizer, came up and said that he was connected with the Briggs plant, and the organization of the Briggs plant. He said that he was the international organizer and was going to take charge.

Mr. MOSTER. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KNOX. No, sir. He was formerly a member of the Proletarian Party. The Proletarian Party is a small group of this minority political party that seemed to have the idea that when we have the revolution they are going to be the leaders. They think they are the intelligent group.

However, it developed that this Proletarian Party was too weak among the auto workers, and 7 months ago Mazey quit the Proletarian Party and joined the Socialist Party; that is, the left-wing group. The first-class Socialists would not look at these people.

They merely tolerate them. But they have large numbers of them in the auto business. The Socialist Party, to my mind, is the most revolutionary and the most dangerous group in the United States today; that is, the members of this left-wing group. It is a distinct revolutionary group.

Do you want me to go on now with the way we built up this organization?

Mr. MOSIER. No. I want to know just how you became president of this union.

Mr. KNOX. Well, sometimes I wonder myself how I did. We conducted this strike 3 weeks, Mr. Chairman, and we were sold out by the international organizational director, Richard T. Frankenstein. We discovered that. These people never fooled us. They are not smart by any means. They are cunning and sly, but they would never fool a practical, experienced, trade labor man. In fact, they could never fool a boy 12 years old, if he watched his step.

Anyhow, we became suspicious of our leaders. They had not done anything for us. They had not contributed a penny to help us. They did not send us a man for our picket line.

Of course, he was still a part-time organizer, and they claimed jurisdiction over us. We wanted to join the organization, so we coasted along with them as long as we could. But after it appeared that we were going to lose the strike—we were losing it; we had slowed down production, but they were bringing men in from other plants, and we were losing the strike. At one time I picketed the plant by myself. There were 29,000 workers there, and I was out there by myself. Oftentimes we had only two or three pickets. That is not enough men.

So we began to think, and when I say “we,” I speak here of Cecil Comstock, who was elected vice president at the first election.

So we called on Mr. Frankenstein and insisted that he live up to his original promise to me, that if we ever needed help with this large company, he would bring over the Dodge picket line. That was the promise that he made the night that this small group signed up.

Mr. MOSIER. He would bring over the Dodge picket line, you say?

Mr. KNOX. He would bring over the Dodge picket line. Dodge employs about 22,000 men in the main plant. They had one of the largest picket lines in the city, and it was a very good one, too. They never lost a strike. I was a member of the Dodge local. In fact, we all were. We had not had the union as yet. We had not been chartered. We did not have any leaders. We did not have anyone to lead us.

So Mr. Frankenstein gave me the impression that he wanted to get out of it. I drew the impression from the top flight leaders in the U. A. W. that they wanted us to lose the strike, and we determined that we would not. We were all in a bad way. I had a water blister on every toe of both feet. I did not have any clothes. I did not have any home. I did not have anything. The rest of them were just as bad off. So we went over Mr. Frankenstein's head to Allen Haywood, the C. I. O. director, and insisted that Mr. Frankenstein keep his promise, which he did. Mr. Frankenstein put leaflets out in front of the Dodge plant, asking for all the members to come over to the hall, which most of them did.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, what strike was that?

Mr. KNOX. That was the first sit-down strike at the Briggs Manufacturing Co. The sit-downers had been evicted, and we were picketing outside, a few of us.

So Mr. Frankenstein was successful in getting about 2,500 Dodge workers to stay in there from 11:30 until 5 o'clock the next morning. At 5 o'clock the next morning they left the Dodge Co. and came to our plant. This was the second largest strike that occurred in the auto industry, so far as I know. We were successful in coming to some sort of agreement with them. We did not agree with them, and I want to say that those people sold out the workers. This agreement was signed by Weinstone and Mazey, but the members objected to it. However, they said they would go back to work on their own terms. We went back to the plant, and started an intense organizational drive. We would call on people for this purpose and tell them how to sign them up.

Mr. MOSIER. Frankenstein was one of the people who was ousted by Homer Martin.

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And reinstated by the C. I. O.

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. Mr. Weinstone was one of the group ordered reinstated by John L. Lewis.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have given us the background of it, when the Communists first began to direct or influence the course of strikes, and how they injected themselves into the sit-down strikes. I want you to cover it from the beginning and show, within your knowledge, the development of it from the first time you began to see the Communists exercising their influence.

Mr. KNOX. The first time I saw Communist influence directed in it—or, I should say, members of the minority political parties, including Socialists, revolutionary workers, Trotskyites, and so forth, because they worked together against us, so that when we say Communists we do not include all of them. They are not words to group at this particular place. We speak of them as the unity group, and I use the term "unity," and we call them Communists in referring to particular groups.

The first time a minority political group came in was in the case of Emil Mazey. He had not been working, and had not been for some time. He was on the strategy board, the strike board, the grievance board; and there were about 24 of them all together. He was a new man, and proposed that he be elected president of Local No. 212, but no man would agree to that proposal. All of us objected to it. He was getting by without any labor experience. He held no office of any kind in organized labor. But we at least decided that we would give him the benefit of the doubt. He was an international organizer and had contacts that we did not have. We thought at least we would see what the members thought about it, and we discussed it with the members. There was not a member of the plant that would vote for him. He then proposed that they elect me as president. He discussed it, or had a discussion with me after this particular meeting, and changed his mind. His next proposal was that Cecil Comstock be elected. Then we became disgusted with him and said we would not agree with any of that but would give the membership the choice. At this meeting, when the officers were being elected, I was nominated.

I have spoken of Comstock. I did not want to be president, and I spoke for him, giving what I thought was a good talk in his behalf.

However, they elected me president. They then elected a vice president, secretary, trustees, and other officers. When we came to name the executive board members Mazey wanted to be on the executive board. He wanted to be one of the members. He jumped up and ran his hands through his hair, and some man said, "I nominate you." I do not know his name. We discussed the election, talking about it like ordinary workers do, and we decided that we would vote for him. Then we found that even with our support he barely got in as a member of the executive board. Our troubles began when he got on the board. At meetings of the executive board this man would propose all sorts of stuff that was absolutely new to us, and things we did not want to have anything to do with, such as donating money to Brookwood College.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is Brookwood College?

Mr. KNOX. It is somewhere in the East. I do not know where it is. I have seen nobody from Brookwood College that was smart, so far as labor is concerned. At that time I did not think we should spend money for that purpose. He wanted to pay churches and hold church meetings, but we did not want to do that. We voted against that. Mr. Mazey was a very lonesome man around there was 5½ months. He did everything he could to get me removed. After being elected I went back to the shop, working from 10 o'clock to 3:30 in the afternoon. I was settling grievances, serving on the shop committee, handling all their affairs, and even some of their private affairs. During the time I was there the organization began to grow. That went on until the Highland Park plant wanted to come into the union. That was one of the conditions that was insisted on, that the other Briggs plant should join. Those Highland Park plant workers would come to our office wanting to join. Later on Lloyd Jones, the president of Local No. 2, called me from his local inviting our members to attend a meeting. We did not have to do it, but when we spoke of going to this meeting Mazey insisted that we should not go over there. Of course, we were elected officers of our organization, and we should have been not only invited but welcomed at the meeting, but he insisted that we should not go, saying that if we should go, something would happen. We went over there and were hardly seated before a rock was thrown through the window and then later a tear-gas bomb was thrown. It was the most powerful bomb of the kind I had ever seen. It happened to hit on the ledge of the window, and if it had fallen among us, I am sure that we would have been blinded by it. It was not the company that did that to us, but they tried to give us the impression that the company did it. I learned later that Communists hired a man to throw the bomb in there. It was not the company at all. They were trying to Russianize it so as to defeat the white element in it.

Mr. MOSIER. Was Lloyd Jones a Communist?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; he is a Communist. I have visited his home a number of times. In fact, on my most recent visit to Lloyd Jones he said that he would not only support me for president but for vice president of the International Union if I would follow the Communist doctrines.

MR. MOSIER. After that meeting, when you were tear-gassed, what happened?

MR. KNOX. We went back home. Then we had the Mack union. They employed two or three thousand men and women. I was a good organizer, and told Mazey how to handle the force. We rented halls and had people down there to sign the people up. We had a great increase in the membership. Mazey would call me the savior of the workers and things like that. It was embarrassing to me. He used my sacrifices to get the people in. The membership went up 5, 8, 10, 12, and 15 thousand. We could not handle the money promptly. At one time we had 200 men, and I had \$1,585 on hand one night. We did not have a bank to put in it, and I had to sleep with it. Those were bad times there, too.

MR. MOSIER. How much did you charge when you signed a man up?

MR. KNOX. Two dollars.

MR. MOSIER. How much would the dues be?

MR. KNOX. That would include the dues for that month.

MR. MOSIER. Did you get so much per month?

MR. KNOX. One dollar per month. We could not charge over a dollar a month. There were extra charges and special assessments, and we got so strong that we ran the initiation fee up to \$15. We then came back to \$2. We have had a big loss in dues. The people are disgusted in the way it is run, and I do not blame them.

In connection with the Highland Park affair, I would like to introduce a telegram. The president of the international union sent me a telegram, telling me to keep out of Highland Park. It was warning us not to go there. This was Homer Martin. Evidently, Mr. Martin was badly advised by these minority groups. Those people brought pressure on him to keep those people out. They had begun to oppose this kind of stuff in the union.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we can develop this: Did the Communist Party combine its forces with other groups so as to elect people favorable to them?

MR. KNOX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that done?

MR. KNOX. In the local or international?

The CHAIRMAN. First, in the local.

MR. KNOX. In the local unions, the Communists, Proletarians, Revolutionary Workers, and so forth, in all of the groups, or all of the minority political party members, with the exception of the Communist Party opposition, did that. Sometimes they will combine forces to elect one of their own members. When the Socialists are strongest, a Socialist will be elected, and where the Communists are the strongest, they will be elected, as was the case in No. 155, on the east side of Detroit, and in other locals. Those people will combine their forces to defeat a man who opposes either one of them. If they get a stooge, or a man who is popular, they will take him. They will insist that he follow their instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent did the Communists, including the Trotskyites, who are also a branch of the Communist Party, and the Revolutionary Workers—

MR. KNOX (interposing). That is a branch of the Trotskyites.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have they been able to gain control of the various locals of the Detroit area?

Mr. KNOX. In the Detroit area, looking at it from the international view, this group was never stronger in the unions than they are today. They absolutely dominate them.

The CHAIRMAN. They have succeeded in dominating the unions?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. Today they dominate the automobile workers.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that they dominate the auto workers?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. That is done through the Detroit district council, and in the State of Michigan through the industrial council. What is commonly known as the American force is absolutely helpless. This stuff is foreign to the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the names of some of the minority bloc?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; I can give you some of the names, but not all of them. For the Cadillac Motor Co., Local No. 174, there was Stuart Strachn. His alias is McCarty. That is the Communist Party opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by the Communist Party opposition?

Mr. KNOX. There are two good friends of mine who are in good standing in the Communist Party, and I know that the Communist Party opposition is a group of Communists in this country led by J. Lovestone, who, I believe, is a Jew and a New York lawyer. However, he is a high type of lawyer, and not like some of the little kite Jews that we have. Mr. Lovestone fell out with the Stalin group in Moscow over a motion of some kind. They were in a Communist Party meeting, and the groups headed by Lovestone, for which he was the spokesman, fell out with the majority group because of substituting a minority report for a majority report. That was done on orders from Moscow. The report was supported by a vote of 4 to perhaps 4,000 against it, but Moscow upset that decision. He withdrew and is now fighting communism. At the same time, however, they have made an attempt to get back in the main group. Each one wants to control. They do not care whether the worker makes 40 cents a day or not. They do not want him to make a good salary, because if he is satisfied he is not a supporter for them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the main purpose of this group.

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. The next is Alan Strachn.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this man's position?

Mr. KNOX. So far as I know, he is a very active young man. I think he is General Motors' bargainer. I think he was appointed by Homer Martin. I do not think he was elected.

We have in Oldsmobile Local, No. 182, William Munger. I think he formerly worked for Oldsmobile. Mr. Munger was appointed by Homer Martin and is editor of an international publication, U. A. W. Then there is Lester Washburn. These are C. P. O. also. In the West Side local, there is Bob Kantor. He is either a member of the C. P. O. or the Socialists. I might find out. I cannot learn anything from people like these. I would not speak to some of them on the street.

George Edwards is a member of the Socialist Party and a member of the executive committee, I believe. Walter Phelh is a very hair-brained revolutionary.

The CHAIRMAN. He believes in revolution.

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. They want to be leaders. They want to be the captains. That is the only thing they look forward to. They think they will be the leaders of the revolution.

R. Luther was a writer and wants to direct educational work. He likes to be mentioned in the papers and have pictures taken. It is all "I, we, and ours." They are a number of possessive pronouns.

Now, we come to the Murray Body Co. They have there a labor unity force. There is Lloyd Jones, a former hillbilly. His father used to be sheriff.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; but he will not admit it. He will talk to me confidentially about almost anything else. We get along fine and he is not one of the spies I have spoken of. He is the president of a local and a former member of the international executive board. His union advocates a living wage. They now get \$300 a month, and not one is worth 30 cents. I would not give one of them the job of sweeping out my house. Jack Schuler is the financial secretary and treasurer of this local.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KNOX. I am almost certain he is. For the purpose of the record, I would say that I am almost certain he is. He is with them all he can be and he cannot get enough of it. Then there is Della Verry. Most of these people are Arabs, or they are people like them. By that I mean they resemble Arabs. There is Lottie Klemish and Wanda Martois. It is just like being a squirrel in a cage when you go around with people like this.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they Communists?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; all with the exception of Jack Schuler, and I do not mean that he is not. I cannot say positively, but I think he is.

Then there is Michael Manini. I think he is Italian. Then there is Mike Dullesky.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position?

Mr. KNOX. He is the financial secretary and treasurer of Plymouth Local No. 51. They have a fight over there almost every day. In fact, everywhere these people are you will find there is hell about something. There is no such thing as being satisfied about anything.

Leo Lamoth is president of Local No. 51, of the Plymouth plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; or I would say yes if it was not before a committee of this importance. If it were not before a committee of this importance, I would accuse him of being a Communist. I would say that he associates with them so closely that he could not be anything else. His headquarters is with the Communist hang-out on the East Side of Detroit. He, with Dulleskey, and some of the other fellows from Plymouth, got afraid of the Packard boys because the Packard boys was controlled by the white boys in the union. He was afraid that the white American element in the Packard would slip out some of his constituents, and I would say from his associates that he most certainly is a C. P.

Now, we have next Local 212, U. A. W. That is the Briggs Manufacturing Co., Michael Grossens.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he hold?

Mr. KNOX. He got elected vice president from the Verner plant. They had a slip-up over there. He will not be elected again.

Tony Chircop, alias Tony Borg, he is chief steward in the Highland Park plant.

Martin Rapp is chief steward, Department No. 191, Meldrum Trim Shop.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to those last two names, are those Communists?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; Grossens, Chiurcop, and Rapp is.

Next is James Jones. He has another name, commonly called Jim Prophet Jones, I believe. He has a brother, Lloyd Jones. James works at the Highland Park plant. He is always talking about the program for the workers. It is his own program.

The next is Fred Hillier. He is chief steward of the floor sweepers, or something, over at the Mack Avenue plant, a Socialist.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he work with the Communist group?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; very much. All of these do. They are about to have a falling out over there now, but they have been working over there. They will get back together. We will drive them back together. They fall out among themselves quite often. They have the most awful arguments in their meetings.

The next is Ken Morris. He is a Socialist.

The next is Denver Deynes.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he hold?

Mr. KNOX. He is in Chrysler Local 7. There are two Deynes. This man, Denver Deynes, is a Communist. There are two Deynes, brothers, in the Chrysler local. One is an officer. I am not sure whether it is Denver or not. If it is, he is one of the officers of the local. They always want to be officers.

The next is Morris Shortkroff.

The CHAIRMAN. Morris what?

Mr. KNOX. Shortkroff; S-h-o-r-t-k-r-o-f-f.

The CHAIRMAN. Morris Shortkroff?

Mr. KNOX. Yes. It appears to be Bulgarian or Russian. It is very bad, whatever it is.

The next is Roy La Huillier. We just call fellows like this "Whitie" or "Red," or something like that. We do not make any effort to pronounce his name. I know his name, and I see it on his badge, but never made any effort to pronounce it.

The CHAIRMAN. Spell that out again.

Mr. KNOX. La H-u-i-l-l-i-e-r. His first name is Roy.

The CHAIRMAN. Roy?

Mr. KNOX. Yes; Roy La Huillier.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do?

Mr. KNOX. I have never been in the Chrysler plant but once. That was during the sit-down strike, and I do not know what a lot of these fellows do. In fact, some of them won't tell you. Most of them are floorsweepers, or spittoon cleaners, and very few of them are experienced men. Very few Communists have any experience, very few of them are automobile workers in any of these groups.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other names there?

Mr. KNOX. Neil Tucker.

The CHAIRMAN. N-e-a-l?

Mr. KNOX. No; N-e-i-l.

The CHAIRMAN. N-e-i-l?

Mr. KNOX. Yes; Neil Tucker. The next is John McGinnis.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they officers in any local?

Mr. KNOX. I do not think either one of these men was with the exception of Deynes. The president of that local is Frank Marshall, I believe his name is. He is supposed to be a Socialist. He is working with the Socialists. Whether he is or not I do not know.

The next is Mike Chisek.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that spelled?

Mr. KNOX. C-h-i-s-e-k.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do; what is his position?

Mr. KNOX. I am sure I could not say, Mr. Chairman. I do not see these fellows, because they work in different plants and for a different company, only when they have meetings in which the Communists themselves will later on withdraw, and these fellows always go with them, and when we have picket lines, and so forth.

At Ford we have William McKie, a Communist. He would not deny it if he were here.

The CHAIRMAN. M-c-K-i-e?

Mr. KNOX. That is right. The next is Joe Kovich.

The CHAIRMAN. C-o-i-o-c-h?

Mr. KNOX. K-o-v-o-c-h. His first name is Joe, Ford Local 600.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he have an office in there?

Mr. KNOX. McKie?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KNOX. He pretends to be an organizer. I talked with him and asked him, and he would not say whether he is or not. Here on this card we have William McKee, U. A. W. organizer, Ford Memorial Meeting, Sunday, March 7, 2 p. m., Danish Brotherhood Temple, 1775 West 4th, admission 20 cents. They always have an admission, are always collecting.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this Kovich have a job?

Mr. KNOX. I do not know whether he is working in the plant or not. Mr. Chairman, that is a very difficult question to answer about the jobs in a lot of cases, because our work is seasonable, and frequently our own wives do not know whether we are working.

The CHAIRMAN. But he is active in the union activities?

Mr. KNOX. Oh, yes; all of these people are. They are very active. They meet at the meetings and caucus before meetings, no matter what kind of a meeting is to be held, and they also caucus after the meeting is over.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other names?

Mr. KNOX. Yes; I have a number besides these.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we suspend or recess, rather, for a few minutes.

(Thereupon a short recess was taken, after which the following occurred:)

The CHAIRMAN. We will resume. All right, Mr. Knox.

Before you continue with the names let us see if we can get something straight that you first testified to which was not absolutely clear. You said when you came to Washington to represent your local, as I understood you, you said you were here for about 30 days representing your local, and that you were approached by two Gov-

ernment officials and asked to become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KNOX. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. One name you gave was Donald Hendrickson, who at that time was with the National Labor Relations Board?

Mr. KNOX. No, sir; Mr. Hendrickson was not with the National Labor Relations Board.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he with?

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Hendrickson at that time had just been discharged from Columbia University for practicing communism, so he told me. Mr. Ben Wolf, or Wood, was an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board. On his letters from him which he wrote me at my home prior to my coming here it was signed "Ben Wood." but somehow later it developed these people in speaking of him called him Ben Wolf.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the stenographer?

Mr. KNOX. The girl—I do not know whether she was a stenographer or not.

The CHAIRMAN. She was a girl he introduced to you?

Mr. KNOX. Her name was M. Bell. I do not know what her first name was at all, Miss Bell.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anyone else in the Government that Mr. Wolf introduced you to?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. I have forgotten his first name. His name was Eldridge.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he connected with?

Mr. KNOX. He had a very important position. He did not tell me what he did. All the office workers came to attention when he came in. He had a large suite of rooms on the thirteenth floor of one of the large buildings.

The CHAIRMAN. In what department?

Mr. KNOX. I am trying to get it. It was either the National Labor Advisory Board or N. R. A. Advisory Board. It was some Government department, but I do not know which one it was; some bureau of the Government; I have forgotten. In fact, I did not pay so much attention to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he introduce you to anyone else who talked to you about this?

Mr. KNOX. Yes; I met a number of people all over town, most anywhere we would go.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not mean whether you had met a number of people. I mean in explanation of your first testimony, with reference to your first testimony, with reference to Government officials, any other Government officials.

Mr. KNOX. I was introduced to this young man who was conducting the strike in Hugh Johnson's office; his name was Henderson, as well as I remember, Leon Henderson. This was 4 years ago. This is trusting to memory. I believe his name was Leon Henderson. Whether he worked for the Government or not I do not know. I did not ask people these sort of questions. They just told me this information; and there were others; one man was in the White House post office, but I cannot say that for sure.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time you were president of a local that had 24,000 members?

Mr. KNOX. No; at that time I was organizing a local.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I see.

Mr. KNOX. My job has always been the first one to organize. It seems like after they get going the bright minds come in and break it up.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us continue with your list of names from where you left off.

Mr. MOSIER. I might ask you this, Mr. Knox: The man you referred to as Henderson, might his name have been Donovan?

Mr. KNOX. Donovan?

Mr. MOSIER. Would that refresh your recollection?

Mr. KNOX. I think so; Leon Donovan, would that be it?

Mr. MOSIER. John Donovan.

Mr. KNOX. John Donovan? It possibly was Mr. Donovan. Whatever his name was, as I said, I was trusting that to memory. There were several around who introduced me, Mr. Wood and so forth, but he came over to see me specifically about organizing the employees in Hugh Johnson's office, and I think they had some sort of organization, had some sort of difficulties, so I drew from that that he was employed in Mr. Johnson's office and was, of course, a Government employee.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he talk anything to you about communism?

Mr. KNOX. Not very much. He would have had we talked very long, but not very much.

Mr. MOSIER. He was talking to you about organizing Hugh Johnson's office?

Mr. KNOX. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. You were organizing a unit in the city of Detroit?

Mr. KNOX. No; I was in Tennessee at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. Oh.

Mr. KNOX. My only purpose here was to present this case to the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. MOSIER. You were president of a local in Tennessee, were you not?

Mr. KNOX. No; we were forming it, and I was elected president after it was formed.

Mr. MOSIER. You, at that time, were forming a local?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; and the company tried to prevent me from doing so, and discharged me, and I was off the job 6 or 7 weeks.

Mr. MOSIER. That was the occasion of your being in Washington?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You had formed a local down there?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And you were discharged for that?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And you had a case arising from that?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; they had a case in Atlanta and it was appealed.

Mr. MOSIER. But you were known to this man, whoever you talked to, as a labor organizer?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us continue with the names.

Mr. KNOX. I believe the last name was William McKnight, Packard Local 190.

James Lyndahl. His alias is Meth. Ralph Urban, and Stanley Sripek, a Communist stooge. He is not a Communist. He is not smart enough. They would not have him. In this local is Cord Murdock. L. A. Young, Local 236. Robert Stone, a young Jew, president of the local. Paul Gold. He is also a young Jew who attends the convention under the name of Paul Goldfarb, and the "farb" was dropped from the end of his name. Eberhardt Drettman, another Jew. I am not sure that this Drettman is a CP, but he is a very good stooge for CPs in this particular local union. I have next the Machine Steel Casting Co. Paul Kirk, a young Negro, very violent, that is, about communism, not violent physically. Al Hargraves. They are both members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell that last name?

Mr. KNOX. H-a-r-g-r-a-v-e-s. I think Hargraves is president of that local, what little of it is left. Paul Kirk is former organizer for the International Union, and was set up in office by Homer Martin prior to the convention held last year to organize Negroes. He wasted a lot of money and Mr. Martin caught him and let him go. Mr. Martin was really disappointed because he did not organize the Negroes to vote for Martin at the convention.

Noel A. Peterson is a member of the Communist Party. He used to work as the Briggs Manufacturing Co., but I do not think he has much seniority and he is not working now.

John Brandt, a member of the Communist Party, works in the Highland Park plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co.

Mather McGlothter, a Negro Communist Party member, works at our Mount Road plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co.

Dodge Local, No. 3, Detroit, main plant, John A. Saremba, Francis Trexler, and Anthony Probe, all three of these men are members of the Communist Party. Denver Deynes has already been mentioned.

Chrysler No. 7, main plant, Fred Williams, alias Jack Wilson, is a member of the Communist Party. M. Newhouse and M. Shortkroff are members of the Communist Party.

F. Valle, he is a member of the Proletarian Party. I think he transferred over to the Socialist Party in the last few months.

S. Fanroy is a member of the Communist Party, a Negro. All of these members given now, Mr. Chairman, are delegates to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Delegates to what convention?

Mr. KNOX. The international convention of the automobile workers, a very important position. That is the highest authority in the organization, and they just about control it. I was also a delegate.

Toledo, Ohio, Local 14, this is the Fisher Body. Robert C. Travis is a member of the Communist Party. Kenneth L. Cole—I am not sure he is a member of the Communist Party, but he is very closely associated.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he from Toledo, too?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; was in this same local, this Fisher Body Local No. 14, Toledo, Ohio.

Joseph B. Dietzel is a member of the Communist Party, Fisher Body Local 14. Most of the delegates from this local—and they were eight of them—I believe are in this sort of a situation: as to whether or members or not, I do not know. As far as that goes, most of the

delegates—and there were 37 from the Chrysler local—I believe are in this sort of a situation.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they manage to be elected delegates?

Mr. KNOX. They use different ways, Mr. Chairman, to get to be elected. If a man is running that opposes communism, they tell a lot of lies about him, that he won't be a good delegate, or that he is going there to run for vice president, or something like that, and press to get them to vote for them. They use any means whatever to get to be elected. The great majority of the automobile workers do not want anything to do with them in this State. They are only looking for some way to clean house. It needs it.

Local 32, Cleveland, Ohio, White Motor Co. They make a very fine truck, one of the best trucks.

Local 32, Cleveland, Ohio, White Motor Co., making a very fine truck, one of the best trucks. Richard E. Reisinger.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot say that he is a member of the Communist Party, but most certainly he is very closely associated. If he was not in the Automobile Workers, I would take him to be one of the so-called fronts. But his running mate, Wyndham Mortimer, is, and I am sure Mr. Mortimer would not run with Reisinger if he was not. In my own mind I think he is a Communist. Mortimer is a member of the Communist Party and formerly was—he was a member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party.

Practically this whole local—and there were 14 delegates, and they voted with the Communist delegate on practically every question.

Mr. MOSIER. From the White Motor Co.?

Mr. KNOX. From the White Motor Co. They tried to stampede the rest of the delegates.

No. 51, Plymouth Motor Co., Detroit. I think I have given these, Mr. Chairman.

Local 154, Detroit, Hudson Motor Car Co., main plant. P. Gates and E. L. Penrod. Penrod is a Socialist and an ex-member of the Communist Party.

Local 140, Detroit, Dodge Truck and Amplex. James Scanlon, a member of the Communist Party, and a dangerous man, a fanatic, one of the worst I have ever seen.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have Flint, Mich. That was a city-wide local, and all the plants belonged to one local, and Bob Travis and several of the other men got there in the Dodge local, so some of these people who used to be in the Communist Party have quit. Just now I do not know of any men there working in the shops, in the Communist Party. Undoubtedly there must be 10 or 12, but I do not know who they are.

Fisher No. 1—that is a white man's plant, and when I say that I mean for American people. We have Roy Luther, a Socialist, who is the only one I can tag there. He is a Socialist Party member.

Of the 94 delegates, they have a number with very bad reputations; they have been caught mispending the money, and so forth.

Detroit, Mich., local 174, or the remnants of it, John Hell, a member of the Communist Party; Charles Nichaman; and George Mardiros. This last person's real name is Ruben Grjak. He is an Arab or a Bulgarian, or something like that.

We also have William McKie, who has been mentioned before.

There is also Dave Miller and Joseph Urban. He is a Jew; his real name—

The CHAIRMAN. It is not necessary to mention nationalities, because there are people of all nationalities in these groups.

Mr. KNOX. His real name is Joe Stone.

The CHAIRMAN. We have people of all nationalities in that group.

Mr. KNOX. Yes; I imagine so.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. KNOX. In this same local there are several men I have already named—William McKie, Luther, and others.

Then there is Katherine Wilk, a Communist Party member. There is also Irene Young. Her real name is Irene Marinovich, evidently Russian.

There is also Lillian Holley. This woman's real name is Hulley, I believe. I think she is the wife of William Hulley, of Local 157. She is a member of the Communist Party. He was recently elected to some office in another local union.

Local 189, Molding Councils, Detroit, include several small molding plants. There is Robert Hunter, a member of the Communist Party.

Local 190, Packard, Detroit; Norman Isenberg. I have already given James Lindahl, or Meth; he has two names. Then there is Helen Lubinski, who has long been suspected, but I am not so sure about that.

Then there is Local 210, McChord Radiator; M. J. Moskum, a member of the Communist Party Opposition, the C. P. O.

The CHAIRMAN. The Lovestone group?

Mr. KNOX. That is right.

Then there is Local 235, Chevrolet Gear and Axle, with William Sylvestrowicz and Clay Fountain, both of them members of the Communist Party.

This fellow, Fountain, floods the Detroit papers with letters of protest. He is a nuisance. They are written by someone else.

Local 28; I think I have already named Luther Hargraves, and Paul Kirk, a young Negro.

Local 306, Detroit, Budd Wheel Manufacturing Co.; Walter Uppleger.

Local 329, Detroit, Fisher Body; Christ Beinert.

That includes those from the delegate rolls, with the exception of my own local union. I have those on a separate page.

Here are some members; I would not want to identify them with any particular local, they never belonging to a union and still do not belong.

Here is Eva Ston; she is a director of the ladies' auxiliary of the International Union United Automobile Workers of America; was appointed by Homer Martin, and is a member of the Communist Party Opposition.

Francis Henson; he has an alias; I think it is Liggett. He is Martin's personal, private secretary; never worked in an automobile plant; appointed by Martin.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in the Lovestone group?

Mr. KNOX. Yes; they just happen to be separate for the time being; he is a Communist.

Glen Shaddock; he is an organizer sticking around somewhere. He has an alias—J. Hevering. He was appointed by Homer Martin; he is a Lovestonite.

Then there is Alex Bell. He is a go-between between Homer Martin and Lovestone. He sort of flits in to keep the C. P. O. party in control of the international union, the United Automobile Workers.

Then we have A. M. Krause. He is the former editor of our international paper; a member of the Socialist Party, its revolutionary wing.

The CHAIRMAN. They believe in the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. KNOX. Tonight, if possible; they cannot wait. The Communists can wait. That is the low-bred Socialist. The first-class Socialists would not look at them; in fact, they deny they are Socialists and call them something else, a very common name, and that is my word for them, for most of them.

Tom Clasey, a member of the Communist Party Opposition, a Lovestonite. He works in the Chevrolet plant at Flint and has some sort of position there. I think he is a bargaining committeeman. If he is not, he will be, because they are not satisfied until they get into that sort of a position.

There is Ted Ledoke. He is a member of the bargaining committee from Chevrolet at Flint. He is a C. P. O.

Mel Center; the same company, same union; that is Local 156, of the Chevrolet.

At Hartford, Conn., there is a C. P. O. member of that local—I think it is the Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Engine Co.—R. Gold.

We had an eastern organizer. I do not believe he is devoted to any certain place, but just moves around as Mr. Martin orders him; he is named Sid Jonas. He is a C. P. O. member.

We have a former organizer, who said he was an organizer at the Ford plant in Chicago. He went to Baltimore.

Irving Brown was appointed an organizer by Mr. Martin; he is not an automobile worker.

Mr. Chairman, I am having a little difficulty about this, because I did not know I would be asked such a question. If I had known that, I could give you more, because we just crawl with communism.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is enough of it.

Mr. KNOX. I have some more.

The CHAIRMAN. That gives us a pretty good idea of what the situation is.

Tell the committee to what extent these Communists, Lovestonites, Trotzkites, and the revolutionary Socialist Party wing—to what extent they control the U. A. W. A.

Mr. KNOX. Just today—they have been fighting for control for a long time. Just today I would say they were stronger than they ever have been, and absolutely dominate.

The CHAIRMAN. What part did they play in the sit-down strikes?

Mr. KNOX. The sit-down strikes were held at Detroit, Flint, Lansing, Pontiac, Cleveland, and several other places; in fact, anywhere where they were strong enough.

At first, practically all of them were on the east side of Detroit. At the time they were held we could not get over to the west side very much.

The sit-down strikes in Detroit originated, so far as I know, at Midland Steel. They make frames for Dodge motorcars.

This strike was led by John Anderson, a known Communist, and others. Anderson is the business agent for 155. At that time Anderson was an organizer for the international union, during this strike. During this Midland Steel strike Anderson and others—

The CHAIRMAN. Were Communists in control of that strike?

Mr. KNOX. That is right. Mr. Anderson and these other people instructed the workers that the property of the Ford Motor Co. could not be removed; they made the dies and certain tools, and so forth. It lasted several weeks.

Mr. MOSIER. When was that—what year?

Mr. KNOX. It was late in 1936 or, I think, December 1936, I believe—1935 or 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. What part did they play in other sit-down strikes? You are speaking about the Communists, the ones you have named, and others.

Mr. KNOX. There were other Communists at Midland Steel besides John Anderson.

At the Michigan Steel Casting Co., this strike was lost. It was led by Paul Kirk and Albert Hargraves. They did not know how to handle the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been both named by you as Communists?

Mr. KNOX. Yes. They called the pickets away from the plant.

At the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel strike that was led by Walter Reuther.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a Communist?

Mr. KNOX. Very radical; hairbrained.

The CHAIRMAN. He led that strike?

Mr. KNOX. Yes; and his two brothers, Victor Reuther and Roy Reuther. All these men were not there all the time; they had other strikes to cover.

There was William McKay, Bob Kantor, and Stanley—he spells his name two ways, and I think the proper way to spell it is Nowak. He is a Communist. George Edwards is a member of the Socialist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say “the Socialist Party,” you mean the revolutionary branch?

Mr. KNOX. That is the revolutionary group.

At this strike, the fellows complained bitterly that the Communists would not let them out, that they were held against their wishes.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co.?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. In fact, during the strikes, the workers resented the way they forced them to do certain things. At Plymouth those fellows were ready to walk out, and they came nearer to losing their strike than we did. They wanted to lose the strike at Bohn Aluminum, led by Fred Williams and other members of the Communist Party, and these other minority political groups. Williams is now business agent of the local and section organizer of the Communist Party.

A sit-down strike was held at Pontiac by the minority groups in the U. A. W. A.; it was even an authorized strike, and they said they were not going out, even if troops were put out there, and Martin had difficulty in getting the men out of the plant even after the contract had been signed and agreed to by the union.

At Chrysler the plant strike was led by the radical element over there, Fred Williams, the Valle brothers, Casey Dines, and others.

At the Highland Park plant of the Chrysler Co. it was led by Ed or George Hertz and others. Hertz is a member of the Socialist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these strikes often called by those groups contrary to the instructions from the duly elected officers of the locals and the international union?

Mr. KNOX. Yes. I think that Mr. Martin has publicly stated that there have been over 300 unauthorized strikes in the U. A. W. A. that he tried to prevent.

The CHAIRMAN. How would they manage to call a strike? Would they have a meeting in advance of the particular group?

Mr. KNOX. Yes. They always prepare what they are going to do.

The CHAIRMAN. When they got on the job how would they notify the others?

Mr. KNOX. It is according to how they have the steward set up. In a plant that I worked in, if I was the chief steward I would stop my own department. In a plant where they have a bargaining committee, the bargaining committee would stop that.

These people would stop the most vital sections of the plant first, such as my department, for instance.

I would stop work, with 14 of us working, and tie up the entire plant.

We have two stages. In the first stage, in our early organizational stage, very few people knew anything about it. When I wanted to call a strike I would let but one man know, until the last thing. So we got the organization. Later they began to spread a little bit more.

The CHAIRMAN. So such a group in a plant can absolutely shut down the plant.

Mr. KNOX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what this unity group did upon the different occasions you have mentioned?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. Oftentimes people in the other plants would not know there was a strike until the power was shut off.

Sometimes, we have had strikes that tied up a number of plants, and they had no grievance. They violated their own contracts. They would not live up to their contracts.

This was done by the leaders of the minority party political groups in the U. A. W. A. to breed discontent.

Communists are not interested in the success of a strike; they rather hope you will lose a strike.

The reason they encourage sit-down strikes was so that the workers would be ready for the struggle. They wanted us to be veterans of the struggle and strife.

If we have a strike they will sell us out in the beginning to beat us down. Socialists give us the most trouble, because they are looking forward to next year; they instigate a strike, whether the workers win it or not.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do to oppose these radical groups?

Mr. KNOX. In my organization?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KNOX. I did everything I could to expose them. I wrote editorials. I wrote one editorial exposing these people in my local

union and called upon the local union to help me bring them to task. That editorial was censored and never appeared in the paper at all. It was censored by one Kaspar Hanson, the editor of our paper.

I notified 600 chief stewards of the various departments that the Communists were planning to seize the union.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that editor you are speaking of also a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KNOX. No, sir; he is so dumb they would not have him. He is just a big, dumb lummoX.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to you as the result of your efforts to stop them?

Mr. KNOX. They tried to stop me.

After I had gotten elected and the other plants began to come in they had a plan to reorganize the local.

That was something absolutely unheard of. We were elected for a year and we did not understand why they wanted to reorganize the union.

We inquired among the workers if they wanted to have another election and we could not find anybody who wanted another election.

As it developed, Emil Moze wanted to be president. He was encouraging these people and doing things without any authority. This was brought before us in the regular procedure and we defeated him on a vote at a stewards' meeting. In the executive board we always defeated him.

Seeing he was not going to be successful in having the local to approve a reorganization, he set about on a campaign of lies and libel, circulating the most rotten stuff about me, saying that I carried a pistol, and so forth, the most vicious lies in the world.

He did succeed in getting a couple hundred of the newer members to believe that. He began to insist upon having a meeting in which he would prefer charges. Prior to this, he got so rotten that I preferred charges against him.

Our executive board voted to have him removed, and he was removed entirely, and was not an organizer at this time. So he just attached himself to the union.

He continued the campaign, and only men of the lowest element in the union would have anything to do with him. There were not any men of any caliber who would have anything to do with that. They did everything they could. They tried to get up rump meetings. Ed Hall tried to get Cass Tech High one time to have a rump meeting. The thing got so bad that the school board did not know whether to let them have a hall or not; they thought perhaps they might have a riot there. I had to telegraph the school board and tell them that neither Ed Hall nor anyone else had any authority to rent a hall for the purpose of having a meeting. And the school board refused to let them have it.

So this continued to where one day I came from a departmental meeting. There were something like 30 or 40 men waiting at the office for me. They asked me inside and said that they wanted to see me. I had an idea what was up, but that was all right. I went

on in and they surrounded me. They almost crushed me to the wall. I asked them outside. I thought that if we were going to have any trouble, I did not want it in there. I did not want any of the girls hurt. I thought we had better go outside. I really thought that they were going to kill me; that I would not live another minute.

So I asked them what they wanted, and these people, they were just so furious—I did not think that people could get so mad about anything. I wish I had shot half of them then and there. But I did not. I tried to find out why they would do me that way.

They were new union members. They had not helped to build the union. They had no grievance—none of them had any grievance that they took up before me that I did not settle satisfactorily to them. I had increased their wages, some of them, from 40 cents an hour to 75 cents. I had done everything in the world for them, even when I did not know them. And I could not understand why they would want to mob me like that.

They wanted to have a meeting. It appeared to me that they were just a bunch of fools. It appeared to me that they had just been incited by this young man and these other people and they had come down there for no purpose in the world but to insist on a meeting. They did not have any authority to do any business.

Please understand, if I permitted them to have a meeting, whatever business was done by them would have been the official business of the local. Here was a small minority of this big local union, 24,000 people in one union. That would make a city of 110,000 people or so, just themselves and their families. Yet here we have 30 or 40 people—I doubt if there were that many—insisting that we have a regular business meeting where anything that they would vote would have gone. They could have voted to have bought the restaurant down on the corner and paid \$20,000 for it and I would have had to sign the check for it.

The CHAIRMAN. This occurred during 1937, is that right?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir. I refused. Our executive board had voted on two previous meetings before that, 11 to 7, not to have a general membership meeting that month. The reason given was that four of the plants were down. Only one was running, and if we called a general membership meeting it would look like just a plant meeting and we were afraid, for the purposes of a local of this size, to get it into the hands of one plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us abbreviate this somewhat. The sum and substance of what you are saying is that this group finally forced you out, is that right?

Mr. KNOX. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We have some other witnesses and we must abbreviate this story. They finally forced you out?

Mr. KNOX. They did. After I refused to give them a meeting, they said, "We will go down and see Homer Martin and see what he says about it."

The CHAIRMAN. Were you forced out by the international office?

Mr. KNOX. Not then.

The CHAIRMAN. But later?

Mr. KNOX. Later. The international officers made me resign. They forced Comstock and myself to resign.

The CHAIRMAN. You were never expelled by a vote of the local?

Mr. KNOX. Oh, no. No one ever had any vote on this it all.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you one or two further questions. What is the attitude of the majority of the workers toward this revolutionary minority, this group that you are talking about?

Mr. KNOX. Practically all of the automobile workers that I know of are decidedly against these minority political party groups. They would like to get out from under them.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why is it not done? Why are not they gotten rid of by the leaders?

Mr. KNOX. Well, it seems that these people have key positions in the union. It seems as though even if you write a letter to someone in the union, it will be changed before it gets to him. It seems as though anything you do, even your own people will turn against you, as in the case of Homer Martin. He forced me to resign. They hardly know which way to turn. We do not have leaders in the automobile workers today. We have a very weak executive board. If we had an international executive board and international officers of any ability whatever, of any caliber, these sort of things would not exist.

The CHAIRMAN. But there is a strong desire on the part of the majority of the workers to clean up their own house, is that true?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; but they just do not know how to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do a lot of them know about this control?

Mr. KNOX. A lot of workers have the idea that maybe it is over-emphasized, that it is not as important as some people say it is. Some of the workers know that it is true and they will say, "I do not believe in this, but they did good things for us," and so forth and so on. But I would say the majority of the automobile workers would be glad to see all of these people out of the union.

The CHAIRMAN. What effect have these people had on the size of the membership? Has the membership grown under their control or has it diminished under them?

Mr. KNOX. It seems like they get a few converts from time to time; but on the other hand some of their best men quit them, just quit the party.

The CHAIRMAN. The size of your local dwindled from 24,000 to what?

Mr. KNOX. I do not have the last figures, but I would make an estimate that it is less than 10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. So that more than half have quit?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; over one-half are not paying their dues.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you charge part of that to this control by the radical group?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; I would say that they are so disgusted by this sort of thing that they want to quit the union.

The CHAIRMAN. During these sit-down strikes, was any effort made by the authorities to stop them, to stop the sit-down strikes?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir; the police, it seems, did as much as they could, but they were almost helpless. The police tried to keep law and order.

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking about the city police?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Local police?

Mr. KNOX. Even the militia, from what I saw up there, could not have done anything; that is, not the group that was there. If they brought in other militiamen, they might have. In fact, I think the sympathy of a lot of militiamen was with the strikes. I think they took a sort of rump poll there and it just happened that this particular group of people were automobile workers. It is just one of those things that happens one time in a hundred.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please step aside for a few moments so that we may recall another witness?

Mr. KNOX. Yes, sir.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM T. GERNAEY

Mr. MOSIER. You were sworn and testified yesterday; that is true, is it not?

Mr. GERNAEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you hear the chairman read a telegram here today signed by Harold A. Cranefield, regional attorney of the National Labor Relations Board?

Mr. GERNAEY. I did not. I was absent from the meeting at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. I hand you the telegram. Will you read it, Mr. Gernaey?

Mr. GERNAEY. Read it aloud?

Mr. MOSIER. No. I want you to read it so that you will be familiar with its contents.

(The witness examined the telegram.)

Mr. MOSIER. Now, you have read this telegram. I call your attention to that portion of the telegram which says:

I served Gernaey in the offices of a local union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Not over seven persons were present.

Where did he serve the subpoena on you?

Mr. GERNAEY. The subpoena was served in the offices, the Michigan offices of the Communist Party at 5969 Fourteenth Street on the third floor. They were served in the northeast corner of the lobby of that room, of that place.

Mr. MOSIER. And how many persons were present?

Mr. GERNAEY. There were about 14 people present at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. And I will ask you if at that time Mr. Cranefield did have a conversation with you concerning a murder that had taken place in St. Louis?

Mr. GERNAEY. As I recall, after reading the telegram, in introducing his remarks, he mentioned a similar case in St. Louis. This was not a conversation with me; this was a conversation with those present in the room. I testified yesterday how he instructed the people there to keep day-to-day records, hour-to-hour records. This conversation was not to me, it was to those present in the room.

Mr. MOSIER. And you do not want to change your testimony of yesterday in any way?

Mr. GERNAEY. I do not. Further, I should say that the evidence that was produced was in no way related to trade-union activities.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one question I had in mind to ask. Do you know why they canceled the subpoena they had issued to you?

Mr. GERNAEY. I do not know why they canceled that subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you informed why?

Mr. GERNAEY. I was not informed as to why.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. We will suspend until tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until 10 a. m. Thursday, October 20, 1938.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1938

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

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

Present also: Mr. Mosier.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair wants to make an announcement for the purpose of the record.

There have been made to the committee many charges to the effect that the Labor Department is withholding the deportation of some 3,000 deportable aliens; that among these 3,000 are a number of Communist aliens, such as Harry Bridges, J. Kowalsky, Alexander Bell, and others whose names have already been given to this committee, and that for some reason the Labor Department has not seen fit to deport these aliens although the law is mandatory.

If it is agreeable to you, Mr. Mosier, we will let the record show that the committee is instructing the secretary to call upon the Labor Department to furnish this committee with a list of all cases in which deportation has been withheld, with the facts in regard to each case, the number of arrests that have been made by local police of the particular aliens involved, so that with this information the committee can select from the entire list of 3,000 the names of all Communist aliens who have not been deported, and then, with the aid of the local police who have arrested them from time to time, we can have a hearing on that phase of the question.

Mr. MOSIER. That is agreeable to me, Mr. Chairman. Within what period of time; how far would you want to go?

The CHAIRMAN. I understand there are some 3,000 cases now. Of course, no one is contending that all 3,000 of these cases are cases of Communist aliens. The majority probably are not; but we have been furnished with the names of a number of aliens who have been arrested by police in different sections of the country in which no deportation order has issued. In fact there have been specific orders issued not to deport the aliens. In connection with the Bridges hearing we propose to go into the full question of Communist aliens who are deportable but who have not been deported, so as to throw some light upon this situation and find out, if possible, what is preventing the deportation of these aliens.

In one case the court had merely held that membership in the Communist Party alone was not sufficient ground to deport an alien. This is a decision of one circuit court of appeals, while there are numerous other decisions of circuit courts of appeal, and a Supreme Court decision, to the contrary; and in the cases that have been brought to our attention, like the *Kowalsky* case and the *Alexander Bell* case and the *Harry Bridges* case, the police in each of these cases say they have submitted evidence showing that the alien not only belonged to the Communist Party but that he himself advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and that he had also preached sabotage.

The first witness this morning will be Melvin Kells.

TESTIMONY OF MELVIN KELLS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Melvin Kells?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. KELLS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You are working for, or assisting, the Americanization Committee headed by Mr. Reynolds of that city in uncovering subversive activities: is that correct?

Mr. KELLS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kells, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KELLS. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not?

Mr. KELLS. I indirectly was connected with the Communist Party through an organization that was known as the Trade Union Unity League. In 1932 I was in the Ford hunger march, which took place in March. At that time I met various Communist leaders who have become prominently known at this time, who asked me to join the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you name some of those Communist leaders who asked you to join the party?

Mr. KELLS. Earl Reno—

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. KELLS. In the city of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do?

Mr. KELLS. He at that time was the head of the Trade Union Unity League, or was affiliated with it—one of the organizers of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is he doing now, if you know? If you don't know, say so.

Mr. KELLS. I am not just sure what he is doing now, but he is active in the Communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else asked you to join the party?

Mr. KELLS. There are a lot of them that I can't name; various ones who were very interested in my becoming a member of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You did become a member of the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. KELLS. In 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay in the organization?

Mr. KELLS. From 1933 until the first of—the 27th day of January 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that organization controlled by the Communists?

Mr. KELLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it recognized as one of the “front” organizations of the Communists?

Mr. KELLS. In the trade-union movement.

The CHAIRMAN. It was recognized in the trade-union movement as a Communist “front”?

Mr. KELLS. Yes, sir. I have my membership book here when I joined the party, February 15, 1933, which is signed by John Schmies.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have that book, please, sir. We want that to go in as an exhibit.

(The book referred to was handed to the chairman.)

Mr. KELLS. And they changed the book to 1934, because of the fact that John Schmies' name was on the original membership.

The CHAIRMAN. It says here in this book that the Auto Workers Union is founded on the principles of the class struggle.

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a familiar Communist doctrine, is it not?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

It participates in political struggles of the working class for the abolition of the capitalist system and the building up of a workers' and farmers' government.

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is enough to identify what the organization is. It is a membership book in the Auto Workers Union, as it says here; is that correct?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Membership book No. 273.

(The book referred to was marked “Kells Exhibit No. 1, October 20, 1938.”)

The CHAIRMAN. The Auto Workers Union was a part of the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Other unions were affiliated with this Trade Union Unity League, were they not?

Mr. KELLS. The Food Workers Union, the Poultry Workers Union, and several other organizations. I have membership books here of Peggy Novak, who was a member of the Food Workers Industrial Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a Communist organization?

Mr. KELLS. That was a Communist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have that, too.

(The book referred to was handed to the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. This is signed by John Schmies?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a well-known Communist?

Mr. KELLS. He was. In fact, he was secretary of the Communist Party at that time in district 7—that is, in the city of Detroit, in the State of Michigan, and some parts of Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read a little of this.

Schmies' name is John Schmies. He was the national secretary.
[Reading:]

The Auto Workers Union recognizes that the capitalist government is the tool of the bosses and its main role is to keep the workers oppressed for the safe exploitation by the capitalists. It organizes the auto workers for a mass struggle against the bosses' justice, in the courts, against the use of injunction in labor disputes, against special oppression of the colored workers, against the jailing of workers for militant activity, etc. It fights for the elementary political rights of the workers, such as the right to meet, strike, organize, and picket.

The Auto Workers Union recognizes the common interest of the workers throughout the country, and on an international scale.

Now, this union preached the principle of industrial organization, did it not, back in that time?

Mr. KELLS. At that time it did.

The CHAIRMAN. This Food Workers Industrial Union. Is this the original card?

Mr. KELLS. That is the original card of Peggy Novak, the wife of Stanley Novak, who is running, I believe, on the Democratic ticket at this time for Representative from the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let us see what this is. [Reading:]

The Food Workers Industrial Union unites and organizes all food workers—white, colored, native, foreign born, adult and youth, men and women, employed and unemployed—irrespective of political affiliation for the improvement of their conditions in the industry.

The Food Workers Industrial Union is founded on the principles of the class struggle of the exploited masses of the working class against their capitalist exploiters.

That is a familiar phraseology that you find in all Communist organizations, is it not?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The idea of promoting class hatred. All right; let that go in as an exhibit.

(The book referred to was marked "Kells Exhibit No. 2, October 20, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you say this Trade Union Unity League was dominated by the Communists?

Mr. KELLS. It was a direct organization of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the policy of the Communist Party to solicit membership and then put recruits into other organizations?

Mr. KELLS. It was. I was solicited first in 1932 to join the Communist Party. In January, the latter part of January, I was called upon in my home at 5781 Fourteenth Street, at which I lived at the time, which was seven doors from Communist headquarters, and was told that after considering my application I would be of more value in the Trade Union Unity League movement, and was told to attend a meeting at 5770 Grandy Avenue, Detroit. I attended the meeting, and at that time I was given that original membership book, which has John Schmies' signature on it, and became a member of the movement. I stayed a member of that movement for several years and several months, and I secured employment in one of the auto factories, and was immediately transferred to the branch of the factory that I was employed in.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were a member of this organization, were there any discussions by the leaders with reference to the plan to capture the labor movement?

Mr. KELLS. Yes; there were. In 1933, the early part, we had a strike in the Briggs Manufacturing Co. at Highland Park. At that time we had to my knowledge about 10 members of the Trade Union Unity League known as the Auto Workers Union. We were able, through our propaganda, which I myself did as a soap-box orator, and a very poor speaker, to pull out one of the Briggs plants. In pulling out those plants I knew one member directly, Tony Gerlock, who worked at the Meldrum plant. He spoke at the gates. We put out leaflets, which I have here and wish to offer as the class of leaflets that we put out, and through doing this, after several weeks, were able to pull out the Briggs workers.

When we pulled out the Briggs workers on strike we succeeded in signing up better than 4,000 of the Briggs workers in our organization.

Philip Raymond and Tony Gerlock were the outstanding leaders at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you plan to capture the labor movement?

Mr. KELLS. By taking key positions in the labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. And then doing what after you got the key positions?

Mr. KELLS. By creating a struggle amongst the men. We were not so much interested in building the organization except to destroy it. Our movement was to build it and, if we could not control it, to destroy the movement. It was to bring struggle among the workers, to show them that they were being sold out, in other words. Of course, I don't know of any part where they were sold out, but that was the principle and the philosophy of the organization. If we could not control it, it was to sell the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss the advisability of having industrial organizations? Did that come up as a method of strategy?

Mr. KELLS. Yes; it did.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they want industrial organizations?

Mr. KELLS. We thought that through industrial organizations controlled by the rank and file we were able to control the industries. At times in our meetings statements were made by Philip Raymond and William Sylverstrowicz. In one particular instance Silverstrowicz said, "We lost the Briggs strike," and we were discussing the fact that we had lost the Briggs strikes. "Well," he says, "we have won the workers, even though we have lost." And different questions were put to him in pointing out how we had won the strike, and he said, "Well, even though we lost it in the face of the capitalist press, we won it for the workers, the masses, because we showed them the struggle and the necessity for fighting the capitalists in order to create a mass movement for the overthrow of our Government."

He used to say that he had spent several years in Russia studying the Communist movement, but I found out later that he never did; that while he was supposed to have been in Russia he was spending 90 days in Mount Clemens in jail for staging a demonstration and breaking into grocery stores, along with several other well-known Communists whose names I cannot recall at this time; but there were 14 of them arrested.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he a citizen of the United States?

Mr. KELLS. He claims to be, but I doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did there come up in discussion in those earlier days, with reference to sit-down strikes, the proposition of seizing plants?

Mr. KELLS. He made statements that even though we had lost the strike we had won the struggle and showed the workers that it was necessary, and the time was not far off before we, as a workers' organization, would be able to seize the plants and hold them until the manufacturers or the capitalists gave us our demands.

The CHAIRMAN. What were your duties as a member of the Trade Union Unity League? What did they outline to you as your duties?

Mr. KELLS. My duties as a member of the Trade Union Unity League, as they were taught to us in the Workers' School, were to be a progressive organizer and distribute literature, and make speeches, if I could do it, and show the workers where it was necessary for them to organize into an industrial union in order to better their condition.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get training at that time? Were all of these Communists being trained so that they could do the organizing work when the time came?

Mr. KELLS. That is right. We used to go to a school, which was known as the Detroit Workers' School, and from May 7 to July 15 the school was run. I have a leaflet here that they put out, and the names of some well-known Communists who have been mentioned here previously appear on this leaflet.

The CHAIRMAN. How many names?

Mr. KELLS. William Brown, director, who was a colored worker; he was secretary, later on, for William Weinstone; Samuel Sweet, who was the secretary; J. Brown, a member of the executive committee; J. Page; Mrs. Walker; and N. Nelson. They all represented the workers' organization. The meetings were held at 323 Erskine Avenue, Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. At those meetings you and others were trained in the technique of communistic organizing methods?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that technique taken from the Russian system?

Mr. KELLS. It was taken from Marxism and Leninism.

The CHAIRMAN. That is where they got it?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was the beginning of the sit-down strike technique?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then these people who were trained in that school and in other schools later played a very important part in organizing in the past 3 or 4 years, did they not?

Mr. KELLS. That is right. In fact, some of our prominent leaders today in the United Automobile Workers were instructors in our schools of the Communist Party, and the Auto Workers Union, and are playing a very leading part today in our United Automobile Workers, such as John Anderson, Nat Ganley, and Stanley Novak.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that the one who is a candidate?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. He is a candidate for the Michigan Legislature?

Mr. KELLS. I believe that is what he is running for. He is running for some office; I am not just sure what office it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else?

Mr. KELLS. Tony Gerlock. He is not playing a part in the trade-union movement, because he was transferred to New York and became head of the National Labor Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, he is the head of that National Labor Defense?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell his name?

Mr. KELLS. G-e-r-l-o-c-k, I believe. I am not sure just how it is spelled.

The CHAIRMAN. So they transferred him to take over this National Labor Defense?

Mr. KELLS. He was the head of the National Labor Defense in Detroit. He was secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other names that you can give us of these early instructors?

Mr. KELLS. I really can't, because I forget a lot of the names, although their faces are very well known to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, you know the fact to be that these men and women who were trained in the Communist schools later played an important part in organizing in the Detroit area; is that a fact?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, when the order went forth that it was desirable to organize the workers of this country to give them collective security and bargaining power, the union leadership of the C. I. O. was compelled to rely to a large extent upon these trained and skilled organizers, who had been trained in the Communist schools; is that a fact?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to get the picture correct, is this a true statement, that they did not have many organizers of their own and they had to rely upon these men who were adept in the art of mass appeal?

Mr. KELLS. Well, I can't swear directly to that statement, because I was not in it at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. I see; all right.

Mr. KELLS. We realized the fact in the Trade Union Unity League that we were becoming stagnant; we were not developed. Every time we would go after a strike, and we would make it indirectly, it was destroyed by other members of the party; so that four or five of us would take a leading and active part in the movement, while others in some way spread the propaganda that they were bringing in scabs and strikebreakers in the back door. And after a long time, in December 1934, we held several discussions of what we were to do about this, and where our next move was.

At that time the American Federation of Labor started in to organize—or previous to that—to organize the automobile workers, and William or Jack Wilson—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He is a Communist?

Mr. KELLS. He is a well-known Communist, and very active at this time in the Chrysler local—he suggested that we become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Well, this discussion car-

ried on for several months, and on December 27, 1934, this letter, which I wish to offer as evidence, was sent out by the Auto Workers Union from 2419 Grand River Avenue, Detroit, Mich. In this letter was a statement of the Auto Workers Union, which instructed the workers to become members of a Mechanics Educational Society or the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got that letter there?

Mr. KELLS. I have it right here.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see that letter.

(The paper referred to was handed to the committee.)

Mr. KELLS. The first page is the letter that was sent to the members. The other is the enclosed statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read this. It is on the letterhead of the Auto Workers Union, 2419 Grand River Avenue, Detroit, Mich., December 27, 1934. [Reading:]

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS: We are enclosing the statement adopted by the national executive board of the Auto Workers Union, explaining why the union, as an organization, is leaving the automotive industry.

To unify the ranks of the auto workers, under the changed conditions, it is essential:

1. That you immediately join a federal local of the American Federation of Labor, if you are a production worker.

2. That you immediately join a Mechanics Educational Society of America local if you are a tool and die maker.

We have made no agreement with the A. F. of L. or M. E. S. A. on this matter. You naturally join these unions as new members. Within the unions, you should join hands with your brothers of the rank and file, become an active member of the union, recruit unorganized workers into the union, and help to develop struggles in your shop, and through the local to improve the conditions of the auto workers.

The office of the United Automobile Workers, A. F. L., is in the Hofman Building, Woodward near Sibley. The office of the M. E. S. A. is at 2646 St. Aubin.

For additional information and help to solve special problems, get in touch with us.

Fraternally yours,

AUTO WORKERS UNION,
_____, Secretary.

Now, that was a letter that went forth together with a statement of the Auto Workers Union?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Which contains more information or instructions as to how Communists were to permeate the A. F. of L. and stir up class struggle within the A. F. of L.; is not that the fact?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the beginning, you might say, of the massed infiltration by the Communists into the legitimate trade-union movement?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Let this letter go in the record, together with the statement of the Auto Workers Union.

(The matter referred to was marked "Kells Exhibit No. 3, October 20, 1938.")

Mr. KELLS. Shortly after the sending of that letter, in January 1935, a conference of the rank and file of the United Automobile Workers of America was called in the Danish Brotherhood Temple, at 1775 West Forest Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened at that conference?

Mr. KELLS. That letter was sent out to the rank-and-file list, that we attend this conference. I attended a part of this conference.

The CHAIRMAN. What took place?

Mr. KELLS. At that time it was discussed with various Communist leaders of the rank and file that we form an independent or international union and break away from the domination of the American Federation of Labor.

Wyndham Mortimer, who was at this time one of the leaders of the United Automobile Workers, was the main speaker.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mortimer now one of the leaders of the automobile union?

Mr. KELLS. Yes; he is a member of the executive board of the United Automobile Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. He was one of the main speakers at this conference?

Mr. KELLS. That is right. Thomas Peary was also present at this meeting. He spells his name in several different ways. He has a police record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that spelled P-e-r-r-y?

Mr. KELLS. No; P-e-a-r-y. At that time he lived at 3505 Fairview Avenue, apartment 13.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a well-known Communist?

Mr. KELLS. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. And had a criminal record?

Mr. KELLS. He was locked up in Canada at one time for his activities in the world communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. What other Communist was present who was active?

Mr. KELLS. John Anderson was active, and Sylver Sterstrowicz.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the same name you gave a while ago?

Mr. KELLS. Yes. He was an instructor at one time. He became chairman of the bargaining committee in 1937, of the Chevrolet local of the United Automobile Workers Union, 235. He was present.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the leaders tell you at that conference, to break away from the A. F. of L.?

Mr. KELLS. To effect our own organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that; give us the date. When did that conference take place?

Mr. KELLS. That conference was held on January 26; I think it was 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened as a result of the conference? Did you agree to break away?

Mr. KELLS. We agreed to make a change later on and establish our own leaders, and oust Mr. Dillon, who, at that time, was the leader of the American Federation of Labor. We wanted our own president, who was to preside later.

The CHAIRMAN. What president did you have in mind?

Mr. KELLS. Mr. Mortimer said he would probably be a candidate for the office, and that he, because of his connections, would be glad not to run for it and have some other progressive leader who did not have a strike against him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you succeed in ousting Dillon?

Mr. KELLS. Yes, sir; we did.

The CHAIRMAN. And Homer Martin was elected?

Mr. KELLS. Yes; he was elected.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that group get control of the labor movement?

Mr. KELLS. Yes; they did.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, they got control of the automobile workers.

Mr. KELLS. Of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. MOSIER. You say this man Mortimer was from the White Motor Co. Was there any other representative there from the White Motor Co.?

Mr. KELLS. Yes, sir; there were several.

I have a statement, Mr. Chairman, which I wish to present. This is not the original letter, but it is a copy of the original letter sent out by the committee to form a rank-and-file organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that that is a true and correct copy?

Mr. KELLS. That is the original, and it came from Local Union 18463.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is that located?

Mr. KELLS. In Cleveland, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. This was the initial call to the conference on January 26, 1935. This was a call under which the conference was finally held?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It was for the purpose of gaining control of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. This call is signed by W. Mortimer, president, White Motor Co., F. L. U. 18463.

Mr. MOSIER. What is "F. L. U."?

Mr. KELLS. I am not just sure. It is a federation of labor unions, I guess.

The CHAIRMAN. It is also signed by R. E. Rieseinger, secretary, White Motor Co., F. L. U. 18463; Edward Stubbo, trustee, White Motor Co., F. L. U. 18463; Theodore Rieff, trustee, White Motor Co., F. L. U. 18463.

The next signatures are those of representatives of the Fisher Body Corporation. The first signature is Louis Spisak, president, Fisher Body; Oliver Hayden, vice president, Fisher Body; J. Barskites, financial secretary, Fisher Body; R. Rocco, guide, Fisher Body; Boyd Murdock, secretary, Fisher Body; Robert Keelan, president, Hupmobile; John Soltis, vice president, Hupmobile; George Booth, secretary, Hupmobile; Hugh Callaly, financial secretary, Hupmobile; Joseph Fuerbach, treasurer, Hupmobile; Meryl Moccabee, president, Murray; F. Gallinis, executive committee, Murray, Ohio; William Kics, president, Bender Body; Coleman Taylor, shop committee, National Carbon, L. U. 19311.

Mr. MOSIER. Let me ask you this question: You say Mortimer is from the White Motor Co. in Cleveland?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And these three others. Coming now to the Fisher Body; there are five of them. Are they all from Detroit?

Mr. KELLS. In that letter, do you mean?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Mr. KELLS. No; I believe they were all from Cleveland.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, from the Fisher Body plant in Cleveland?

Mr. KELLS. In Cleveland.

Mr. MOSIER. Where are these Hupmobile men from?

Mr. KELLS. I could not say.

Mr. MOSIER. And the men from Murray, Ohio? You do not know where they are from?

Mr. KELLS. Not the city.

Mr. MOSIER. And the men from the Bender Body Co.?

Mr. KELLS. I do not know.

Mr. MOSIER. And the men from the National Carbon Co.?

Mr. KELLS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. We will let this letter go in the record in full.

(The letter referred to was marked, "Kells Exhibit No. 3. October 20, 1938," and reads as follows:)

CALL TO CONFERENCE ON JANUARY 26, 1935, 9 A. M., IN DANISH BROTHERHOOD TEMPLE,
1775 WEST FOREST AVENUE, DETROIT, MICH.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The organization of the auto workers into the United Automobile Workers was intended to change the evils of the auto industry; low wages, long hours, inhuman speed-up, and discrimination against the workers' organizations. But this aim has so far been defeated by the false policies pursued by the officialdom in the A. F. of L.

The movement for a general strike in the auto industry last spring, for which all conditions for victory were present, was defeated by the officialdom through continual delay and postponement and finally by the acceptance of the Washington agreement, which left conditions basically unchanged, while accepting and endorsing company unions.

The officials at the Pontiac conference, with the support of President William Green, adopted the "no strike" policy, and when this was rejected by some of the local unions who struck against the manufacturers, victory was snatched from the workers' hands because of the tactics of the officials who blocked all militant action and threw the fate of the workers into the hands of the strike-breaking arbitration boards.

The policy of "no strike" arbitration and collaboration with the company unions instead of a vigorous struggle against them has resulted in an alarming loss of membership in many of our local unions which can only be regained by the formation of an international industrial union of all the auto workers and auto-parts workers based upon the widest possible democracy, with a policy of vigorous struggle against the auto manufacturers and their fake company unions.

Sensing this widespread sentiment among the auto and parts workers for one industrial union, the fifty-fourth annual convention at San Francisco adopted a resolution empowering the executive council to issue international charters in certain mass-production industries.

This resolution is of vital importance to all auto and parts workers and should be discussed and studied by others and every local union in the mass-production industries. (See pp. 586 and 587 of proceedings of convention, where it can be read and studied by all those interested.)

It reads in part as follows: "The American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policy, administer the business, and designate the administrative and financial officers of such newly organized unions."

We feel this resolution is a denial of the most elemental rights guaranteed to us in law and custom, the right to elect our own officers, fix salaries of such officers, and fix the amount of dues to be paid by us. Also we claim the right to fix our own policies and administer our own business, based upon the widest possible democracy.

It is well to understand the executive council is composed overwhelmingly of craft-union executives, and while we bear no ill will against craft unions as such, we are of the opinion in a mass-production industry they are a source of weakness rather than strength, and since those craft unions claim jurisdiction over the vast majority of members in the Federal unions, we maintain the

proper sympathy and understanding will not be brought to this problem which we feel it deserves.

In support of this opinion we refer all brothers to the November issue of the Machinist Monthly Journal, page 523, to quote: "Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and the I. A. of M., which is thoroughly competent to protect the interest of those over whom it claims jurisdiction, will not stand idly by and, without protest, permit the federation, or any other organization, to trespass upon its jurisdiction except in a most limited way."

With this viewpoint dominating the executive council, what are the prospects of success in our efforts to establish a union that will give us unity in the auto industry.

We feel that the auto worker is just as intelligent and capable of electing his own officers, fixing his own policies, administering his own business, handling his own finances, etc., as are the workers in any other national or international union. And it is for the purpose of getting together and in a frank and open discussion of these vital questions that we are sending this letter, together with the credentials for the next conference in Detroit, Mich., January 26, 1935.

Hoping your organization will be represented, we are,

Fraternally yours,

W. Mortimer, president, R. E. Riesinger, secretary, Edward Stubbo, trustee, Theodore Rieff, trustee, all of White Motor, F. L. U. 18463; Louis Spisak, president, Oliver Hayden, vice president, J. Barskites, financial secretary, R. Roceo, guide, Boyd Murdock, secretary, all of Fisher Body, F. L. U. 18614; Robert Keelan, president, John Soltis, vice president, George Booth, secretary, Hugh Callaly, financial secretary, Joseph Fuerbach, treasurer, all of Hupmobile, F. L. U. 18432; Meryl Meccabee, president, F. Gallinis, executive committee, Murray, Ohio, F. L. U. 18483; Wm. Kics, president, Bender Body Co., L. U. 18615; Coleman Taylor, shop committee, National Carbon, L. U. 19311.

CREDENTIALS

Not more than five delegates.

Local No. -----

The CHAIRMAN. Is there something else you want to add to your testimony?

Mr. KELLS. I would like to introduce as an exhibit a leaflet—.

Mr. MOSIER. Before you do that, I would like to ask you this question. As to this list that you have submitted in this letter, were those men who signed that letter Communists, or fellow travelers, or members of the opposition group?

Mr. KELLS. Wyndham Mortimer was a well-known Communist who attended meetings in Cleveland. In fact, I believe one of the witnesses who testified here was at a conference, a left-wing conference, when Mortimer was the chairman of it.

Mr. MOSIER. I think we have had Mortimer's name in and out of this record.

Mr. KELLS. The other members were not probably Communists, but they were fellow travelers; in other words, they were able to control them.

The CHAIRMAN. They had had repeated instruction in the Communist school as to how they would act and what they were to do?

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What else have you?

Mr. KELLS. This leaflet was put out by an aggressive group of the Communist Party at this conference in 1935. One statement is this: "November 15, 1935. All unions at the Motor Products Plant Strike." Also, "November 25, A. F. L. Auto Local Goes to Work with Police Escort."

In other words, they are trying to show that the A. F. of L. was trying to break the strike of the Mechanical Educational Society that was on strike at that time.

This circular also says:

December 4, Dillon said: "I can no longer take a neutral position."

Also:

December 5. Dillon Pledges Cooperation to Strikers at Mass Meeting.

Also:

December 8. A. F. L. Auto Union Votes to Strike. Dillon to Set Date.

Also:

December 10. Dillon said "He Never Intended to Call a Strike and Does Not Intend to Now."

Also:

December 11. Dillon Predicts that the A. F. L. Auto Union will not Strike.

Also:

December 17. A. F. L. Auto Union Votes to Have a "Sit-Down" Strike tomorrow.

That was in 1935.

Also:

December 18. Sit-Down Strike a Flop.

Also:

December 19. Dillon Calls Off Strike.

Also:

December 20. An Unknown Number of A. F. L. Auto Union Men Strike.

I do not know what they mean by that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you just hand that to the reporter as an exhibit. What is the purpose of that?

Mr. KELLS. The purpose is to show that the Communist Party are the instigators of the sit-down strike in the State of Michigan. They were behind it, they were trying to bring it about.

The CHAIRMAN. What was their purpose in wanting to bring it about?

Mr. KELLS. They want to control industry the same as they want to control the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not want to consider wages or hours?

Mr. KELLS. They suggested that at their mass meeting, that that was the sole purpose, to cause a struggle and bring about a revolution and the overthrow of the Government. That was never brought out in public, but at our own meetings it was, that it was not so necessary to call a strike as long as we could create a struggle and use every method possible to create a struggle, and that it did not matter whether we won a strike or not, as long as we could create a feeling—

The CHAIRMAN. Of hatred?

Mr. KELLS. Of hatred among all other workers.

(The pamphlet above referred to was marked "Kells Exhibit No. 5, October 20, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you have to submit?

Mr. KELLS. I have several leaflets which I would like to give to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they deal with?

Mr. KELLS. They deal with the auto workers' union, stating various things, such as Reject the Sell-out leaflets put out by the auto workers' union, which had headquarters at 4210 Woodward Avenue.

Here is one which says:

"Stop Work 5 Minutes at 1 p. m. Thursday. Employers Say we Want Company Unions. We want our Own Real Workers Union."

Then it also says:

"Employers say we are satisfied with present wages. We want \$35 minimum for a 30-hour week. We want a 30 percent increase for those now earning more than this weekly minimum."

The CHAIRMAN. I do not exactly see the point of it. They have a perfect right to do that.

Mr. KELLS. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your point?

Mr. KELLS. That they were not interested in that.

The CHAIRMAN. Your point is that they advanced all these claims—

Mr. KELLS. To the public.

The CHAIRMAN. And they do that in order to stir up strife.

Mr. KELLS. That is right.

(The matter referred to was marked "Kells Exhibit No. 6, October 20, 1938.")

TESTIMONY OF JAMES MITCHELL

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is James Mitchell?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you live in Detroit?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with some local union?

Mr. MITCHELL. I am connected with Local No. 2, Murray Body, Detroit, and am welfare chairman, welfare director, of Local No. 2, Murray Body, a member of the committee, city-wide, representing the northeast section of Detroit on the committee, of the International Union of Automobile Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mitchell, can you tell this committee, as briefly as possible, to what extent Communists have entered your organization, and how they work?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; I will.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, in connection with the strike that was to take effect in Murray Body, in 1936 and part of 1937, there were many meetings held on sit-down strikes, held in Julia Buchanan's home, 2937 Beris Street, Hamtramck, Mich. Miss

Buchanan is an active member of the Communist Party. Hamtramck is a suburb of Detroit.

These meetings were held at all hours, to deliberate and promote sit-down strikes, executed at Murray Body Corporation, where I was employed. They also held meetings in basements of members' homes, and also across from the plant.

At the typical meetings, held in Miss Buchanan's home, at 2937 Berris Street, Hamtramck, they were attended by Maurice Sugar, an attorney, and also a member of the Communist Party; Lloyd T. Jones, president of Local No. 2, U. A. W. A., Murray Body, who is a member of the Communist Party; Al Donovan, building steward at the Packard Building, which is connected with the Ford Building, in the same plant, with the connection of a crosswalk area. Donovan is a building steward and connives between both departments, and they are members of the Communist Party.

Also, in attendance, were Fred Williams, alias Jack Wilson, a member of the Communist Party, and a notorious and bad character; Dick Jones, who has been at Ecorse, Mich., another suburb of Detroit, a subplant of the Murray Body Corporation, who is now on a vacation in New York, and I understand from various members of different nationalities, he is now in Russia getting further instructions for the revolution, to undermine our Government and overthrow our Constitution of the United States.

Also in attendance was Paul Brooks, secretary of Local No. 2, Murray Body, and also a member of the Communist Party, and his name is sometimes spelled Crooks instead of Brooks. Also, Frank Conners, a member of the executive board of Local No. 2, and also a Communist, of the worst, dangerous type that ever existed, with the help of this man, Joseph Kowalski, who is also a dictator with Stalin of the Russian Government, and wanting to overthrow our Government. He is from Ecorse, Mich.

The records will show he has not only done harm to the working people of the U. A. W. and who has constantly brought out things in the meetings that were not true, that we found so after investigating them, and constantly asked the members to stop believing these Communist members.

The key men of the Communist Party were placed in the Murray Body plant at their preordained sessions. In other words, when a strike was ready to take place, these Communists have been placed at various stations, to control the switchboxes, telephone switchboards, light switches, and to control the gates. Others of them were stationed to lock up the police in the private boxes. They also had a committee to deal with any foreman that would be there to protect their job and to see that nothing was destroyed. I, myself, had to be brought in and ask the foremen to leave their respective stations, and I helped to lead them out quietly and told them to "excuse me, but there is a mob here that might cause you harm, and you had better leave."

These men were placed at telephone switchboards, light switches, gates, and other places, and by order of this meeting in Miss Buchanan's home, Communists dictated who could leave and who could not.

Then I started to act as a sightseer, to see what was the matter.

To my surprise, the above-named men were holding meetings at the plant during the strike, electing officers. I suggested that we organize a squad to police the plant, to do away with liquor, to prevent destroying machines and property.

As soon as I suggested this, the Communists took control of this job. Al Donovan and two other Communists approached me and asked me what I was trying to do. I told him. Then he said, "Okay, we will get a gang together."

My first instructions to this policing group, as chief, was to hunt up all spray men who were used to spray paint guns, to clean their spray guns and put them away; if left dirty they would be ruined.

This police squad looked for these men and told them to stick by their machines after cleaning them up. Then we instructed the sit-downers that we would not tolerate liquor or intoxication during the sit-down. We had some disorder.

Then it was almost 6:30 p. m. on the second day, and I heard some of the sit-downers say, "Get some food in here." There were 384 who were let go, being women. They satisfied us that they were sick or had children at home, and they had no husbands, and the children had to be taken care of, and they satisfied me and they were let go. There were 4,894 left sitting down in the plant when these 384 went home.

Then Fred Williams, alias and known as Jack Wilson, a Communist, a dangerous and notorious Communist, came in, not working at Murray Body or any part thereof. He held meetings in the plant. He told them all kinds of stories, some about capitalists and about all other things.

Then he held meetings in the Ford Building and in the Murray Plant. He told them that if they had anything to say to come up and say it.

The next day Frankenstein, Richard Frankenstein, vice president of the union, of the International Automobile Workers, came in with a signed agreement at 11 o'clock p. m., and at 12:42 midnight the plant was empty. I stayed there until the last one was gone, and I thanked the police for their cooperation.

The CHAIRMAN. You have given us a very good picture there. To what extent were the Communists responsible for the sit-down strike you have described?

Mr. MITCHELL. They were all organized by them, and each one had his respective station, to shut the plant down.

The CHAIRMAN. Each man had a strategic position?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So that at a given hour the entire plant would be shut down.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore, it is your statement that they engineered the sit-down strikes?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir; they engineered them.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that true of every sit-down strike within your knowledge?

Mr. MITCHELL. Within my knowledge, at the Dodge plant, Murray—all of them. I was a member of Local 212, and I transferred to Local No. 2, and I sat in the first conference with G. R. Harris, the welfare director, to get relief for the people who were unfortu-

nate. I came in contact with those people personally, taking depositions of these people, having them tell me these things, and I had to help them, regardless of creed, race, and nationality.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, how did the Communists manage to get control of the key positions? How was that done?

Mr. MITCHELL. That was done by informing each Communist to be at a certain meeting, to overthrow anything that was in their way. These unfortunate people of the U. A. W., and the working people of Detroit, are unaware of these facts: that these people, the Communists, get together groups and set them out in all sections of the city, just like a web.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if there is picketing to be done, the Communists from all the surrounding area congregate at a particular point; is that correct?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In that way, they manage to have a tightly organized minority within some unorganized group?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are able to dictate and direct the activities of the group?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent do you think the Communists dominate the labor activities in the Detroit area?

Mr. MITCHELL. They dominate activities in all locals. There are certain units that are organized. These organizations, at certain dates—they decide to go to a certain man's home, and there they discuss the future of some plant. Then they get to the telephones, and they try to entice the welfare chairmen to get all the men that are lying around these locals to come down. As soon as the word is given that a strike is to be had at, say, the Midland Steel plant or the Budd Wheel, or any of those plants, then immediately the Communists are ready to attack. They are ready to get into their high-powered machines and start to go out and picket the line, whether they work there or not.

The CHAIRMAN. What efforts, if any, have been made by the responsible labor leaders to rid themselves of the presence and influence of these Communists in their ranks?

Mr. MITCHELL. Will you please repeat that?

The CHAIRMAN. I say, what efforts have been made to get rid of this situation, by the responsible leaders in the labor movement?

Mr. MITCHELL. Homer Martin, president of the U. A. W., has tried everything in his power, but it seems that they are on the inside of the international union and they have a lot of influence over Mr. Lewis, the head of the C. I. O. I have overheard, in these foreign languages that I understand, something like this: "Oh, well, wait, Mitchell; we are going to get all our men down at the convention in Pittsburgh, and we are going to show them all."

The CHAIRMAN. But in 1924 Mr. Lewis warned the country against the danger of the Communists controlling the labor movement. He said in 1924 that they were attempting to take over the whole labor movement. How do you account for the fact that in 1924 Mr. Lewis warned the country about that and advised taking an aggressive stand against it, and your present statement that they now seem to control him? How do you reconcile that?

Mr. MITCHELL. In 1924 he did state that. But the picture is changing now. Homer Martin has suspended these four vice presidents for activities in conniving with or helping the Communists. Then Mr. Lewis appointed two of these men, Mr. Hillman and Mr. Murray, to represent Lewis, to make peace in the U. A. W. ranks. The way things are now, the picture is changed. They may say: "Well, he had to do something, because the convention is coming and the Communists control it, or they might get him out as chairman of the C. I. O."

Mr. MOSIER. When is the convention to be held?

Mr. MITCHELL. It is in November. It do not know the date.

Mr. MOSIER. In Pittsburgh?

Mr. MITCHELL. In Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the Communists are so well organized and control so many strategic positions that it is impossible to oust them; is that right?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the local unions get rid of them if it were not for the international?

Mr. MITCHELL. The local unions themselves will get them out if they know the real facts. These unfortunate people, they are working in a shop, and they are just blindfolded. They cannot see these things, because they are not up to date with them. I have tried to explain that. I have even bucked the president of Local No. 2, but he has never let me have the chance to go to them and tell the people, as welfare chairman. He always shoves me aside, because I am not a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they show favoritism to the Communists within the ranks?

Mr. MITCHELL. They have, because Lloyd T. Jones is a former preacher, and he has got a smooth tongue and he sure knows how to swing them over.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the W. P. A.? Do these Communists have the first choice in getting jobs?

Mr. MITCHELL. They have.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that whenever they are unemployed, they can go out and get jobs with the W. P. A. easier than anyone else?

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, sometimes they do. There are very rare cases that I have knowledge of where other locals have got them, too. But from the knowledge that I have, they have been on the W. P. A., working at the airports, working on Government buildings, working every place; and after they would get the job they would come back and tell me what takes place.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these Communists skillful organizers? Do they know more about organizing work and about how to arouse mass psychology and gain followings than the others? Are they more skilled?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you have a mass of information there; you have a great many documents to present, have you not?

Mr. MITCHELL. No; not very much. I can get through in a very short time. May I read the rest of my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. I was elected May 27, 1936, welfare chairman of Murray Body, U. A. W., Local No. 2, by unanimous vote of the organization. Later I was elected city-wide welfare committeeman of the U. A. W. International Union. In this committee I met several Communist Party members. During my term as welfare chairman up to May 23, 1938, I came in contact with many locals which I have seen were controlled by the Communist Party. On several occasions, in my own office, people would be lined up 70 and 80 in a line for interviews to get on the welfare rolls. Many said, "We need a revolution." This is constantly in the Communist minds today. I was getting them from Detroit, the suburbs, and from the State as a whole. They came from all over the State, begging me to form committees to see Governor Murphy and Welfare Superintendent G. R. Harris. Afterward I discovered that the Communists were trying to use me as their front, to which I was naturally opposed.

In Wayne County, during the 1937 election campaign, Maurice Sugar, attorney and Communist Party member, visited 1343 East Ferry Street, Communist Hall. This hall was one of the hotbeds for Communist activities in Wayne County. I personally shook hands with Maurice Sugar. Sugar said to me: "All I am interested in, is getting these black votes." Then he turned to Lloyd Jones and asked to have Phyllis Frank, Communist member, to help in his campaign. In spite of the U. A. W. International Union, Allan Strong appointed James Foster to that office. In spite of this, Miss Phyllis Frank took charge of the reins herself.

L. T. Jones was not honest with his membership. Dell McWilliams pointed out that the Communists had maneuvered to get McMichaels out of office because he, McMichaels, was not in sympathy with Communist members. Jones was also told by me that "we cannot be fooled all the time."

It was also pointed out by the domestic relations department of Murray Body Corporation, by its Mr. Byers, why I was not called back to work. Byers told me, in the presence of Manini, U. A. W. Local 2 Vice President George Brown (who is not a Communist), and Donovan, that Donovan had kept me from working. Byers also said, "We wanted to put you back to work, but these fellows wouldn't let us." After that meeting I was called back and worked 28 days. Then work got slack, and I was called back to the U. A. W. office, and I was given \$12 a week to work in the U. A. W. welfare department. They considered this union wages.

While I was working on the fifth floor, during my 28 days there, in February 1938, Donovan grabbed me by the neck and said, "If you ever implicate me in anything, I'll kill you." I also had the same told me by Julia Buchanan. She said she would kill me "if I went against Lloyd T. Jones." I did not pay any attention till one day in September 1937, when I asked Jones some questions. I was getting facts on communism then. After a meeting by Murray Tool & Die, held Tuesday, October 9, 1937, there was trouble over Leslie, the steward. At 11 p. m. John W. Anderson, of the West Side local, made a speech at 1320 Clay. He got him back in. In his speech Anderson denounced the Knights of Columbus, the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and said not to trust any of those fellows.

This prompted me to ask him, "What do you think of the American flag?" His face turned red, his eyes were wide open, and he

used vile language that I would not want to repeat before this committee.

That afternoon I asked Fred Williams, alias Jack Wilson, also a Communist, what he thought of the American flag—and this was in the same office, in the same building, upstairs. He said some awfully dirty things about the American flag.

That same afternoon I looked in Jones' desk for a pencil. The telephone that I used was on his desk. As I opened the door and answered the phone, I found in his desk a flag of the Communist Party. I was told by the secretary, Jack Schuler, to keep my "damn hands off of it."

This is what they believe some day will bring to Washington [presenting flag to the committee]. I present that as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. In whose desk did you say you found that? Did you say you found that in Jack Wilson's desk?

Mr. MITCHELL. I found this in Lloyd T. Jones' office, president of Local No. 2, where I worked as welfare chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That has on it the words "Communist Party."

Mr. MITCHELL. In this office, Local No. 208, which is a Bohn Aluminum local—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Is not one of the strategies of the Communists to try to ridicule things, to laugh things off?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct. They even make fun of our Government. They make fun of everything; of Congress as a whole, and of the President, and of everybody.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one thing that they teach, is it not?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; they teach that. In this office, as welfare chairman, I have come in and I have seen letters from France and from Russia, brought in by the mailman and thrown on the desk. My mail was mixed up with it, and I would notice this mail. I would pick it up and see where it was from. I have seen letters that came from Russia, from Stalin, which would immediately be taken upstairs into the Bulgarian Society, and I one day walked in there and found a man cutting a sickle for the next meeting, to be presented on the wall, with a Red Russian flag.

I have also seen in this hall Stalin's pictures, hanging in large frames.

They also were afraid that the police would come in and take those things, and they hid it in a janitor's room in the rear of the building.

Mr. Chairman, I have a letter here that was given to me by Michael Manini, Edward Heckman, and William Nartonis, a committee of that local, which said that they could not pay me any more, that they were curtailing expenses and wanted me to cooperate with them, and so forth. I did not want to.

I also have here a copy of a letter that I wrote where I tender my resignation as welfare chairman. This is dated January 3, 1937. They would not accept that. They raised my pay.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mitchell, we have some other witnesses whose testimony we would like to finish, as they have to leave town. We will ask you to stand aside for the moment, and we may recall you when we have more time.

(The flag submitted by Mr. Mitchell was received in evidence and marked "Mitchell Exhibit No. 1" of this date.)

TESTIMONY OF HARRY MIKULIAK

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Harry Mikuliak.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your position?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Sergeant, Detroit police department.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a sergeant in the police department in the city of Detroit?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mr. MIKULIAK. As a sergeant?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Since 1936.

Mr. MOSIER. How long have you been in the Detroit police department?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Fifteen years.

Mr. MOSIER. Fifteen years?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. During the 15 years, what have been your duties, sergeant? What duties have been assigned to you?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Various kinds. I was in uniform for quite a long time and then was transferred to the detective bureau.

Mr. MOSIER. You were transferred to the detective bureau?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; for the last 8 years I have been in the detective bureau.

Mr. MOSIER. For the last 8 years you have been in the detective bureau?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And in the detective bureau what has been your duty?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I am assigned to special investigations, the special-investigation squad, which is the racket squad.

Mr. MOSIER. The so-called racket squad?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are on that squad?

Mr. MIKULIAK. There are about 32 or 34 of us in that squad. We take in all investigations of chiselers, "con" men, confidence men, labor riots, agitators, and then question these people picked up in various disturbances.

Mr. MOSIER. As a member of that squad, is it part of your duties to investigate so-called un-American activities?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, you testified before this committee at some length with reference to the recruiting of volunteers for the Loyalist cause in Spain?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When we held our meeting in Detroit; is that right?

Mr. MIKULIAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You furnished us with the names of well-known Communists who had been recruiting?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the names of a number of boys who had been sent to Spain. You have some additional information on that subject, have you not?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you make it brief, because we have had quite a bit of testimony on this subject of recruiting for Loyalist Spain, and we want to get into the other question that we are considering.

Mr. MIKULIAK. I just wanted to bring before your committee information that was not divulged at the Detroit hearing pertaining to Anna Louise Strong. Anna Louise Strong is the editor of the Moscow Daily News. She came to Detroit to give a lecture on Spain. The Civil Rights Federation attempted to get the Cass Technical High School to hold this mass meeting in. Well, there were so many demands on the board of education for permits to hold these meetings, and moneys were collected from time to time of which no accounting was ever made to anyone, that they denied the permission for the use of this school for this meeting.

Mr. MOSIER. When was that, Sergeant?

Mr. MIKULIAK. This meeting was May 3, 1937. They went to Mr. DeGalen, superintendent of night schools, who is also in charge of issuing permits for the use of school auditoriums. He denied them the right to hold this meeting and told them that if a representative of the Red Cross would be there to take charge of the collections he would give them a permit. They never came back after he gave them that statement. That meeting was then held Monday, May 3, 8 p. m., at the church house auditorium of Central Methodist Church, 23 East Adams, Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the time they raised money?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Were you present at that meeting, Sergeant?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money did they raise?

Mr. MIKULIAK. They raised \$522.67 in cash and \$16 in pledges. This money was raised by Walter Reuther, president of Local 174 of the U. A. W.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that the Walter Reuther—

Mr. MIKULIAK. That is the same Walter Reuther.

Mr. MOSIER. Who made a certificate, who was examined by one of the doctors in Detroit?

Mr. MIKULIAK. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And signed a certificate that he was unable to pay?

Mr. MIKULIAK. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And so the doctor collected the fee from the city of Detroit?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; for a so-called tuberculin test.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever figure up how much money the city of Detroit was defrauded through that scheme? Did you ever get a total figure?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I never did total it, sir; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It runs into several thousand dollars, does it not?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; away up.

The CHAIRMAN. Probably 10 or 12 thousand dollars?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I would say away above that.

The CHAIRMAN. For medical treatment to Communists mostly, isn't that true?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Mostly; well there were so many organizations that would use some Spanish phrase or some other phrase, such as Aid to the Chinese People, the Committee to Aid the Chinese People, the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and so on. They were all led by the same people in all their activities. The main purpose of those organizations was to get as much money and use every scheme they possibly could to raise money. They would have large picnics where thousands of people would assemble and where an admission price would be charged and a collection taken. They go out and chisel all sorts of things from various people and then sell them, at these fairs, and raise all kinds of money.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much of that money actually gets to Spain?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I have no idea, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, let us pass from the subject of the Spanish Loyalists. You have the names of a number of Communist Party members who are members of the U. A. W., many of whom hold positions in the U. A. W., do you not?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. I have the names of persons whom we have encountered in the performance of our police duties, trying to keep track of some of the agitators who are constantly agitating strikes, demonstrations, evictions, in the city of Detroit. That is part of our duty, to keep track of those people.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately how many members of the Communist Party that you know of have important positions in the U. A. W.?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I have quite a few, sir. I can name them here as I go along, and their connections with the U. A. W.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, name some of them.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Nat Ganley, whose membership book in the Communist Party I have here.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked as an exhibit in this hearing.

(The membership book referred to was marked "Mikuliak Exhibit No. 1" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. And he is the business agent of what union?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Of Local 155 of the U. A. W. A.; that is the United Automobile Workers of America. This was taken from him by my partner and myself at the Communist Party headquarters, located at 5969 Fourteenth Street, in Detroit, Mich. He has quite a long record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he very active in the union?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Very active, sir. He signs contracts and other things there for the U. A. W. A.

William Weinstone, who was district organizer of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an alien, is he not?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; as far as we know.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he ever been arrested?

Mr. MIKULIAK. No. He was brought in for questioning at various times on orders of the prosecuting attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he hold in the union?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He does not hold any.

William Gebert is now district organizer of the Communist Party. He was arrested in Chicago for criminal syndicalism.

John Anderson is president of Local 155 of the U. A. W. A. We arrested him in 1934. He was at that time a candidate for Governor on the Communist Party ticket, and was an alien. He was not a citizen. He was held for investigation. The immigration authorities investigated him and found that he had just paid his head tax. He was arrested on October 17, 1934. He has quite a record as a Communist Party agitator and is now one of four district organizers of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. He is also very active in labor?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; he is very active in the party.

William McKie is known to the police department for various activities, such as demonstrations under the banner of the American League for Peace and Democracy. He is also the organizer of the Ford unit of the Communist Party. He is one of the vice presidents of the U. A. W. A., Local 174.

John Hell is one of the vice presidents of the Cadillac unit of the Communist Party, as well as the Cadillac U. A. W. A. local.

Carl Prussian, under the alias of Ben Baskin, was arrested on numerous occasions in various strikes—the Packard Motor Car Co. strike—he was the acting president of the De Soto local of the U. A. W. A. in Detroit.

Nadia Barker was recording secretary of the U. A. W. A. local, De Soto. She has been arrested and brought in on many occasions. She was the wife of Willy Goetz, formerly Young Communist League organizer for the State of Michigan.

James Anderson, a Negro, one of the organizers of the W. P. A., very active also in various demonstrations, and has been picked up on various occasions.

Mr. MOSIER. You say he was one of the organizers for the W. P. A.?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; he was one of the organizers and conducted many strikes. We have a record of his activities.

Mr. MOSIER. Within the W. P. A.?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. What do you have with reference to his activities in the W. P. A.? If you have anything along that line, I would like to hear it.

Mr. MIKULIAK. His record is an open book. He was convicted on various occasions. He also acted as chairman of the U. A. W. U. meeting in the Ferry Hall on March 20, 1937, to organize the Negroes into the U. A. W. U. He spoke at the Young Communist League's house party on April 3, 1937. He is a W. P. A. worker, and active in the various W. P. A. strikes held by those workers, and led the strikers in the picket lines around the G. A. R. Building, at Detroit, which is the headquarters. He was on the picket line, and demanded that they go down there and establish it.

Mr. MOSIER. When was that strike?

Mr. MIKULIAK. That was in 1938. I do not have the exact date here.

Mr. MOSIER. That was this year?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; after May, because he attended a Communist Party convention on May 14, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of the men you have named are in the U. A. W. U. unions?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Seven out of the nine I have named so far.

The CHAIRMAN. Was William Gebert in the union?

Mr. MIKULIAK. No, sir; he was one of the district organizers for the Communist Party, replacing Weinstone.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the next one.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Paul Kirk, named as an organizer of colored workers in the automobile plants. He had been in Russia for 2 years, and came back after studying agitation over there.

Jack Wilson, also known as Fred Wilson, is a State organizer of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan. Jack Wilson is agent of the Bohn local, and is active in the local U. A. W. U. He works several days to establish himself as an automobile worker.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he influential in calling strikes?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He called many strikes in the Bohn Aluminum plant, and he has been arrested on many occasions. He is one of the most active Communists.

Mr. MOSIER. Is Jack Wilson his real name?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He is known as Wilkes also. He attended a school in New York, and was an instructor in another school of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. In Detroit?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. We have a curriculum showing what they teach. The teachers are organized. He is a member of the Bohn Aluminum local.

The CHAIRMAN. How many teachers do they have?

Mr. MIKULIAK. They have them at various places. They have schools in various States.

The CHAIRMAN. They have a number of pupils.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; they have quite a few. Those people are now very active.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the next one?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Mike Duletsky. We had an affidavit testifying that he was communistic revolutionary. That was about a week ago at a time when Investigator Howe was present. He is a member of the Communist Party, and is financial secretary of Local No. 51, U. A. W. U.

Alfred Goetz has been district organizer and section organizer for the Communist Party for years. He has been a very active member of the party, and gives instruction in various schools conducted by the Communists.

The next is Joseph Kowalski.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not a citizen of this country, is he?

Mr. MIKULIAK. No, sir. He has been arrested previously, according to the record.

The CHAIRMAN. He was once deported, was he not?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was sent to Russia, and while in Russia had charge of a penitentiary there.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; I believe that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a member of the Chika.

Mr. MIKULIAK. I believe that testimony is in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. He came back to the United States.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did he come back?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has he been here since then?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He was arrested in front of the Hammond Building, where the German vice consul was located, on March 31, 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why he has not been deported?

Mr. MIKULIAK. No, sir; we have picked him up several times.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say he was a Communist who advocates the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. He was deported, and he was supposed to be deported again, but no country would accept him.

The CHAIRMAN. Not even Russia?

Mr. MIKULIAK. No, sir; he was too "red" for Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe he has taken a very active part in labor strikes.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir; in demonstrations and mass meetings. He has called them, and he is a very good speaker. He speaks Polish and is in charge of a Polish newspaper in Detroit called Glos Ludowi. He appeared at an open-air mass meeting sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy, on August 6, 1938, at Times Square Park. He was very much in evidence there.

The CHAIRMAN. They used this American League for Peace and Democracy as a cloak.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. We have a picture of this last demonstration, in which Kowalski appears taking an active part. He took an active part in the demonstration.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the next one?

Mr. MIKULIAK. The next is George Kristalsky, who is an organizer of the Communist Party for Hamtramck, Mich. That is a suburb just outside of Detroit. He was also at this last demonstration on August 6, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he connected with the U. A. W. U.?

Mr. MIKULIAK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he active in strikes?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He has been.

The CHAIRMAN. Go to the next one.

Mr. MIKULIAK. The next one is David Miller, a Communist, in the U. A. W. U. Cadillac local.

William Moell is a Negro who was made an organizer of the U. A. W. U. in place of Kirk, who was fired by Mr. Martin.

Francis Walker, alias Francis Pryor, is an organizer who came to Detroit from Pennsylvania. He is a member of the Communist Party, and is now active in U. A. W. U. unions in Flint, Mich.

Nicholas Dekola and Joseph McClellan are very active in the U. A. W. U. Both were aiding the great sit-down strike of Weinstone.

The CHAIRMAN. Weinstone wrote a book on the great sit-down strike, did he not?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. MIKULIAK. The next is Ed Williams, a Negro who married a white girl in Detroit. He was organizer of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which is a Communist affiliate of the section of Detroit.

John McAdoo is a Negro, who also married a white girl. He has been very active and is president of one of the branches of the Communist Party for both Negroes and whites, in a colored neighborhood.

Ike Greenberg, known as Livewire Ike, is the manager of a book store.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He runs a book store as manager. It is the headquarters for Communist propaganda that comes into the city and State.

Arthur Clifford was formerly secretary of the Michigan Youth Congress and was very active. He attended the convention held in July 1935, at the Cass High School, and also attended a Youth Congress League meeting in the Magnolia Hall. He was formerly a student at Ann Arbor, Mich., and is very closely connected with Marian Gilpin, alias Trevethan, Communist, and formerly organizer of the Youth Congress. She was arrested for stenciling the sidewalks for a May Day celebration. As I said, she was an organizer of the Michigan Youth Congress. This man is editor in chief of a Federal writers' project, at Detroit, at 280 East Kirby Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He is editor in chief of the Federal writers project located at 280 East Kirby Street, Detroit. They are pretending to prepare and publish a Michigan guide.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that guide?

Mr. MIKULIAK. The Michigan guide is supposed to be a guide pertaining to industries in Michigan. It is a Federal project, and they have been on it for years, and it is not complete yet.

The CHAIRMAN. And it will not be until the money runs out.

Mr. MIKULIAK. He is also a lecturer for Communist gatherings at the Den for Forty Thieves and modern book stores. He is on the editorial board of the New Writers, a Red Book publication. He is closely connected with a girl named Marian Gilpin, who was organizer of the Michigan Youth Congress. He has written a few plays, the last one being called Practical Politics, written especially for the labor slate, where the contemporary theater players first produced this play at the meeting on September 26, 1937, when the Communist Party held an affair at the Art Institute with Browder as the main speaker. It was put out in favor of the labor candidates headed by Patrick H. O'Brien for mayor.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have anything in regard to Sam Novick, who has been mentioned for president of the State Senate in Michigan?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He was nominated, and, of course, the election comes off in November. He has been an active member of the Communist Party. He was another one of those that was given the tuberculosis test at the expense of the city.

The next is Richard McMahan, who was the candidate of the Communist Party for the House of Representatives. He is organizer of the United Poultry Workers Union, Local No. 133, which is affli-

ated with the Trade Union Unity League. He was also an organizer of the W. P. A. Union Local 830, A. F. of L.

Richard M. Kroon was very active in Unemployment Council demonstrations. He is a member of the Painters' Local, A. F. of L., and spoke at the United Front Conference held in the Finnish Hall on Saturday and Sunday, November 18 and 19, 1933. He was thrown out of the A. F. of L. for Communist activities.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he do after he was expelled from the A. F. of L.?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He got back in again. He said, "The mills of the gods grind slowly but surely."

The CHAIRMAN. Will you compile a list of all those who are Communists, in addition to the ones you have named?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I will do so.

The CHAIRMAN. You have certain Communist literature issued back in 1934, wherein instructions are given as to how organizational work must be done, how labor strikes should be conducted, and so forth, have you not?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. That was taken from Aveahm Mazerik.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. MIKULIAK. A member of the National Labor Defense of the Communist Party. He is a Communist member who was arrested at that time. He had quite a few notes on a number of resolutions. This is entitled "Draft Resolutions on Agitation and Propaganda for National Plenum I. L. D., 1934." It is quite a lengthy order and shows how to form mass agitation and how it is carried out.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it outline the method of sit-down strikes?

Mr. MIKULIAK. This was in 1934, before the sit-down strike. That is the way it is carried out.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the plan then formulated with reference to sit-down strikes and this other technique has been carried out later.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. It is very interesting. It shows how they would jam and pack the courts or picket the courts by putting their people around the entire building, shouting slogans. The whole thing is drawn up here. It was taken from Mr. Mazerik. He was associated with the Civil Rights Association, with Rev. John Bollen, who is the secretary of the Civil Rights Association. It is a very interesting article.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you submit that to the committee. I want it to go into the record. It may be copied into the record.

Mr. MIKULIAK. All right.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

DRAFT OF RESOLUTION ON AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA FOR NATIONAL PLENUM
I. L. D. 1934

THE IMPORTANCE AND ESSENCE OF AGITATION

"The task of winning over the broad masses of workers under the banner of international proletarian solidarity for the struggle against white terror, fascist reaction, and bourgeois class justice, can be solved only by the widest development of the agitational work of the I. R. A." (Resolution, World Congress of the I. R. A.)

1. In the fifth year of the crisis, which has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundations, the bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its methods of ex-

plottation by means of fascist violence and unbridled terror. American capitalism is more and more fascizing its rule. Fascism is defined as the "open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of finance capital." In its development in the United States growing fascism is characterized in part by:

(a) Increasing the violence against the workers, particularly revolutionary workers and the Negro masses, against whom they have unleashed a wave of lynch terror;

(b) Suppression of strikes and denial of the right to strike;

(c) Developing a wave of chauvinism in preparation for new imperialist war and intervention in the Soviet Union.

(d) Organizing open fascist organizations (K. K. K., Silver Shirts, etc.) with the aim of arousing the worst chauvinist sentiments among the workers, dividing their ranks, setting white against Negro, native against foreign born, etc.

In this period of developing Fascist tendencies, open terrorist violence and headlong preparations for war, the mass agitation of the I. L. D. acquires exceptional importance; it must help to render more effective aid to the victims of white terror and reaction; it must strengthen the international solidarity of the workers of all lands in their common struggle against the capitalist system and it must mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggles in defense of their democratic rights and of their fighting organizations.

2. The essence of I. L. D. mass agitation must be clarification of the class nature of the capitalist state and its repressive organs—courts, police, militia, etc., and the exposure of bourgeois democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the capitalist class which develops organically into fascist dictatorship under the stress of the sharpening class struggle. The program of the I. L. D. calls for the widest possible struggle, on every front, for full and complete democracy for the working class, for the retention and enlargement of all democratic rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. Bourgeois democracy means democracy for the exploiters and denial for all basic rights to the masses. The mass agitation of the I. L. D. must make this crystal clear to the masses of white and Negro toilers and must be conducted in such a manner as to stimulate the widest possible struggles for working class democracy, for the right to organize and to strike, for the right to picket, for the right to assemble, for the right of free speech and of free press, for the right to self-defense, for full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people, for the right to self-determination in the Black Belt, for the right of political asylum, for the rights of political prisoners—for every basic, elementary democratic right of the toilers.

The mass agitation of the I. L. D. must expose capitalist democracy as a colossal swindle by showing how every democratic right of the workers is abridged or annulled in a thousand different ways. The mass agitation of the I. L. D. must develop a consistent struggle against fascism by exposing every encroachment upon the democratic rights of the toilers, showing that bourgeois democracy is the mother of fascism and that the only antidote to fascism is the widest mass struggle for full and complete working class democracy. Through the mass agitation of the I. L. D. it must also be made clear to the masses that the struggle against bourgeois white terror and fascism is an inseparable part of the general struggle for the class interests of the workers. In the course of struggles led by the I. L. D., the illusions of the workers in "justice" must be overcome, the treacherous role of the reformists and social-fascists must be exposed, the common interests of all toilers must be made clear, and the repressive organs of the state must be shown as instruments of oppression wielded in the interests of the capitalists in their attacks on the living standards of the workers. One of the most pressing and immediate tasks of the mass agitation of the I. L. D. is to overcome the widespread misconceptions of the I. L. D. as a legal aid society and a collection agency, by the development of mass work and the utilization of every local and general manifestation of terror as the starting point for the mobilization of the masses in militant struggle against capitalist attacks. In the present situation there is the most vital necessity for reaching and setting in motion in defense struggles the workers in the trade unions, the workers in the shops, mines, and mills, who are fighting with the greatest militancy against the attacks of the employers and the Government. It is likewise of exceptional importance to conduct the most effective mass agitation amongst the unemployed, through special methods of work and activity.

3. I. L. D. mass agitation must be conducted systematically amongst all sections of the toiling population, and amongst intellectuals, professionals,

liberals, and all sympathetic elements of the petty bourgeoisie. In our mass agitation it is necessary to take into account the degree of class consciousness of the different strata of the population, concretizing our agitation accordingly, and completely abolishing the abstract, general character of our agitation. We must take into account the concrete situation in the given district and industry and link up our agitation with the economic struggles of the workers. In this way we must overcome our narrowness and sectarianism and constantly widen our influence to embrace workers in reformist and reactionary organizations. We must intensify our agitation, with special forms of approach to young workers, women workers, children, ex-servicemen, agricultural workers, etc. We must develop cultural and sports activities in order to attract and hold the youth. We must utilize the wives and families of prisoners in order to reach women workers and housewives for solidarity actions with class war victims and to broaden the campaign for prisoners' relief. We must intensify the Herndon campaign for improving and strengthening our relations with the unemployed workers, and we must work out our agitation to show concretely how appropriations for police and militia are increased in order to suppress the struggles of the jobless who are denied relief, etc. We must similarly concretize our agitation and our approach to all strata of the population whom we must reach and activate in struggle against white terror and in solidarity with the victims of the class war.

4. In developing our mass agitation, more attention must be given to slogans, their formulation and use. Slogans must have definite political content, must clearly express the demands of the workers, and must be formulated as to develop the whole movement to a higher level. Slogans must be fashioned in relation to the level of class-consciousness of the given section of workers and must be understandable. An example of incorrect use of slogans is found in the demand "The Scottsboro boys shall not die," which has been raised to the level of our main demand, whereas this must be "Unconditional freedom for the Scottsboro boys." The slogan "They shall not die" implies that we would be satisfied with life imprisonment. This slogan should not be discarded, but it must be replaced as the main demand by the slogan for unconditional release. Another example of incorrect slogans was the one issued in the southern district: "Free speech or bust." This slogan, while it might be catchy, has no political content, tends to vulgarize the fight for free speech, and fails to broaden or heighten the struggle. A great deal of confusion has been experienced with the slogan "Death penalty for the lynchers" and in some cases it was changed to "Death to lynchers," which is a leftist interpretation of the slogan and does not conform to the present level of the movement. In every concrete case the greatest care must be exercised in the formulation of slogans, and the use of slogans for agitational purposes must be increased.

FORMS OF MASS AGITATION

5. In line with the whole intensification of the class struggle we must immediately make a drastic revision in our methods of work and improve both the quantity and quality of our mass agitation, with particular emphasis on keying up the entire organization to break through our present narrow bounds and reach the masses in the shops, mines, fields, and trade-unions. I. L. D. agitation must be linked up as closely as possible with the economic struggle of the workers and must take on new forms which adapt it to the present level of the whole movement. Every local arrest or manifestation of terror must be made the occasion for mobilization of all possible forces for mass protest and action. Mass protest meetings should be called in front of jails where workers are held pending trial. In arrests for strike activities special efforts must be made to arouse the entire membership of the particular union, or the entire working force in the particular shop or industry for protest action. During trials the courtrooms must be packed with workers mobilized for the occasion, and organized demonstrative actions must be carried through inside the courtrooms, with protests against arbitrary rulings by the judge, workers challenging the judge to debate, shouting the slogans. If the courtroom is ordered cleared, the defendants must refuse to proceed with the trial, and the workers must be organized to support the demand for a public trial, with demonstrations before the courtroom.

Arrests growing out of such actions must serve to intensify the protest movement. Demonstrative actions must be organized around every case of local terror, and these local struggles must be made the base for intensifying national

and international campaigns by showing, through our agitation, the inseparable relation between all cases of capitalist justice and denial of democratic rights. Struggle against local Jim-Crow practices must be used to popularize and intensify the Scottsboro campaign and must take on popular forms, such as picketing public places which discriminate against Negroes; mass picketing of the homes of Negro reformists and misleaders, etc. The homes of particularly vicious judges should be picketed. Mass letter-writing campaigns must be developed by the I. L. D.; protest letters should flood the press, should be directed to reactionary officials, should be sent to wardens of prisons where political prisoners are mistreated, and should also be sent to the wives of such officials, characterizing their husbands as murderers of workers. Children must be organized for demonstrative actions: the children of reactionary officials should be singled out in school, the other children refusing to attend classes with the son or daughter of a murderer of workers. Protest strikes should be organized in the schools. The short protest stoppages must be organized in shops demanding the release of political prisoners or better treatment of prisoners in local jails.

Special forms of solidarity with political prisoners must be organized, with demonstrations in front of prisons demanding better treatment of the prisoners, mass presentation of gifts to prisoners, a series of delegations to prison officials, etc. Spectacular forms of agitation should be developed, such as hanging flags in conspicuous places, painting of slogans on public buildings or the homes of officials, street runs popularizing political prisoners, flying demonstrations before large factories, etc., but in no case can such forms be allowed to substitute for mass activities. On the contrary, they must serve to intensify and strengthen mass campaigns.

6. Side by side with mass agitation we must develop individual and group methods of agitation. Every member of the I. L. D. must agitate constantly, among his family, friends, acquaintances, in the neighborhood, poolrooms, wherever workers gather. Our agitation must be developed and broadened through the group system of organization in the branches, with mass distribution of leaflets through groups, and utilization of the groups for thorough neighborhood house to house canvassing. Groups must also be organized to concentrate on particular neighborhoods or shops, and the system of revolutionary competition must be utilized to intensify group agitation.

7. A thorough and drastic improvement must be made in regard to leaflets and their distribution. Leaflets must be regarded as ammunition in the class war. Every leaflet a bullet; not a bullet wasted. There must be a sharp increase in the quantity of leaflets issued, and the whole organization must be mobilized for thorough, effective, and concentrated distribution of leaflets with the fullest utilization of the group system for this purpose. The quality of leaflets must be improved. In most cases at the present time leaflets are simply announcements of meetings or affairs and are not agitational in their character. When agitational leaflets are issued, they are usually abstract or general in nature. Leaflets must be simply written, concrete in their content, and should not be too long. More care must be given to the technical preparation of leaflets. The initiative of sections and branches must be developed to the point where they issue their own leaflets, reacting to every local case of terror, police brutality, and discrimination.

8. Some beginning has been made in the issuance of local bulletins by I. L. D. districts, but the work done in this direction has been very far from adequate. It must be recorded that the concentration districts of the I. L. D. in particular have failed to take this work seriously. New York and Chicago lag far behind much weaker districts in this respect. Every district must aim to issue and distribute its own bulletin, to appear regularly no less than once each month, and concentration districts must issue weekly bulletins regularly. The bulletins must be written simply and popularly and must reflect the life and activity of the I. L. D. in local struggles. A wider use must be made of the National Educational Bulletin, which must be a guide and from which material must be taken for local bulletins. Branches must be encouraged to issue wallpapers regularly, involving the entire membership in their preparation and use.

9. The training and organization of a responsible corps of competent speakers must be regarded as a central task in our agitational work, and in every district there must be a constant series of open-air meetings, mass meetings, lectures, debates, forums, discussions, and entertainments. Speakers must be trained in I. L. D. subjects, and must have a thorough knowledge not only of the program

and policies of the I. L. D. but also of other working class organizations, so that in every case it will be possible for our speakers to coordinate the program of the I. L. D. with that of trade unions, unemployment organizations, and other organizations of struggle, and organizational steps will be taken to realize this on a practical basis.

10. The distribution of literature must be raised to a central task, and the present situation as regards this phase of our work can only be characterized as disgraceful. Not a single district has perfected a distribution machinery for literature, and there is exhibited on all sides a thorough lack of understanding of the importance and methods of this work. There must be a sharp and immediate improvement in this direction, and every district must establish a literature fund, organize a distribution machinery, and work out a program of planned and controlled distribution of I. L. D. literature to the shops, factories, trade unions, and mass organizations. Special attention must be paid to organizing a thorough distribution of literature through the group system in the branches.

11. Special forms of activity must be worked out for developing and strengthening international solidarity. Particularly at the present time, when first the German and now the Austrian working class is suffering from the murderous attacks of fascism, the I. L. D. must conduct the most energetic and widespread agitation for solidarity and material relief to the victims. It must be recognized that the I. L. D. as a whole has failed in this, one of its major tasks, and the campaign to raise \$3,000, for the Austrian Red Aid by April 15, by the failure to raise even a fraction of this amount by the time set, shows how serious and deep-rooted this weakness is and how drastic the steps necessary to eradicate it.

The almost complete non-existence of patronage and patronati work is another indication of this alarming shortcoming. Here again concrete forms of mass agitation must be worked out at once. Every district must take patronage over a colonial country, or a section of the International Red Aid working under illegal conditions, and material forms of assistance must be rendered. The I. L. D. as a whole must develop the widest possible solidarity with the Cuban workers and the oppressed and exploited masses in the Philippines and other lands dominated directly by American imperialism. Definite amounts of funds must be transmitted to the Red Aid organizations in these countries, the money to be raised through special affairs, etc. Direct contact with groups of workers in these countries must be established and a system of correspondence established. Widespread militant protest actions must be undertaken in defense of victims of the white terror in these countries, and political prisoners must be adopted by branches. The widest dissemination of facts relating to the terror in these countries must be organized. Closest connections must be established with the Anti-Imperialist League, and joint methods of work and activity worked out with this organization.

In water-front districts, closest contact must be established with the marine workers' organizations in order to make use of the seamen traveling to these countries to establish direct connections with the Red Aid organizations. Cuban and Filipino workers in this country must be utilized for mass meetings, to describe the conditions in their countries and to speak on the terror and the treatment of political prisoners. If possible, a delegation representing the I. L. D. should be sent to Cuba to investigate the conditions and report back to the workers in this country. At the same time, there must be a general intensification of both the German and Austrian campaigns, and it must be understood by every district leadership that an energetic campaign against Fascist terror in Germany and Austria is a prerequisite for a successful struggle against Fascist tendencies in the United States.

12. In the single district where beginnings were made in the establishment of group correspondence with the M. O. P. R. groups of the Soviet Union, there has been enthusiastic response on the part of the membership. It must be said, however, that this method of establishing and strengthening international working class solidarity, and popularizing the achievements of the Soviet Union in the abolishment of capitalist class justice and national chauvinism has been neglected as a whole. This must be immediately corrected, and the districts held to their responsibility of bringing the letters from soviet workers to the membership, encouraging and guiding the establishment of regular correspondence between I. L. D. branches and M. O. P. R. groups in the Soviet Union.

12. One of the major weaknesses of the I. L. D. is its separation from the main body of organized workers, particularly those in the trade-unions, and

this can only be overcome by a campaign of systematic agitation in these organizations which will win the members to individual membership in the I. L. D. and the organizations to the collective affiliation with the I. L. D. I. L. D. speakers must address membership meetings of other organizations, special leaflets addressed to the members of other organizations must be distributed among them, and joint actions must be undertaken with them.

13. Through mass agitation, the I. L. D. must at once proceed to strengthen itself in the countryside and to extend its influence over farm laborers and the impoverished and fighting farmers. Closest contact must be established between our city organizations and the surrounding rural districts. Special literature must be prepared for the farmers and agricultural proletariat and regular excursions of city I. L. D. members must be sent into the countryside for special work and agitation. The cases of arrested and victimized farmers must be popularized, and the strongest ties of solidarity must be built up between city and the country toilers.

CAMPAIGNS

14. A campaign is a concentrated form of mass work, with a thorough mobilization of every agitational resource in order to reach the widest possible number of workers in the shortest possible time for a series of mass activities. Not every form of agitational work lends itself to campaign methods of activity, and there is a danger that too many campaigns will destroy the effectiveness of this means for rapid and thorough mobilization. Therefore campaigns must be resorted to only in the most important cases, which demand concentrated and continuous mass activity. On the other hand, once undertaken, a campaign must conform to the above definition, or it loses all special significance and weakens the capacity of the organization to carry through a swift and thorough mobilization of all its forces. These elementary truths have yet to be learned by many I. L. D. functionaries, as it is proved by some recent examples of very poor and unsatisfactory response to political issues which call for the most energetic campaign methods of activity. For some time there has been a serious and dangerous lag in both the Scottsboro and Mooney-Billings campaigns which must be overcome at once. There has been an unbelievably slow and inadequate response to the necessity of the broadest possible campaign to save the life of Angelo Herndon and to force an immediate and favorable decision on the appeal from his conviction. There has been a thorough let-down by the I. L. D. generally in the campaign against German fascism, in defense of the life and freedom of Ernst Thaelmann and Torgler. The lack of response on the part of all districts, with the exception of one or two, to the campaign for relief to victims of Austrian fascism, should be branded as criminal and scandalous.

The causes for such poor work can only be traced to a fundamental lack of understanding our problems and the methods of solving them. This calls for an intensive study of our weaknesses and shortcomings and the utmost perseverance in overcoming them. The low political level of our membership and of the leadership in many districts must be held as the basic reason for our failure to wage effective and sustained campaigns around the most important and pressing of issues on the defense front.

There is also exhibited a failure to understand how to link up our campaigns and to base them upon the development of local struggles, bringing international and national issues close to the daily life of the workers and relating them to the day to day struggles. The districts often complain that they get their orders for too many central campaigns. This, in some cases, is justified, but the main trouble is in the manner of conducting campaigns. At the present time, the district leadership receives directives concerning a campaign.

One or two mass meetings, perhaps a delegation or two, is organized and the campaign is over. We have not yet learned that these campaigns must be made a part of the regular activity of every section and branch, adapted to their particular territory and conditions. The district leadership should use these campaigns to help the branches and sections to develop initiative. Campaigns are usually carried on from the district office, and the organization as a whole is not thoroughly activated. Our branches are not yet the centers of mass work that they should be, and central campaigns are not brought to them in such a fashion that they utilize them for stimulating and strengthening their daily activities. Recent directives on the *Herndon case* were undoubtedly looked upon as another burden to tax the membership and the forces of the district, but was not recognized as a means for intensifying our day to day work. The central point in the *Herndon case* must be to organize the struggle against ter-

ror directed upon the unemployed workers. At the present time the unemployed movement is attaining a tremendous scope, new attacks are being made upon the jobless, who are organizing to fight. The *Herndon case* must be used first of all for improving our relations with the unemployment councils. Systematic agitation amongst the unemployed workers around the *Herndon case* will first of all help to prepare these workers for struggles in defense of their own rights, and, if good work is done, the struggles on a local scale cannot help but to strengthen, broaden, and intensify the fight for Herndon.

At the same time, the *Herndon case* must be utilized for strengthening the solidarity between white and Negro workers. If the *Herndon case* was utilized in this way, tying it up with local struggles and local cases of terror against the unemployed, then the whole movement would be deepened, our relations with the Unemployment Council and other organizations of the unemployed would improve immeasurably, and the influence and organizational strength of the I. L. D. would advance tremendously. The *Herndon case* would not be just another campaign, but would become a means for improving our day to day work, for intensifying the work already undertaken. Likewise with the campaign against German fascism and in defense of the victims of Hitler terror. This campaign must be concretized for every given situation in every district. Every Fascist tendency in the United States, every manifestation of Fascist terror, must be held up to the workers in the light of developments in Germany and Austria, showing that in essence, the Roosevelt program is following the same road trod by Hitler. We must show to the workers that by coming to the aid of their comrades in Germany and Austria, they are strengthening, not only themselves but the world revolutionary movement. Every act in support of the German or Austrian working class weakens the international forces of reaction.

An excellent example of this kind of work is found in the act of the Negro sharecroppers in the South, who, as a result of the agitation of the I. L. D., met together in the woods, under conditions of extreme illegality, in order to express their solidarity with the German proletariat, to send greetings to the German workers and to draw conclusions from the experiences of the German working class which related directly to their own daily struggles. We must also learn to conduct concrete exposures on the basis of the German and Austrians campaign, always concretizing the issues for the specific conditions at hand. If the I. L. D. were working properly among the Ford automobile slaves, strengthening its position in the shops, then the German campaign could be taken to these workers by showing how Ford gave large contributions to Hitler and how his factory management is modeled after the lines of the Hitler fascist state. In Milwaukee, Bridgeport, and other places where the Socialists have obtained offices in local government, our agitation must take the concrete form of exposing the acts of these social-fascist traitors as leading to the same outcome reached by the Social-Democracy of Germany and Austria. Likewise with the Scottsboro campaign. Here again our activities must be sustained by the development of local struggles against Jim Crowism, discrimination, terror against Negroes and the treachery of the Negro reformists. Scottsboro must be used to intensify local struggles.

In Omaha, for instance, if a consistent campaign around Scottsboro had been conducted, clarifying the issues in the case, then when the Negro worker Rowlands was arrested, the basis for an intense campaign for his release would have been present. As it was, the case was not understood, the I. L. D. membership resisted taking up the case, and a whole mess of white chauvinism developed. Chauvinism was expressed previously in a negative fashion by the failure to undertake any activities around the *Scottsboro case*; it was expressed in an extreme positive way when a local case of Negro persecution arose. Scottsboro must be related to all local issues, and the development of local struggles must serve to broaden and intensify the Scottsboro campaign. These elementary truths are not yet thoroughly understood. In Bridgeport, Conn., where the Socialist mayor ordered the police to club demonstrating snow shovellers and to arrest the leaders, leading comrades objected to mention of Austria and Germany in a protest leaflet issued by the I. L. D. Such examples could be multiplied many times over.

We must learn how to link up our campaigns and to base them upon the development of local struggles, bringing international and national issues close to the daily life of the workers and relating them to the day to day struggles. Only when this is done, thoroughly unifying all of our campaigns, showing the inseparableness of all defense issues, and basing them upon swift political reaction to all local events, can we improve this phase of our activity. With

the increase in Fascist terror, which is more and more being characterized by its application directly to the workers in the shops, streets, and neighborhoods, it is more than ever necessary that the lower organs of the I. L. D. develop the utmost flexibility and initiative in order to react to every development and make them the starting points for an intensification of our campaigns. We must learn not to be swayed by events, but to turn events to our account and to mold events. One of the main shortcomings in this respect is our failure to plan and systematize our campaign activities, exercising the greatest control and check-up in the carrying out of all programs and decisions.

15. Steps must be taken at once to give a more pronounced mass character to annual revolutionary days and special I. L. D. days and actions (May first, Paris commune day, Canton commune day, winter relief campaign, annual anniversary, etc.). At the present time we fail almost completely in making of these dates a mobilization of all of our forces for mass demonstrative actions, fighting days through the course of which the whole work of the I. L. D. is strengthened and improved. The winter relief campaign, 1933-34, was a failure in this sense and in no district was there a consistent drive to improve our prisoners' relief work, which should have been the main content of the whole campaign, with recruiting conducted on the basis of activities conducted around the issues of relief to political prisoners and their dependents. Likewise with the celebrations of the Paris commune. Directives on this day from the national office were almost completely ignored and not a single district improved its methods of work to give a real political content to this day, with fighting demonstrative actions. Instead, the old routine methods of preparing meetings on this day were applied, and there was no departure from old, outworn methods of work. The bulk of activities consisted in getting out a poor quality of leaflets (advertisements for meetings) and in distributing tickets (many of which are still not paid for). In most cases the meetings were financial failures, which show an extreme inadequacy in preparations. Paris commune day, 1934, might almost have passed unobserved with the same net results for the I. L. D.

16. These shortcomings must be overcome at once in preparations for June 28, ninth anniversary of the founding of the I. L. D., and this day must be made one of mass demonstrations, involving the entire revolutionary movement, and the political content must be made the question of fighting solidarity with the class war prisoners and their dependents, as well as solidarity with the victims of white terror in Germany, Austria, China, and colonial countries. The anniversary day of the I. L. D. must be made into an annual celebration, with a thorough review of our forces and achievements, and preparations for that day must take the form of a thorough mobilization of every force at our disposal, with an intensification of every one of our campaigns and all local activities.

PROPAGANDA

17. The propaganda work of the I. L. D. must be understood as the task of systematically raising the political level of the entire membership and training a dependable corps of developed leaders for the I. L. D. Perhaps no other single phase of our fundamental work is so badly neglected, with such serious and far-reaching results. The lack of serious and fundamental educational work aggravates all of the general problems of the I. L. D., and breeds special problems of its own. The acute shortage of leading forces, the limited capacities of the leading forces at our disposal, the widespread confusion and misconceptions concerning the I. L. D. program, policies, and tactics, the alarming fluctuation in our ranks, all of which hamper the growth of the I. L. D. and holds it within its present narrow bounds, can be traced in large part to the general lack of good propaganda work and the training of I. L. D. cadres on all questions of mass work. I. L. D. propaganda must aim at familiarizing the rank and file with all of the main issues of the revolutionary movement, with the class character of the bourgeois state, with the white terror and fascism as the instruments of capitalist class rule, with the methods and forms of the struggle against it. By raising the political understanding of the entire membership and training workers for leadership I. L. D. propaganda must improve the quality and scope of all the work of the I. L. D. and must draw greater masses into the organization and into new and higher forms of struggle against capitalist reaction. I. L. D. propaganda must insure correct leadership and the highest quality in our mass agitation. In order to carry through these tasks it is necessary to:

(a) Organize a national training school, supported by the districts, attended by the most active and promising members in the districts, who will be given an intensive 4 weeks' course in the theory and practice of I. L. D. work.

(b) Organize classes in every district for the systematic training of I. L. D. activities and functionaries.

(c) Organize in every district a wide network of study circles and discussion groups in factories, shops, neighborhoods, and around I. L. D. branches. Such groups and circles must also be set up to incorporate members of other organizations, particularly the trade-unions.

(d) Organize, in every district, beginners classes in each branch, where new members of the I. L. D. will be required to attend for at least three sessions to be given an elementary training in the program and role of the I. L. D. These beginners classes must be made permanent institutions in every district.

(e) Bring about a drastic improvement in the inner life of the branches, a major portion of every branch meeting to be devoted to educational discussions; the present dry, uninteresting branch meetings must be forever abandoned and the branch itself made an instrument for training and developing the membership.

(f) Publish more systematic material of a fundamental nature for the use of functionaries and speakers in dealing with basic groups of workers on current issues of the class struggle; this material must be issued not only on a national scale but in the districts as well.

(g) Organize a system of regular consultation meetings with members active in bringing questions forward on propaganda; the purpose of these consultation meetings must be to improve the quality of our mass agitation and insure the carrying out of a correct line on all current questions of the movement.

(h) Organize among sympathetic groups of workers readers circles around the Labor Defender.

(i) To undertake, in every branch, a system of open branch meetings, which will be widely advertised in the neighborhoods and shops, for the purpose of bringing outsiders to our meetings. These branch meetings must be carefully prepared, and a developed member must be assigned to lead a discussion on political questions as they affect the work of the I. L. D.

(j) Develop the National Educational Bulletin into the theoretical organ of the I. L. D. Every district must place a regular standing order for sufficient copies of the Bulletin to be supplied to every branch, every study circle, every class, and the material in the Bulletin must be used for widest possible discussions of all the fundamental problems of the I. L. D. The perspective should be to issue a printed organ of this nature monthly.

18. Special problems of the I. L. D. must be given the most careful attention, and such questions as self-defense must be concentrated upon in our propaganda work in order to correct the widespread misconceptions of the I. L. D. which hamper our growth and development into a mass organization of struggle. The example of Dimitroff must be taken as the cornerstone of I. L. D. policy inside the courtroom, and the most detailed study must be made of this experience. The conduct and the speeches of Dimitroff in the Nazi court must be minutely analyzed and the lessons of this historic trial must be made the property of every I. L. D. member to the end that the role of lawyers, etc., will be clearly understood by all. Following such a campaign of enlightenment on the relation of mass defense to legal defense and the question of self-defense, we must make a sharp turn in our methods of defense activities, and the principle of self-defense must be applied to every particular case where the possibilities are present for its use.

Similar concentration must be made on the question of white chauvinism, of which a great deal exists in our ranks, and against which there must be a continuous struggle. The I. L. D. is a growing organization, and the new, undeveloped workers coming into our ranks bring with them all of the confusion and illusions sowed among the working class by its enemies. There can be no let-down in our struggle for the clarity of our line and policies, and the question of white chauvinism will remain with us so long as capitalism exists. The *Scottsboro case* must be the material and the weapon with which we clarify this question, and constant attention must be given to the problem of working out those forms of agitation and propaganda which will awaken in the minds of the workers the need for unity and solidarity in their common struggles. In every case, we must relate this question to the daily and immediate demands of the workers, showing the effect of bourgeois poison upon their daily life and economic position.

Special study circles must be organized around such questions as deportations and the policies of the Government in relation to the foreign-born worker; a thorough analysis must be made of the *Gardos case*. Such enlightenment work must be regarded as the prerequisite for the proper development of our patronage, and patronati work, and must result in organizational gains. The question of anti-labor bills introduced into Congress or State legislatures; the policies of the N. R. A. as regards the rights of the working class; the question of international solidarity, particularly in relation to colonial countries; the right of asylum, etc., all must be made the subject of concentrated propaganda and educational work.

THE PRESS

19. The correct utilization of the Labor Defender and of the whole labor and liberal press is imperative if we are to successfully carry out our tasks. The plenum points to the very unsatisfactory situation of the Labor Defender and declares that the entire organization must be aroused to the immediate necessity of making a decisive turn in overcoming the absolutely impermissible neglect of the Labor Defender, making of it the real collective organizer and agitator for the I. L. D. The Labor Defender itself must be strengthened and improved, and one of the most important methods of doing this is by organization of worker and farmer correspondents, who will keep in constant touch with the Labor Defender and by their criticism and material help to bring the Labor Defender closer to the masses and their struggles.

20. The press work generally of the I. L. D. lags far behind the pressing tasks of the I. L. D., grown to enormous proportions by the increasing struggles of the workers and the intensification of the terror. Although we can boast that the I. L. D. press service, conducted from the national office, is one of the best of its kind in the movement, securing for the I. L. D. invaluable publicity, we can say that the districts generally have failed to utilize corresponding opportunities for publicity and have not properly utilized publicity gained through the press service. New forms of activity must be worked out in regard to the capitalist press, and militant delegations must be organized to take the press releases of the I. L. D. to editors of bourgeois papers demanding the publication of news of the white terror and the defense struggles against it. Those papers which refuse must be boycotted, their buildings picketed, and public burnings of quantities of their papers must be organized. The districts must also make use of all possibilities of publicizing their activities through the local press.

21. Although the national office press service performs a distinct service to the I. L. D. and the revolutionary movement generally, it cannot play a role corresponding to our tasks. The Labor Defender, being a monthly pictorial organ, cannot satisfactorily meet all the problems of the I. L. D. It therefore becomes a vital and urgent necessity to establish a weekly agitational organ for the I. L. D. as an additional weapon of agitation, and every district must begin today to strengthen and perfect their distributing machinery in order to undertake this task in the shortest possible time.

22. On the question of literature, the sharpest criticism must be levelled against every district for impermissible and criminal failure to understand that one of the main tasks of the I. L. D. is to spread and circulate popular literature for the masses. Only in one or two districts have even slight beginnings been made in this direction, and these are not the concentration districts. In recent months the national office has been forced to use threats in order to stir the districts into an acceptance of this basic obligation. There must be a radical improvement in this direction, and every district must at once build up a literature department with funds and forces for this work. At the same time more cheap and popular pamphlets must be issued for mass circulation, and a publishing department must be organized in the national office. More special pamphlets and material for functionaries must be issued, with emphasis on questions of practical organizational work and the generalization of local experiences. There must be published at once a popular pamphlet on "What is the I. L. D.?" and an organizational handbook or manual.

ORGANIZATION OF AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

23. The whole work of agitation and propaganda must be thoroughly organized in every district with constant leadership and supervision from the higher bodies of the I. L. D. Specially appointed and fitted comrades must be placed

in charge of this work in every district, and live functioning agitprop departments must be organized. In every district, immediately following this plenum, there must be convened the broadest possible conference on agitprop work, involving every force responsible for this activity and new forces to be assigned. These conferences must adopt a carefully worked-out program of work, and the committees and departments necessary for leading this work must be organized. The district agitprop departments must work directly under the district committee, which must be responsible for carrying out of these tasks. The national educational department must exercise supervision over the work of the district department. There must be organized educational committees in every section, and a responsible and capable educational director in every branch. The district department plans the agitprop work of the entire district; organizes a functioning speakers bureau; plans, organizes, and directs all sorts of cultural activities; organizes and directs a press service; writes and edits leaflets, bulletins, and other agitational material; organizes and conducts classes and study circles; the district department must have as its special task the development of the initiative of the sections and branches.

The plenum expresses its firm conviction that by the extensive development of mass agitation and propaganda and by improving the quality of our educational work as a whole, the I. L. D. will become a genuine mass organization and a powerful weapon of the united front against bourgeois terror.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

DRAFT OF RESOLUTION FOR THE DISTRICT CONVENTION OF THE I. L. D. ON APRIL 29, 1934

"The task of winning over the broad masses of workers under the banner of international proletarian solidarity for the struggle against white terror, fascist reaction and bourgeois class justice, can be solved only by the widest development of the agitational work of the International Red Aid" (Resolution, World Congress of I. R. A.)

"In the fifth year of the crisis which has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundations, the bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its methods of exploitation by means of fascist violence and unbridled terror. American capitalism is more and more fascistizing its rule. Fascism is defined as 'the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of finance capital.' Its development in the United States, growing fascism, is characterized in part by:

"(a) Increasing violence against the workers, particularly revolutionary workers and Negro masses, against whom they have unleashed a wave of lynch terror.

"(b) Suppression of strikes and denial of rights to strike.

"(c) Developing wave of chauvinism in preparation for the new imperialist war and intervention into the Soviet Union.

"(d) Organizing open fascist organizations (K. K. K., Silver Shirts, etc.) with the aim of arousing the worst chauvinist sentiments among the masses, dividing their ranks, setting white against Negro, native against foreign born, etc.

"In this period of developing Fascist tendencies, open terroristic violence and headlong preparations for war, the mass agitation of the I. L. D. acquired exceptional importance; it must help to render more effective aid to the victims of white terror and reaction; it must strengthen the international solidarity of the workers of all lands in their common struggle against the capitalist system and it must mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle in defense of their democratic rights and their fighting organizations.

"The essence of I. L. D. mass agitation must be a clarification of the class nature of the capitalist state and its reserve organs (police, militia, etc.) and the exposure of bourgeois democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the capitalist class which develops organically into Fascist dictatorship under the struggles of the sharpening class struggle. The program of the I. L. D. calls for the widest possible struggle on every front; for full and complete democracy for the working class; for the retention and enlargement of all democratic rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. Bourgeois democracy means democracy for the exploiters and denial of all basis rights to the masses." (Draft resolution on agitation and propaganda, National Plenum, 1934.)

In the automobile industry the workers have begun to wage a serious struggle against the constant lowering of their standard of living and have begun to organize into unions and undertake and participate in strike struggles.

The manufacturers under the leadership of the notorious slave-driving Ford Motor Company and the General Motors Corp., through their vicious factory spy systems (service dept. at Fords, personnel dept. at General Motors, Chryslers, and others) are directly murdering workers, firing them, and attempting to break up their organizations.

Definite Fascist tendencies can be seen in the smashing of the demonstration of the unemployed workers in Grand Rapids and the sentencing of the leaders of the unemployed to four months, the smashing of the picket lines of the Briggs strikers of last year and the arming of thugs and gangsters for their protection by the Detroit Police Department at the Michigan Stove Company, the smashing of the demonstration of the Negro people of the Moorish American movement, the denial of the exercising of civil and democratic rights for the first of May demonstrations in Detroit, all point to the necessity of the tightening of our organization and the intensification of the struggles for the democratic rights of the workers to meet, to organize into unions of their own choosing, to strike and picket without police interference.

PARTICIPATION OF THE I. L. D. IN THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKERS—OUR ORGANIZATION WEAKNESS

In 1933, during the strike period of the Briggs, Motor Projects, and Hudsons, the I. L. D. participated in the defense, picketing, and general activities around the factories but not having its representatives on the strike committees taking part in the various decisions and thereby popularizing the I. L. D. as a working class defense organization amongst the automobile workers.

The district leadership of the I. L. D. in this district being composed of mostly business people, house wives, and intellectuals, did not understand the problems of the workers in the factories and for this reason did not follow up in the organizational establishing of the I. L. D. in the factories and as a result, during the strike of the M. E. S. A. in the fall of 1933, the I. L. D. has not participated. A leading comrade of the district buro of the I. L. D., who became a leader in the strike of the M. E. S. A., completely forgot that he was a member of the I. L. D.

Our attitude towards the striking workers under the leadership of the A. F. L. at the Motor Products Corp., Power Roller Bearing, and the Michigan Stove Company was one of no concern. While the district buro had a discussion, and drafts of statements to the strikers were made, they were never carried out, thereby being completely isolated from the struggles of the workers in the factories.

Serious attempts have been made by our Mac-Avenue Section to draw the members of the I. L. D. into the existing unions, and have succeeded in having about 40 members and sympathizers of the I. L. D. take part in the organization and participation in the left wing oppositions of the M. E. S. A. and A. F. L. We must, however, note here that the organization contacts with these members in the shops were not utilized to bring the policy of the I. L. D. on defense and aid into these organizations and to get these organizations to affiliate with the I. L. D.

This all is a result of a leadership that is not directly connected with the shops and does not understand the problems of the workers in the factories and is not able to orientate our organization towards this work.

WORK AMONGST THE FARMERS AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM

The criminal syndicalist law in this State has been a weapon in the hands of the bosses against the working class at any time when struggles take place and workers seriously consider organization.

The fight against foreclosures by the banks in the farming regions culminated last year with a demonstration of over 2½ thousand farmers at White Cloud, Michigan. The State injected the criminal syndicalist law against the leaders of this farmers movement. The I. L. D. successfully fought the charges of criminal syndicalism by organizing the farmers in defense of their leaders, and the attack upon the criminal syndicalist law. A strong sentiment was organized and the State was compelled to drop charges of criminal syndicalism.

Although carrying on a successful campaign against the criminal syndicalist law at White Cloud, we have not succeeded in linking up the cases of Comrades Burman and Immonen on a State basis and organize an issue of mobilization there, and the result is that there has been no serious campaign on a state-

wide basis carried on against the criminal syndicalist law; Comrades Burman and Immonen are still in prison and nothing concretely was done to arouse the toiling population of the State of Michigan against the criminal syndicalist laws.

The incoming district committee will have to undertake to develop a statewide campaign against the criminal syndicalist law—for the repeal of the law—and in this campaign get into every county and township of the State with the petitions with mass meetings and general protests.

THE SCOTTSBORO CASE AND THE WORK AMONGST THE NEGRO MASSES

With the Scottsboro campaign carried on extensively in our district, we have been able to convince large sections of the Negro people, and draw in many white workers behind the I. L. D. in the defense of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon. The ideological influence of the I. L. D. in the Negro neighborhoods is tremendous. But organizationally we have not consolidated this influence. Two years ago there were four branches of the I. L. D. in the Negro neighborhoods, with an approximate membership of over 400 in Detroit alone, one branch in Pontiac, and one branch in Saginaw. And today only one branch is existing in Detroit, with a membership of about 35. The main causes for the drop in the membership of the I. L. D. in the Negro territory can be summarized as follows:

1. The underestimation of the district leadership of the importance of carrying on a consistent campaign against discrimination, against Jim Crowism, against the police terror, for the rights of the Negroes to jobs in the factories; and this to be linked up to the Scottsboro and Angelo Herndon campaigns.

Leading members of the district have taken positions which have a very strong white chauvinist tendency. Example: Defense of the position of an I. L. D. member refusing to invite Negro comrades to an I. L. D. affair in her home, by the Tom Mooney branch of the West Side—Comrade George and others. The distrust of leading Negro comrades by leading white comrades in relation to finances; especially at the Gallagher-Wright mass meeting in Danceland shown by comrades Smullin and Ayrudin. The maneuvering of comrades Ayrudin and Whitehorn, members of the district committee, together with other members of the Lucy Parsons branch to sidetrack the district from actually participating in Negro work by denying of the approach to the Negro problems as special problems of an oppressed nationality.

2. The neglect to follow up the recruitment made during the period of the campaign when Ruby Bates, Ada Wright, Richard B. Moore, Patterson, and Carter were speaking in Detroit.

The underestimation of the struggle against white chauvinism on one side and petty bourgeois reformism amongst the Negroes on the other side. The placing of a police agent and stool pigeon as district organizer of the I. L. D. also tended towards undermining our activities amongst the Negro workers. (Banks.)

ACTIVITIES AMONGST THE UNEMPLOYED

Our work amongst the unemployed was conducted on a very narrow basis. A serious turn has been made in the handling of the framed-up worker, Walter Oleniczak, in Detroit where over 1,200 signatures were collected in 3 days with the demand for the release of the framed-up worker (although the signatures were brought in 1 day late); the issuing of thousands of leaflets, special posters, the collection of funds, and the mobilization of about 300 workers to attend the trial and with this pressure compel the release of the unemployed worker in spite of a verdict of guilty by a packed jury.

On the other hand, a serious mistake was made by the district buro, who, upon the recommendation of the Communist Party district committee, capitulated to bourgeois legalism in the cases of the 12 arrested unemployed workers in Grand Rapids. (A Detroit attorney was sent out to carry on a defense at the price of \$100 for two defendants.) This was done with the belief that the charges were "too serious" and that "we could not afford to take any chances." This, in spite of the fact that we had the splendid experience of self-defense carried on by our heroic Comrade Dimitroff in Germany.

The Grand Rapids comrades have undertaken correctly to mobilize the Automobile Workers Union and the Working Men's Association around the defense by organizing a joint defense committee under the direction of the I. L. D. in

Grand Rapids, and as a result have begun to correct the tactics with the other defendants.

A serious educational campaign on self-defense will have to be carried on in order to refrain from repeating the mistakes made in Grand Rapids.

PRISONERS RELIEF AND ADOPTING FAMILIES

Our district has carried on quite a successful campaign for prisoners relief ranking in the third place nationally. Most of the branches even though participating in this campaign have not been able to involve the majority of their members. We have failed in this campaign to bring forward the fight to establish rights for political prisoners, in receiving special privileges—as, for example, literature, visitors, delegates, and food. Regular house to house collections of relief and clothing have been undertaken only by two or three branches. Some branches have established communications with families of the long term prisoners, and the incoming district committee will have to popularize this activity in all the branches.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND PATRONAGE

With our campaign against Austrian fascism in the aid for victims of both Austrian and German fascism, for the demand of the release of Thaelman, not very much has been accomplished. According to the statement of the national office our district has collected only 15 percent of its assigned quota of \$260. This campaign must be mobilized to help strengthen the international relations of the workers in solidarity to aid the forces against Fascist reaction in all the countries.

Three of our branches have carried on a splendid campaign of patronage which it is worth while to mention, namely, the German branch, Greek branch, and Russian Bill Haywood branch, all of whom are in contact with the I. R. A. sections of the respective countries; raised funds and received direct communications. Our aim must be to develop this on a much larger scale.

The solidarity stamps of the victims of Austrian fascism are a good opening wedge to gain entrance into the various organizations and unions under reactionary leadership and to bring forward the policy of the I. L. D. Some attempts already have been made in sending stamps to the bakery workers unions and to the Detroit Central Labor body.

THE WORK IN THE OUTLYING SECTIONS

Serious attempts have been made to establish the I. L. D. throughout the outlying districts. Branches have been established in eight cities outside of the metropolitan area of Detroit, but have not been kept up consistently with visits from the district office. Our branch in Pontiac disappeared. The branch in Kalamazoo began to break up due to some inner factional struggles, the branch in Ann Arbor has also disappeared. And the branches in Saginaw and Muskegon had been considerably weakened. This all because of the lack of guidance from the district and because of not having concretely outlined their tasks.

The problems in these small towns are mainly the fight for the rights of the workers to meet and also the struggle amongst the farmers against foreclosures and the bankers. Attempts will have to be made to guide these branches and to have these branches developed on the basis of local issues of defense and also relief for political prisoners.

LABOR DEFENDER AND LITERATURE

Due to the increase in the price of the Labor Defender from five cents to ten cents a copy, the sales of the Labor Defender have dropped to one half. With the price of 5 cents a copy our district was able to sell 2,000, while at the present time only 1,000 copies have been sold. The main responsibility for the drop in the sales of the Labor Defender must directly be placed upon the inability of our district committee and section committees to convince the rank-and-file membership that this was an unavoidable step from the side of the national office. If serious attempts will be made to involve all members in the sale of the Labor Defender, there shall be no trouble in our district again reaching the point of 2,000 in the sales of the Labor Defender.

Special attention will have to be paid to the building of the Labor Defenders, and a Labor Defender committee that will be able to guide the sales of the Labor Defender at the factory gates and also placing it at the news stand in the workers' neighborhoods. All the members will have to be convinced to be active workers for the Labor Defender and the national slogan of "Every member a subscriber and every subscriber a member" will have to be applied concretely, systematically house to house canvassing will have to be developed with the sales and subscriptions for the Labor Defender.

Hand in hand with the campaign for the increase of the sale and subscriptions of the Labor Defender a consistent literature sale will have to be developed. The small penny pamphlets and two and three cent pamphlets can be easily sold if we approach the question that there are hundreds of thousands of workers living in our neighborhoods working in the factories where we are employed who would be willing to buy our literature just for being approached. If comrades are sent to the factory gates with literature there is no doubt that thousands of copies can be sold in no time.

EDUCATION

The education carried on in our district was entirely insufficient with the exception of a few lectures, three discussion outlines, several mass meetings, and the sale of thirty copies of the National Educational Bulletin, our educational work has been neglected. The district convention should especially criticize the district buro and the district committee for not establishing a functioning educational committee and for not issuing a regular monthly bulletin. Also for not establishing class for functionaries. This the incoming district committee will have to remedy.

THE BUILDING OF THE COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Our district convention must serve for the purpose of establishing collective leadership in the form of a district committee composed of members of the I. L. D. who are convinced that our organization has great possibilities of becoming a mass organization.

The district committee in the past was not elected from the best forces we had in the district and as a result was not able to guide the organization towards the basic sections of the working class.

The district committee that must be composed of a majority of workers shall meet at least once every month. It is the highest authority in the whole district and decides upon and sees that the various decisions are carried out. Every member of the district committee and the district buro must have individual assignments and must have individual responsibility. The attendance of meetings must be prompt and regular. The district committee must act as the leading and guiding body, and not as a rubber stamp to the district secretary and the Secretariat. The members of the district committee must be leaders in the sections and the branches.

There is also a necessity of establishing a city committee in which the various affiliated organizations will take part.

The lack of functioning department and subcommittees, especially the lack of a functioning finance committee, reflects itself in a constant financial crisis of the district office and sporadic and frantic campaign for funds to keep the district office going. Without a finance committee it was impossible to control the finances of the district and branches, and as a result serious shortcomings must be registered. Many of our branches are raising funds for all kinds of purposes but not for the I. L. D. The dues payment also is constantly fluctuating and many members dropped out of the organization because no serious attempts were being made to collect the dues before it was too late. It will be necessary that not only the district committee elect a finance committee, but every section and every branch should have a finance committee, whose main task must be: (1) Preparing of a working budget; (2) systematic check-up of all the incomes and expenditures.

OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

1. The district convention must elect a district committee of not less than 30 members, the majority of whom must be workers from shops.
2. The district committee shall meet not less than once every month.

OUTLINE FOR THE ACTIVITIES FOR DISTRICT COMMITTEE AND CONTROL TASKS

Special attention must be given by the incoming district committee for the organization of groups of I. L. D. members in the unions, with the object of developing I. L. D. work in these unions on relief and defense, also gradually develop with this activity the field for collective affiliation. First and foremost, we must secure the affiliation of the T. U. U. L. Union to the I. L. D.

The affiliation of the locals of the M. E. S. A. and the motor projects and Hudson locals of the A. F. L.

Affiliation of the existing Negro organizations can be secured with the Scottsboro case and raising of concrete issues such as discrimination, fight for jobs, local defense, etc. Close relations will have to be developed between the I. L. D. and the league of struggle for Negro rights, by actively participating in the organization and by bringing out sharply of the Scottsboro case and other issues around discrimination.

Departments will have to be established on a functioning basis by placing individual members of the district committee on these departments.

Functioning section committees will have to be established in the Ford, Negro, Hamtramck, and Grand Rapids sections, by having responsible district committee members in these section committees.

According to the decision of the national committee, the following control tasks are assigned:

Recruit not less than 200 members—reactivise 250 members that dropped out.

To establish at least three new branches in the Negro territory in Detroit, one in Hamtramck, and one new branch in the Negro territory in Grand Rapids.

Secure affiliation of at least one local of the M. E. S. A. and two of the A. F. L.

Secure affiliation of all independent unions of the T. U. U. L., Polish Chamber of Labor, and the E. I. W. O. Establish two shop branches—Fords and Motor Products.

Secure 200 subscribers to the Labor Defender and boost sale to 1,500 copies by July 1.

Carry out the group system on a functioning basis in at least 20 branches.

Organize a functionary class with at least 30 branch and section functionaries.

Establish functioning executive committees in all branches.

Establish direct contact with the I. R. A. section of Haiti.

To publish the Shield not later than May 15.

To have a registration of all members, to be completed not later than May 28.

These control tasks to be worked out concretely on a section basis not later than one week after the convention, when the district committee is to meet.

The CHAIRMAN. This whole thing was being arranged back in 1934.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us pass to the American Congress Against War and Fascism.

Mr. MIKULIAK. We have a 20-page report from officers who attended that congress in Cleveland, Ohio. The purpose of the congress, of course, was so widely publicized by the Detroit Communists that we wanted to see what kind of organization it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find out?

Mr. MIKULIAK. It was a strictly Communist demonstration. All the Communists of any importance were there.

The CHAIRMAN. That is now known as the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have a 20-page report of what went on there?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. There was a mass meeting held, and 10,000 people were present at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. This report may be copied into the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD

JANUARY 7, 1936.

From: Detectives Harry Mikuliak and Leo Maciosek.

To: Commanding officer, special investigation squad.

Subject: Report on the Third American Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 3, 4, and 5, 1936.

SIR: We attended the Third American Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, on January 3, 4, and 5, 1936. This congress was held in the Cleveland Auditorium and in the ballroom of the Hotel Hollenden, where the headquarters of the league were in room 256.

On January 3, 1936, the youth commission met in the ballroom of the Hotel Hollenden at 11 a. m. with Waldo McNutt, chairman. McNutt is the nephew of Governor McNutt of Indiana. He was in Detroit on June 19, 1935, where he testified in Judge Tom's court on a petition to force the board of education to let the American Youth Congress use the Cass Technical High School for their convention which was held on July 4, 5, 6, and 7, 1935, at which he presided. He is also on the executive committee of the League Against War and Fascism and is on the editorial staff of the publication, Fight, official organ of this league. He made a short speech of welcome to the 400 delegates and introduced, as the first speaker, James Lerner, national youth secretary of the youth commission, of the League Against War and Fascism. He opened his talk with a statement that President Roosevelt had assured his committee that peace would prevail at all costs. He spoke about the hunger marchers to Washington, D. C., where the marchers faced guns, about Hearst demanding a larger Army and Navy, about the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, where the pay is \$1 a day, and where the boss is an Army officer. He also stressed the fact that loyalty bills were passed in 20 States, that students have fought and are still fighting against these loyalty oaths, that Angelo Herndon, of the national committee of the Young Communist League, will become the leading fighter of the youth today. He also spoke about the thousands of signed petitions of the youth demanding that the Olympic games be withdrawn from Germany, not to donate to this fund, and to see that the United States athletes do not participate in these games. That student bodies, bound and formed together, are fighting militarism on the campus. That progress has been made against the shipping of munitions to Italy, that a representative of the Longshoremen's Union of California was here and would speak and give his report. He concluded his talk with the remarks, "We will be called agitators, radicals, or worse, but our forefathers were called worse names than these, but have outlived these names historically, to boycott the Hearst press, for he is branded for what he is, a war maker, a Fascist, and a war monger. We will blaze a war of peace, of freedom, and a greater democracy."

The election of the presiding youth committee then took place. They were: Bob Clemons, representing the Union Theological Seminary, New York; Harry Garrett, International Longshoremen's Association of California; Eddie Donohue, Al Hamilton, of the Young People's Socialist League; Lem Harris, Arthur Link, Farmer Union Juniors of North Dakota; Russell Berg, Young Men's Christian Association; Alex Karenias, Silas Track, Axel Rogers of the Pocket Book Makers Union of Chicago, Ill.; Victor Ludden, Workers Clubs, and Leona Wetback, of Cleveland, Ohio. They were all nominated. It was then moved and seconded to reopen the nominations, and Russel Burkhard, of the Young Men's Christian Association; Angelo Herndon; James Harner; Waldo McNutt; Clark Beck, of the Columbia University; Kornblock, New York City attorney; Sophie Falkin; and Bob Spivak, editor of the Cincinnati Bearcat, all were nominated.

This committee to meet at noon hour to form plans. Greetings were then in order from visitors. Maurice Schaeffer, of Washington, D. C., then proposed elections to the National Committee Against War and Fascism. Dr. Harry F. Ward, of the American Civil Liberties Union, to speak on these proposals at the 2 o'clock session.

Mother Ella Reeve Bloor was the next speaker. She is one of the oldest Communist Party members in the United States, being 73 years of age. Was in Detroit at the Communist Party headquarters in the Finnish Hall on August 8, 1933. She was active in Grand Rapids, Mich., passing out leaflets of the Automobile Workers Code at the Hayes Body plant. She also served 21 days in the Nebraska jail for fighting against war and fascism. She started her

speech with, "Why are we all so interested in this tremendous, great united front of farmers, youth, and students here today? To guide you, but not to guide too much. I come from a nine-thousand-mile trip through the Southwest and I saw groups struggling to organize and we must show the way." She spoke about the storm troopers of Hitler breaking into a workers club in New York City, resulting in a fight, "even if we are peaceful, most of us can fight if we have to. When I was in that jail for 21 days, I got acquainted with the other girls there. I was asked if I attempted to organize these girls; I didn't, for it was too late. We must educate the youth. We don't want fascism in America and we are not going to have fascism in America." She concluded with the statement that she is 73 years of age and her son is in the movement now.

Registration of the late delegates was then advised from the chair and that delegates must have tickets for which a fee of 50 cents was charged. Programs of the congress were on sale, 5 cents each, one is attached, and rooms C for a closed session of delegates took place in the afternoon.

Angelo Herndon, Negro, was the next speaker. He was very enthusiastically received. He brought greetings from the national committee of the Young Communist League. He said, "The Y. C. L. is one of the leagues against war and fascism. As a member of the Y. C. L., I know you have problems facing your youth in your own cities and towns. We must utilize every second to fight fascism." That the Government is becoming more Fascist, he is arousing his people to fight fascism by exposing Fascist reaction now developing in this country. He spoke against William Randolph Hearst. "We will not submit to his propaganda which will take away our rights, through lies and slander, that patriotism is the refuge of every scoundrel." We must boycott the Hearst press by explaining to the working people the danger of the propaganda now being spread and explain the rights belonging to us, as Roger Baldwin once said to him, when the white and black sit together, it makes the capitalist class see red. We must let them see more red, a system making everybody living equally, if you don't work you shall not eat, to these wasters, these good for nothing. We must unite, for we have nothing to lose but our chains; unite, you have nothing to lose but the Liberty League and Hearst, who are trying to rob us of our very life's blood.

Angelo Herndon was in Detroit and spoke at the Mount Olive Church on February 22, 1935, when the International Labor Defense and League of Struggle for Negro Rights held a meeting for the release of the Scottsboro boys and for the candidacy of Maurice Sugar for judge of the recorder's court of Detroit, Mich. Herndon was released from the Georgia chain gang, where he was convicted on an old slave law.

C. W. Fine, State senator of North Dakota, representing the Farmers Union of North Dakota, was then introduced and brought greetings from the farmers of North Dakota.

Arthur Link, Farmers Union Juniors of North Dakota, was the next speaker. He said that the junior farmers have an educational unit and a study topic held each year. Classes are held, managed by the State and National organizations. That the study topic for 1936 is Peace and Patriotism, but let us wage peace. Locals have been started in the colleges. Greetings were offered from the Farmers Union, Senior and Junior, of North Dakota.

Robert Clemons, representing the Union Theological Seminary of New York City, was the next speaker. He was the official representative from New York City of the Inter-Seminary movement—Atlantic seaboard section. He claimed that 22 schools are affiliated to this league and preach the program of the league to make this a warless world. Against the Tydings-McCormack bill now in the House: about joining the student strikes all over the United States on April 12; and that several members of his organization have suspended sentences hanging over their heads for activity in picketing, strikes, and demonstrations. He brought greetings from his organization and closed his speech.

Albert Hamilton, of the University of California, an observer and a member of the Young People's League of America, brought greetings from his comrades in Austria, who died to stave off fascism in Austria. That the score against him was nine to nothing, when he refused to take military training at the university, and that the score was rendered by nine old men in the Supreme Court, but that this score hasn't stopped him and his organization's fight against forced military training. He spoke about the aggressions of Japan against the Soviet Union, the only country today that is striving to build socialism. To support the Soviet Union, we, in the Socialist movement fought the war of 1917 and will fight

every other war, 1936, to bring the youth in the struggle for socialism, against war and fascism.

A refugee from Nazi Germany, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, was introduced, but he didn't speak at this time. He was in Detroit, on January 6, 1935, where he spoke at the Temple Beth El, and also spoke at the Arena Gardens.

Harry Garrett, representing the International Longshoremen's Union of San Francisco, Calif., was the next speaker. He brought greetings from those seamen who attempted to stop shipments of munitions to the Fascist governments. That since the strike, new leaders have been found in this movement to stop shipments to these governments. That the Longshoremen's Union pledged support to this league and asks for their support in return.

Waldo McNutt then made a short talk about pledging the support of the League Against War and Fascism in their fight to stop these shipments.

Paul M. Reid, executive secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism, was the next speaker. He said, "youth represents the hope of today in the fight against war and fascism, we must battle against two laws now before the House, preserving freedom of youth's leaders in schools and shops, securing the type of legislation to stop the war materials being manufactured. Youth will march on to secure even larger fronts to fight against war and fascism. I bring greetings to a bigger united front from the national office."

Discussion then followed Reid's talk. Three groups were then formed, group No. 1, met in the rear of the room on the right and discussed Militarism; group No. 2 met in the rear of the room on the left and discussed League of War and Fascism; and group No. 3 met in front of the speakers' stand and discussed National Youth Administration. All of these discussions were going on at the same time, and continued on until 5 p. m.

A dinner followed at the Hotel Allerton for distinguished guests and speakers of the congress. Mrs. Raymond P. Keesecker, chairman, and Mrs. Ralph Wertheimer in charge of arrangements.

During the morning session, the women's commission met at the Hotel Hollenden. Representatives from churches, Young Men's Christian Associations, trade unions, parent and teachers associations, fraternal orders, women's clubs, etc. Among the speakers were Mrs. Charles Lundquist, State chairman of the women's committee of the Farmer-Labor Party, of Minnesota; Mrs. Etta L. Durning, of the Utopian Society of California, supposed to represent 200,000 members; Regina S. Fox, Silk Workers' Union, American Federation of Labor affiliate; Mrs. Effie Kjorstood, Williston, N. Dak., Farmers Holiday Association; Mother Ella Reeves Bloor; Miss C. B. Olds, missionary from Yokohama, Japan; Julia Church Kolar, All-Nations Fellowship of Community Church, and many others. This session was held in club room ABC of the Hotel Hollenden (and we could not obtain entrance into this session).

Organizational structure and tactics commission met in room 303 of Hotel Hollenden and, as this is a small room, entrance was not permitted unless one was an accredited delegate with credentials. Charles Webber acted as chairman and Waldo McNutt, secretary. Plans for future work was discussed at this meeting. Organizational effectiveness, and circulation and distribution of the league's publications took place.

This was followed by a mass meeting, held at 8 p. m. in the Cleveland Auditorium with approximately 10,000 people present. Waldo McNutt opened this meeting, introducing Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman, who followed with the formal introduction of the evening's speakers, the first of whom was Mayor Harold H. Burton, of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, who said in part: "We are meeting in the Cleveland Municipal Auditorium. On this building you will find inscribed the statement that it is a monument conceived as a tribute to the ideals of Cleveland. We have faith in our ability to meet the issue of government through free discussion and free speech, on the firm basis of our constitutional popular representative government as our forefathers have developed it in the past and, as we from time to time may choose to amend it, in lawful manner in the future. We welcome this gathering to our great forum, with faith in God, with faith in America and faith in ourselves to meet the future in the deepest interest of humanity."

The meeting began with My Country 'Tis of Thee, but over half of the crowd didn't know the words; then a chorus sang to the tune of the Song of the Vagabonds, which goes like this: "War is coming nearer; Fascist trends grow clearer, nations rushing to the fall; but the people waken from their slumber shaken, form their ranks and heed the call; forward, forward," etc.

[NOTE.—The Cuyahoga County council of the American Legion through Mr. Leo P. Doyle, protested the appearance of the mayor in welcoming this Communist congress, but congress officials readily admitted that some of the delegates were Communists.]

Max Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen, a labor paper, brought greetings from labor of Cleveland, and said of the plan to do away with war and fascism, "I don't care whether the devil himself originated it, I'll go along with it."

Miss Carolyn Hart, of Pittsburgh, Pa., then told how she had been arrested in McKeesport, Pa., while trying to speak, and told how it was necessary for herself and the other speakers to chain themselves to poles if they wanted to stay there and continue, and concluded that the ones who organize wars are the ones who really should be chained to poles.

Langston Hughes, Negro, told of discriminations practiced against his race. Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, of the Euclid Avenue Temple, of Cleveland, Ohio, was the next speaker. That, for him, religion and war were incompatible. Of fascism, the rabbi said we have all the raw material out of which fascism can be molded and is being molded right here and now in our country.

Frank Palmer, of New York, a war veteran and editor of the People's Press, was the next speaker. He said, "When they come to take my boy to war there'll be a couple of us who won't go, and if they don't get me quick, there'll be more than two who don't go. In the last war they held an ideal before us and drove us through worse than I'd dare describe." He then made an appeal for funds, and first to offer \$100 was the International Workers Order; the second, the Communist Party, thunderous applause greeting this announcement. The collection and donations were \$1,350 in cash, \$915 in pledges, and a silver collection was taken up, amount not determined.

Wyndham Mortimer, organizer of the A. F. of L., of the White Motor Car Co., spoke next. He said in part: "Where profits are concerned, humanity lies out of the window."

Bishop Edgar F. Blake, of the Methodist Church of Detroit, Mich., was the next speaker. His opening remarks were made when strong lights, used to take moving pictures, were glaring in his face, said, "Tinge the glare of that light with the color of red," which appealed to the audience. He further added, "Never in American history was freedom of speech more necessary than it is today, and unless we can maintain our rights under the Constitution for the freedom of the press we cannot win out against war and fascism. It is the schools and colleges that we must look for the leadership that shall pioneer the way into a new day."

State Senator C. W. Fine, of North Dakota, spoke next. He said, "We believe there's enough to take care of everybody in America, and take care of them well. Farmers of this Nation are for peace."

Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the meeting and head of the league, then introduced General Butler as "A man whom Wall Street could not buy, a man who knows that war is a racket." His talk was also put on the radio, and he was the last speaker. When he got through denouncing war, fascism, and William Randolph Hearst, all three had been thoroughly denounced. A racket, he defined, is best described as something that is not what it seems to the majority of the people. Only the inside group knows what it is all about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few at the expense of the very many. Out of war a few people make huge fortunes. He said, "Stay at home and pay attention to your own knitting and you won't get into trouble." He also added, "The Legion assaults you so that you'll assault them. Don't let them divert your attention a minute. Don't lose sight of your objective for a minute."

The meeting concluded at 11:10 p. m. Communist literature was sold and distributed on the street adjoining the auditorium as well as inside the lobby. The publication Fight was sold in the hall. Such Communist newspapers and publications were sold as the Daily Worker, Friends of Soviet Union, China Today, New Masses, a Jewish Communist newspaper, the Federated Press, and all sorts of Communist leaflets and pamphlets were given away to and from the auditorium. Some of the radical publications are attached to this report that were bought at this place. These "red" newspapers were sold every day at every meeting.

Among the Detroit "reds" seen at the mass meeting were:

William Weinstone, organizer of the Communist Party for Michigan. Avrahm C. Mazerik, Communist Party name Mason, who was arrested by us on May 1, 1934, with Sophie Kishner, Weinstone's secretary, and for which Maurice Sugar

got a writ before Judge Toms on May 2, 1934. His wife is Marie Hempel, who was the treasurer of the Ford massacre monument fund in 1932 and is the secretary of the Detroit League Against War and Fascism and is also the secretary of the civil rights committee of Detroit. She, with Mazerik, were in room 622, Hollenden Hotel, both delegates, and are supposed to be husband and wife. Dr. Marie Salutsky, of Detroit, also a delegate and who donated \$5 at the open mass meeting is well known. Marie Salutsky was in room 503 of the Hollenden Hotel; Maurice Sugar, I. L. D. attorney, was also present. He was in room 552 at the Hollenden Hotel. Jane Mayer, former common-law wife of Sugar's, was at the convention with Gertrude and Emma Mayer. They are all school teachers in the Detroit schools, and occupied room 514X at the Hollenden Hotel.

Sonia Cohen, a sculptress, who made a bust of Stalin in Russia and at whose apartment F. S. W. meetings are held, was in room 738X at the Hollenden. Dr. N. J. Bicknell, an active member of the F. S. U., was there and registered in room 502X. He was also a delegate. N. B. Short, active in the F. S. U. in Detroit and organizer of the Farmers local, was there in room 543, Hollenden Hotel. He also is a delegate. Max Salsman, active "red," who has been in everything radical in or around Detroit, was also there, as was Joseph Salsman, of the Field Hotel. John Anderson, former Communist candidate for Governor in 1934, took in most of the meetings. Jack Aurringer, brought in during the Burroughs strike on July 10, 1934, and is a member of the John Reed Club and the Federated Press, was there. Tony Gerlach, known also as George Tillman, and in charge of the International Labor Defense in Detroit, Jack Wilson, organizational secretary of the Communist Party and very active. The Reverend John Bolleus, secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union for the Michigan district and who is active in the civil rights committee in Detroit; Catherine Perry, active in Detroit during the campaign of Sugar for judge and later active in his campaign for councilman; Mary Himoff, known also as Marie Tymeson, formerly of Detroit, who was active in teaching the Young Pioneers in the elements of communism, but who is now in Baltimore, Md. Harry Barr, of 14038 Sussex Avenue, who drove down in his Pontiac sedan; Harry Schuman, of the Cinema Guild, and Red Miller, one of the strikers at the Motor Products Corporations. Phyllis Franklin, alias Frank, who was arrested in Detroit for having herself chained to a light pole, was also very much in attendance at every session.

This report is concluded for the first day of the convention of the American League Against War and Fascism, January 3, 1936.

Respectfully,

Detective HARRY H. MIKULIAK.
Detective LEO MACIOSEK.

First indorsement, from the special investigation squad to the chief of detectives.

—————, *Inspector.*

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD.

January 7, 1936.

From: Detectives Harry Mikuliak and Leo Maciosek;
To: Commanding Officer, Special Investigating Squad;
Subject: Report on the second day of convention, held January 4, 1936, at Cleveland, Ohio, Public Auditorium.

SIR: The second day of the convention of the American League Against War and Fascism continued at the Cleveland Public Auditorium, January 4, 1936; starting at 10 a. m. with Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman; who called for several verses of "We Shall Not Be Moved" sung. Greetings from the executive committee were then offered from the chair with the statement, that a larger delegation would be present, had they not been in jail. The fourth verse of this revolutionary song was then sung and the business of the session started with nominations for the central committee offered. The same committee was nominated without any new names offered, it being moved and seconded that Dr. Harry Ward, Waldo McNutt, Paul Reid, and Dorothy Poliakov remain for the coming year. This motion was passed unanimously.

Councilman Joseph A. Artl of the city council of Cleveland, Ohio, was then introduced and brought greetings from the largest ward in the city, "The City of Freedom and the City of Free Speech." "That the people of the United States are today oppressed because of the late war and upon you people here

today, the dread of the next war would be carried." [NOTE.—Mr. Artl is the councilman who voted to rent the auditorium to this convention for the sum of \$1 but was overridden by the other councilmen.]

The order of business continued, with the adoption of rules of procedure, presiding committee (not less than 40 people on this committee), procedure committee to hear complaints of delegates; resolutions and nominating committees, with the presiding committees nominated from the national executive bureau.

Reports from commissions and resolution: Handing in of resolutions adopted; 10-point program of action adopted 2 years ago in September, to be taken up for any changes in this program by the Commission of War and Fascism.

Rules and procedures adopted, no objections.

Greetings of 3 minutes each, national activities:

Eleanor Brannon, acting chairman of the New York City committee, who spent a night in jail in Jersey City, N. J., of the Women's International League, founded 20 years ago by Jane Addams against war, claiming 27 countries have branches of the organization, claiming that the League Against War and Fascism is the key in its struggle against all wars and pledges its support.

Max Bedacht, representing the International Workers Order, spoke next. He brought greetings from 95,000 members of this order, which is a Communist affiliate, being an insurance arm of the Communist Party. Bedacht continued: "Our members are an integral part of this league, only a united front will bring us victory. We hope this congress will defeat fascism and that this congress will be successful in its fight against war and fascism."

Charles Webber, Methodist Federation Service, composed of members and ministers of the Methodist Church, "Our members have openly declared that they will never take arms, offensive or defensive, in any war. Our members have also gone out on the picket line in sympathy with strikers." [NOTE.—Mr. Webber has been the secretary of this service federation for 3 years.]

Winnifred L. Chappell, representing the Social Service Commission of the Methodist Church, of which she is secretary, was the next speaker. She said, "I have become a member of this league since it first was organized, in 1932. We wish to stand shoulder to shoulder with you people to go ahead and gain our objective, namely, to fight against war and fascism."

A Mr. Wimmer, representing the Workers Sick and Benefit Association, with a membership of 50,000 members in 38 States: "We are affiliated with this league and give whatever support we can. No fascist is allowed or permitted to become a member in our organization."

Tom Wright, editor of New America, then spoke: "Abolition of the profit system, and we pledge complete devoted support. We will stay in it up to our necks and even up to our heads. Stopping of war and fascism by defying war interests. We must galvanize our people in this country into immediate action; this league is the war against war and fascism."

George David, representing the Journeymen Tailors of America, an affiliate with the League Against War and Fascism, Local No. 144, brought greetings and continued support of this league's work.

Paul Reid, executive secretary of the league, then made an incomplete report on delegates financing standing in the affiliates: 34 paid-up affiliates; 12 not paid up, majority American Federation of Labor locals; 108 indorsements from various locals, majority American Federation of Labor locals.

Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, then was introduced. His introduction brought down the house: "Warmest greetings of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. The Communist Party cooperated 3 years ago to bring together all antiwar congresses. We must never lose sight of Mussolini, of Japan, and of Hitler, and all over the world, every imperialist nation is preparing for a beginning of a new world war. Our job is to work out a plan of immediate action against these nations and require immediate mass action. We supported the league actively, built it, and believe it possible to build the American League Against War and Fascism into a much broader united front. Our job is to lay the basis by swinging more affiliates to this league. In every city and State we must have that policy, to cooperate in one single action against war. The American League must enter into a movement much larger than at present. The Communist Party supports unconditionally the 10-point program. We have our own antiwar program, based on the overthrow of the capitalist system. The Communist Party declares its readiness to build the league for further extension

against the forces of war. Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party and on the executive committee of this league, will participate in all commission meetings."

It was announced by Chairman Ward that observers from the Socialist Party and from the League of Social Democracy were present and made welcome.

Mrs. Victor Berger, of the Socialist League, speaking as an individual but a member of the Women's Inter-League for Peace and Freedom, an affiliate with the League Against War and Fascism, then spoke: "I'm a member of the Socialist Party for the past 38 years. To wipe war off of the face of the world, the Socialist Party is not ready to join forces, because at one time we threw snowballs at each other. The common danger is here. Old parties are breaking up. My husband was sentenced to the penitentiary for 20 years during the last war, so even if I was not in the trenches, I know what war is. It is very important for us all to get together. My privilege to be a guest of the Friends of the Soviet Union on several occasions, and over in Russia, where I rubbed shoulders with the Red Army, shows that the Soviet Union is the only country who is working for peace. The Red Army will keep peace, and I realized this when I was there. Direct action, my way, would be to send the right man or men to Washington, not the way Butler said to send telegrams, you can send telegrams if you want to, but telegrams cost money. We must gather our forces together and overcome the obstacles in our way, put Hearst out of business, overcome patriotic societies, the Gold Star Mothers, who should be in the first row right here and not in the conservative group, to overcome universities, the Army and Navy, our teachers must be overcome. One united front needed to overcome war. Put your senators on the spot with this question, Are you for or against war? My faith is with every comrade who is against war and fascism. I'm not for stalling, but for marching, marching, marching, etc.

Waldo McNutt then made several announcements, one was to the effect that free housing for delegates was still available. He also read several telegrams, one from the World's Committee Against War and Fascism and another from Tom Mooney, in the San Quentin jail in California.

Dr. Ward then introduced Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, who is on the resolutions committee, report not complete by him at this time. Ward continued, the world is mobilized for war today as never before. We must stop shipments to other parts of the world and stop the invasions on other people's property. Shut off all aid to Mussolini and all oil, and Mussolini would have to stop the invasion of Ethiopia. We must watch the plans of Hitler. Develop ways and means of direct action in dealing with the invaders of Ethiopia and China, multiply the literature distribution. Delegates to ask what kind of militant literature they want to read and need most for distribution in their respective cities. One of our problems is finance. No overtime for a radical association. [Laughter.] We are pointing the way where all people are working for love. I have received the best of cooperation from the Communist Party. To put pressure on our Government to stop oil getting to Mussolini, sailors are present who were on the ship *Spiro* who walked off the ship in protest against the shipping of munitions to Norway. The Tydings-McCormack bill now in the House must be attacked from all fronts. We must win the fight against war and fascism.

Paul Reid, executive secretary of the league, then read of the organization developments for the past year.

One hundred and one active city committees active today.

Three thousand three hundred and thirty-two delegates, representing 1,800,000 people a year ago, now have 4,500 members today, 1935.

Seven national affiliates, 302 local affiliates, 429,000 various pamphlets distributed since the league was organized, and the national magazine of the league is Fight. Fight has the largest distribution of any other peace publication today.

Total finances for 1935 received	\$12, 500
Total distributions for 1935	10, 600
Balance	1, 900

Other expenses left us with exactly \$62 in the treasury.

For 1936 a budget of \$18,000 is necessary to carry on the work of the league. The work of the league is, campaign against Hearst newspapers, news reels, and etc., by leaflets, etc.

Ethiopia, freedom from the invasion of Mussolini.

Olympic games in Berlin, a campaign against holding the games there, and the freedom on Angelo Herndon, where we can proudly point to as a victory.

Eleven conferences for cities have been held in 1935 and seven State conferences.

He concluded with a pat on the back for the splendid work accomplished by this league and hoped for better understanding for 1936, to a greater and more broad united front.

The afternoon session started at 2 p. m. with Max Hayes, chairman. The trade-unions delegates were introduced and brought greetings; they were—

Charles Schaff, Cleaners Union of New York City.

William Carrigan, attorney in Cleveland, connected with the I. L. D.

Paul Whitney, Brotherhood of Trainmen Union from Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Corra, railroad workers of Mexico City, who represents 54,000 workers in Mexico City, railroad workers of Mexico City, who spoke in Spanish.

John W. Wesworley, Pittsburgh Steel Workers Union, who spoke about the war mongers and war makers of Pittsburgh, Pa.

A Mr. Long, representing the Longshoremen's Union of New York City, told about the attempts of his union to stop ships from shipping war materials to foreign countries. A comrade named Salsberg from the same union made a similar talk.

A W. P. A. worker from New York City, name not announced, spoke like a born agitator about conditions among the W. P. A. workers on jobs in New York. He spoke about the various strikes among these workers and what a united front did for them in several instances.

Comrade Werber, of the Musicians' Union of New York City. He spoke about the W. P. A. discriminating against musicians in New York City.

Paul Werber, of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, extended greetings and for all unions to amalgamate into one big strong union.

Mike Stanwich, United Mine Workers, west Pennsylvania, representing 2,500 mine workers.

Oliver Brock, central labor organization, representing 20,000 members.

Jack Marskey, Bricklayers' Union of New York City, he attacked Hugh Johnson and his policies.

S. H. Solomanic, Textile Workers' Union of New York City, a fiery speaker.

J. C. Morgan, Frisco Longshoremen's Union.

Charles Zimmerman, New York City, spoke, and this is where a near riot began. Solomanic jumped up and said: "You are unfair in your discussions about fascism and misleading the people into believing that all Italians are Fascists." Solomanic is an Italian and got the floor a second time, when he amplified his objections. After about 15 minutes the crowd sat down and the bedlam quieted down to where the meeting continued, being addressed by an unnamed Negro, due to the confusion, from New York City, who spoke about the exploiting of the colored races all over the United States in W. P. A. jobs, educated Negroes driving cabs, pick-and-shovel work, and unable to obtain white-collar jobs because of their color.

Mrs. Charles Lundquist, State chairman, women's committee, Farmer-Labor Party from Minnesota, spoke briefly on this Farmer-Labor ticket and what it means to the working people.

Ben Cole, Furriers' Union (workers) of New York City.

Ben Gold spoke about penetrating the trade-unions.

Bartec, South Bend, Ind., Auto Trade Workers Union, Studebaker local, and member of the Socialist Party.

Louis Weinstock, Painters' Union of New York City, about discrimination on Federal projects, scabbing among the nonunion painters, and so forth.

Ben Martin, who spoke on trade-unions.

Meeting concluded at 6 p. m.

The evening session started at 8 p. m., with Dr. Harry F. Ward as chairman. Approximately 4,000 present.

HENRI BARBUSSE MEMORIAL MEETING

A music program opened the meeting. The chairman made a brief talk about Henri Barbusse, originator of the League Against War and Fascism, in commemoration of his death, of a great militant comrade who passed away but whose work was left to us to carry on.

Music by Dr. Jerome Gross, violinist, followed Dr. Ward's talk.

Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, was then introduced, who received applause lasting fully 5 minutes, with the delegates on their feet howling and applauding vigorously. He made a typical "red" speech. That Henri Barbusse was purified by the last war, against any future wars, that he never faltered in his fight against war and fascism and died in Moscow last year, where he wanted to die. He was a militant, heroic leader of the proletarian class and wrote a book on the bells of capitalism named "Under Fire." He strived for the socialism, the kind of socialism that is known in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He devoted his entire life to the welfare of the working class. "I have seen in the local papers that I am suspected of being a Communist. Well, everyone knows that I represent the Communist Party, so that's no news. We of the Communist Party stand for unity with this congress, against war and fascism. We want to unite with you, the trade-unions, churches, schools, fraternal organizations, and so forth. We will not be satisfied with a million members, nor 5 or 10 million, but we want 20 million members to joint that peace-loving country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." (Another round of applause greeted his concluding remarks, which stood out as compared with the other speakers.)

Roger Baldwin then spoke. He was in Paris, France, to the funeral of Henri Barbusse, a man who believed in socialism, a man who I consider a saint, touring the country as he did with only a part of a lung. Three hundred thousand people marched in his funeral procession through Paris, 4 miles through Paris to the cemetery, and we did not see one policeman. Why? Because the streets of Paris belong to the workers. The Socialist Party of France is working to free the working class from war and fascism. (His speech lasted for about an hour.)

The violinist appeared again and a chorus sang.

John Bolong, from Quebec, Canada, a Frenchman, who spoke in French and represented the Canadian League Against War and Fascism, spoke about attending the Barbusse funeral.

General Fang Chen-Wu, spoke in Chinese, briefly in behalf of the millions oppressed in the Far East. Dr. Hansu Chen interpreted for the general. He extended greetings from these millions, and concluded that he will find a way yet to beat the Japanese imperialist sooner or later.

Two acts and a dance group followed the general's talk by the Playhouse Settlement and People's Theater of Cleveland, Ohio. The Hungarian male chorus of 30 voices sang songs in the Hungarian language. The delegates at large sang the People's Song. A recitation by a group of Uncle Sam Wants You, \$30 a month to dig trenches, man guns, setting up barbed wire entanglements, sleeping in the mud, and committing legalized murder, etc. "Private Hicks" was then presented by the People's Theater, of Cleveland, Ohio. The meeting closed with this play, and the various newspaper hawkers started selling their radical and Communist literature.

This report concludes the second day of the convention of the American League Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, on January 4, 1936.

Respectfully,

HARRY H. MIKULIAK, *Detective*,
LEO MACIOSEK, *Detective*.

(1st indorsement, from the special investigating squad to the chief of detectives. ——— ———, *Inspector*.)

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD,
January 7, 1936.

From Detectives Harry Mikuliak and Leo Maciosek:

To Commanding Officer, Special Investigation Squad.

Subject: Report on the Third Session of the Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 5, 1936.

SIR: The third and final session of the Third American Congress Against War and Fascism opened at 10 a. m., in the music hall at the Cleveland Auditorium, Cleveland, Ohio, January 5, 1936, with Dr. Harry F. Ward as the chairman.

Dr. Ward gave his commission report at the morning's session.

WOMEN'S COMMISSION

Composed of churches, clubs, fraternal organizations, professional clubs, and etc., 200 delegates in this commission. Resolutions of protest were read into the record, one of protest against the exploitation of Negro women, military training in schools, a pamphlet was approved to be made up in the form of a resolution for distribution. A telegram from Mother Ella Reeves Bloor was read, greetings to the Women's Commission. Dr. Ward then announced that the program adopted by the Women's Commission would be printed in its entirety.

EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION

Richard Bauman, chairman. Resolution read approving the commission's protest, opposing fascism being taught in schools, demanding the abolition of military training in schools, opposed to the propaganda of the American Legion, the Manufacturers' Association and the Hearst Press, "Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we take it upon ourselves to educate the people, the league should oppose all Fascist legislation. Teachers should be free to teach in the schools, regardless of political affiliations. All teachers should join the Teachers' Association. We propose the school buildings be made available to their communities for their political expressions. The league is against the discrimination of students by Fascist organizations (referring to the expulsion of students for their communistic activities)."

This resolution was unanimously passed as read.

Greetings from various organizations and affiliates were read into the record by Waldo McNutt, secretary.

NATIONAL YOUTH COMMISSION

Waldo McNutt, chairman, American student unions and youth congress are opposed to militarism in the schools. He discussed what the youth in America can do in the event of strikes, distribution of leaflets, and so forth. He then made an announcement that 15 youths were arrested on Saturday night at the Circle Theater for picketing, where the Red Salute was being shown. A resolution was passed to see Mayor Burton and to obtain the release of these pickets, who were delegates to this convention, but the committee elected to see the mayor did not return with their report. A resolution against the Olympic games in Berlin, Germany, was then read and approved. A resolution demanding the release of Caroline Hart, of Pennsylvania, and others for anti-Fascist speeches made, where they were arrested and convicted and are now pending on appeal. To protest against the two bills now pending before the House, bills numbers S. 2253 and H. R. 6427, the former bill, making it a felony to incite the Army and Navy to riot and the Kramer sedition bill. Another resolution reading, "We, the youth, refuse to build fortunes for the rich, we demand the right to be able to organize in the schools and in the shops." All of the resolutions were passed unanimously, no objections.

FARM COMMISSION

Kate Harris, from the Farmers' Union of Minnesota. "It is the duty of this league to spread its ideals among the farmers and the farmer unions." We oppose the invasion of Ethiopia and China by Italy and Japan. Every community should have league groups to protest against the propaganda of the press. Protests should be made to small-town officials for showing Fascist pictures. All politicians should be put on the spot for their Fascist stand. Resolution adopted, no objections.

Greetings from various individuals and organizations were then read by the secretary, Waldo McNutt.

CHILDREN'S COMMISSION

Mrs. Richard Bauman and Kate Harris. First resolution, abolition of war-type war pictures in Hearst Press and show houses. "While we are educating the adults Hearst is educating the children and the children are a bigger majority than we are." We can educate the children to solicit funds for strikers during strikes and to be active in various ways to help the strikers. Coughlin has schools to teach the children against communism, but not a word

of schools to fight war and fascism. All of the resolutions "ayed" and passed unanimously, no objections.

Songs led by the Negro delegation. Ah Ain't Gonna Fight No Mo, also Lay Down My Uniform on the White House Steps.

Dr. Harry Ward: Tribute was paid the soldiers in the late war, all imperialist wars, and the China and Japan War, the Italian-Ethiopian War. (All silent for 1 minute, standing.)

VETERANS COMMISSION

Harold Dickerson, claiming that 50 veterans, 4 active members of the American Legion and Veteran of Foreign Wars, were represented by him. Resolution was read, opposition to the Bankers Association, the Manufacturers Association, the Liberty League, and the boards of commerce. All were passed, "ayed," no objections.

RELIGIOUS COMMISSION

Rev. Herman Reissig, chairman: "Our aim is to use religious organizations to enjoy peace, to join all affiliates of the league." The religious organizations are opposed to military training and militarism in churches and schools. The bills now in Congress are for the suppression of citizenship relative to free speech. Lack of funds to publish leaflets in accordance with the peace policies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All resolutions were passed, no objections.

Roger Baldwin then was introduced. He spoke regarding the leaflets, pamphlets, and literature. That the lack of funds for this ammunition prevents us from educating the masses in our fight for peace. (NOTE.—A note was passed to Dr. Ward, who interrupted Roger Baldwin's speech, protesting the using of "Soviet Union" so much, as this league is not supposed to be affiliated in any way, shape, or form to the Communist Party.) Ruling from the Chair by Ward: "It is the privilege of the national organization to alter the program of the city commission's if we see fit." The national committee consists of 50 people. Baldwin continuing: To work to stop shipments of ammunition, to expose every move toward war and fascism, to resist all military training in schools. All of the resolutions were passed, "ayed" from the floor, no objections.

Greetings were again read by Waldo McNutt, one from the National Guard One Hundred and Sixth Infantry, of New York City, and others.

CREDENTIALS COMMISSION

Prof. Robert Morss Lovett: That a total of 2,125 organizations were represented by the delegates, numbering from California, 11; Connecticut, 13; Illinois, 246; Michigan, 197 delegates; Pennsylvania, 144; Antifascist, 17; educational and fraternal organizations, 35; antiwar and religious organizations, 60 delegates; A. F. of L. various trade-unions, 218; women's organization, 209; and others, unable to obtain, as were read off too quick.

Visitors were introduced by Dr. Ward, who then had the treasurer, William P. Mangold, make a statement in the form of a resolution, about paying dues yearly to the national office, the locals to continue their monthly assessments, 50 cents for employed per year for the national office and 10 cents per year for unemployed to the national office. That national certificates of denominations of from \$1 each to \$1 to be issued by the national office for the purpose of raising funds for propaganda. To contact sympathetic organizations and individuals for the sale of these certificates. All "ayed," no objections.

Professor Lovett (continuing): To oppose America's interference in foreign countries and to demonstrate against war and fascism, picketing of the consuls, etc., to resist our American Fascists, all forms of discrimination against the foreign-born, opposed to support wars as a condition of citizenship, to demand a total disarmament as suggested by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All resolutions passed, "ayed," no objections.

MINORITY COMMISSION REPORTS

Dr. Harry Ward: "Support peace policies of the Soviet Union, dismantling of all war equipment." Roger Baldwin then jumped up and defended the using of the words "Soviet Union," claiming that the Soviet Union "is the only country today promoting peace."

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS

Lorena Loresa, Brazilian delegate (his speech was translated): "We, the Brazilian people, are exploited by the United States and English capitalists and ask your support in suppressing these exploiters. We demand our freedom. People are being murdered by these Fascist elements. It is these United States imperialists that are responsible for our condition. Unite against war mongers."

Geno Mendas, representing the people's front in Mexico City, Mexico. He spoke in Spanish, but briefly, and brought greetings.

Gen. Fang Chen-Wu was then introduced. His speech was in Chinese and was translated in American by Dr. Hansu Chen: "I'm not a Communist but a revolutionist, a fighter for the liberties of China." In a treaty in 1893 England jeopardized China and in a sense is responsible for Chinese plight today.

A Japanese woman, name unknown, then spoke about the Manchurian invasion by the Japanese Imperialist Army. Many refused to fight and committed suicide rather than shoot into the ranks of their own people, their brothers in China.

Greetings by McNutt again.

Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, introduced by Dr. Ward as a refugee from Nazi Germany. He brought greetings from antiwar groups in Germany. He spoke against the Hitler and Mussolini dictatorships: "We must protest their bloody fascism; Germany's aims are to seize Austria and then attack the Soviet Union. Such a government can't last long. If we had a united front we would not have fascism in Germany now."

J. A. McClellan, representing the Canadian League Against War and Fascism. He attacked J. P. Morgan, for the law that was passed in Canada, 3 years ago, section 98 of the Criminal Code. In 1934 eight Communists were arrested and convicted, sentenced to jail for 4 years. "We of Canada who are not Communists will soon be." He spoke about a hunger march from Vancouver to Ottawa, but on entering cities they were dispersed by the police. He claimed to represent 350,000 people in Canada. That previous to the last election the Liberal Party had 136 members in Parliament; that after election 42 members was all they had, and blames the loss of their representatives to police action on the hunger marchers.

Professor Lovett, this time representing the Socialist Party. He resolves, in the form of a resolution, to support the Congress Against War and Fascism, inviting all trade unions to join this league. Earl Browder, Paul Porter, and Zimmerman defended this resolution; and passed "ayed" unanimously, no objections.

A resolution by the city commission to the mayor of Cleveland, Harold H. Burton, demanding the release of the 15 pickets arrested for picketing the Circle Theater, playing the Red Salute, passed unanimously, and a committee elected to present the demands.

Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, again spoke, against discrimination, vigilantism, radio, and press, attacks on foreign-born, and the setting up of a special group to fight this propaganda. The abolition of the laws that favor the deportation of foreign-born on a political basis. "This class of fascism must stop. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the only country in the world that solves the problem of the majority and the minority. Unity reigns." Applauded and resolutions passed, no objection.

Johnson, colored, of California, minority report: "Negro people are in the minority in this country, therefore exploitation is wholesale. The Negroes are the first to feel the weight of fascism; Negroes are attacked on all fronts: Jim Crowism in the South and discrimination in the North. He announced a Negro congress in Chicago, Ill., for February 22, 1936.

LITERATURE COMMISSION

Joseph Pass, editor of Fight: He recommended that moneys received from the sale of this publication be returned immediately and not used for other purposes, as "we need it for our propaganda work. Don't forget, pamphlets and magazines are our ammunition." The Kinsmen's branch of the league received meritorious mention, through Comrade Rosenfield, representative, as the champion individual salesman in the United States for the publication Fight, selling 300 copies per month, "and turning in the cash."

A collection was then taken up by Waldo McNutt and amounted to \$640 in cash and pledges amounting to \$200; total, \$840.

The morning session concluded at 5 p. m., with the special nationality conference continued until 7:30 p. m.

The evening session started at 8 p. m. in the Music Hall, with 2,000 present. First business on the agenda was the reading of greetings by Waldo McNutt. Dr. Harry Ward then announced that a total of 992 organizations were represented at this congress. He then introduced Joseph Pass, editor of Fight, who gave an approximate number of cities which subscribed for this publication. They were: Cleveland, 1,710; Pennsylvania, 1,090; Jersey City, N. J., 13,000; 6,640 per month to New York City; 1,000 for New England; that the central distributing agency distributed and sold 2,500 per month at the various newsstands; that a total of 600,000 copies for 6 months' circulation is aimed at.

Paul Reid then introduced the People song, which was sung by the delegates at large.

Dr. Harry Ward then announced that the proceedings pamphlets will be ready in about 2 or 3 weeks.

More telegrams of greetings were read by McNutt. One from the Reverend Mr. Bollens, of Detroit, "Even if he was at the congress"; one from unit 10, section 24, of the Communist Party, Detroit, was read, as were several others.

RESOLUTIONS COMMISSION

Roger Baldwin: "Against the two bills now before the United States Congress," voicing the league's opposition to these bills. Resolution adopted, "ayed," no objections.

More greetings were read by McNutt, from the Greek Workers Club of Detroit, the Michigan Committee of the International Workers Order, the Detroit City Committee of the International Workers Order, and the Russian Mutual Aid Society, branch No. 13, of Detroit. (Note: All Communist affiliates.)

Dr. Ward then read two resolutions of greetings, one to Mexico and the other to the people's front in France, by cable. No objections.

Miss Ella Brandon, a representative of the resolutions committee, then proceeded to read 19 resolutions, all protests of one kind or another. All "ayed," no objections to any of them.

Roger Baldwin then made a suggestion, wiring the Senate their opposition to two bills now pending, S. 2253 and H. R. 6427. "Ayed," no objection.

State Senator W. C. Fine, of North Dakota, read the following resolutions of protest, against the vigilantes on the west coast, for liberation of workers' chests in Minneapolis, Minn., against company unions, against discriminations among the relief workers, and trade-unions. "Ayed," no objections.

Miss Ella Brandon again read some resolutions on organizational structure and recommends the establishing of affiliates of the league in trade unions all over the United States, a resolution to the maritime workers of the Pacific coast congratulating them on their attempts to organize the seamen and the stopping of shipments of war materials to Fascist governments, also a resolution on the Soviet Union's peace policy. "Aye" for the resolutions, without a dissenting vote, passed them.

Dr. Ward then read a rough financial statement for the congress:

Expenses	-----	\$2, 849. 98
Income	-----	3, 017. 88
The profit to date	-----	167. 90

Waldo McNutt then read some more greetings, mentioning that Eddie Cantor, the comedian, in his radio broadcast of January 5, 1936, offered \$5,000 for the best story on how to keep the United States out of the war. McNutt advised the league members to go after this.

Mrs. Annie Gray, of the national executive board of the league, then read off some of the members "elected" to this board for 1936.

The partial list included Thomas R. Amsley, Israel Amter, Roger Baldwin, Mrs. Clinton Bauer, Max Bedacht, Ella Reeves Bloor, LeRoy Bauman, Harry Garrett, Earl Browder, Margaret Forsythe, Mike Gold, Rabbi Goldstein, Gil Green, Clarence Hathaway, Donald Henderson, Ray Hudson, Langston Hughes (colored), Winifred L. Chappel, Corliss Lamont, James Lerner, Waldo McNutt, Henry Sheppard, Lincoln Steffens, Louise Thompson, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Louis Weinstock, Mrs. Victor Berger, Prof. Paul Rogers, Paul Peterson, A. C. Rogers, Lem Harris, Rabbi Brickner, Arthur Link, Rabbi Felix Levy, James Ford (colored), Rev. J. H. Bollens, Max Hayes, N. B. Short, Syndham Mortimer, Frank Palmer, Paul Crosby, and many others.

All of these were put up to a vote, without any names being offered from the floor, and passed unanimously, without a dissenting vote cast. It appeared like a "cut and dried" election.

"Visible support" of the united front "Solidarity Forever" followed, with the various delegates representing 1,907,569 people; 2,201 delegates, about a dozen of these delegates from various organizations with placards bearing the inscription who they represented, came on the platform and, at Dr. Ward's suggestion, interlocking their arms, established the "visible united front."

A duet with McNutt and Reid over the microphone, singing the "Solidarity Forever," and Dr. Ward's blessing, the meeting closed at 10 p. m.

Again, on the way out of the auditorium of the music hall, the various Communist leaflets, magazines, pamphlets, and the Daily Worker were being sold. Professor Bergman was noticed at this last session with a group unknown to us. He is in the research department at the board of education at Detroit, and was active in behalf of the "reds" in Detroit on several occasions when he spoke at Grand Circus Park.

Respectfully submitted,

First endorsement from the special investigation squad to the chief of detectives.

Mr. MIKULIAK. I also have some photographs showing leaders of the organization.

(The photographs referred to were received in evidence, and marked "Mikuliak Exhibit No. 2, October 20, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. You have certain material there.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir. This relates to Karl Prussian.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that material show?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I have here the seal of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan. This statement shows that Karl Prussian has been assigned as manager for the Midwest Daily Record of Michigan and is authorized to collect and receive funds, subscriptions, and to handle all other business relating to the Midwest Daily Record. It states that he should be given full cooperation as one in authority to deal for the party and paper in that vicinity. That is signed by Earl Reno. It shows how the people of the locals in Detroit take this paper as the official paper. It shows that the people in that part of the State where they live in Detroit can be informed of the program through the Midwest Daily Record.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence, and marked "Mikuliak Exhibit No. 3, October 20, 1938.")

Mr. MIKULIAK. I have here a questionnaire on the life and activities of leading party functionaries. This questionnaire covers date and place of birth, date and place of birth of parents, economic status of family; sources of income, description of home environment, number of children in family, religious training, religious affiliation, political parties to which parents belong, time of beginning to work, what kind of work, history of the various jobs held, length of time in each job, name of company for which they have worked, and so forth.

(The questionnaire was received in evidence and marked "Mikuliak Exhibit No. 4, October 20, 1938.")

Mr. MIKULIAK. I have also here a call to a section convention, section No. 3, district No. 7, signed by Karl Prussian, organizer; John Hell, chairman; and Ray Blossom, organizing director.

(The matter referred to was received in evidence and marked "Mikuliak Exhibit No. 5, October 20, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. What do you know about Lawrence Emory?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He was formerly connected with the workers' school in Detroit, and a correspondent of the Daily Worker.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the school?

Mr. MIKULIAK. The workers' school had all subjects on Communist Party agitation, how to get the man working alongside you into the Communist Party, and how to get people interested so they will join the Communist Party. It shows how to prepare those people when they are to go around agitating on a particular job.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a member of the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he was expelled from that organization.

Mr. MIKULIAK. That was testified to, I believe. I have here a copy of the Guildsman, published by a committee of Guild members.

(The matter was received in evidence and marked "Mikuliak Exhibit No. 6, October 20, 1938.")

Mr. MIKULIAK. That man has been arrested for criminal syndicalism, and was a candidate for United States Senator from Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Mr. MIKULIAK. I am referring to Mr. Emory.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Maurice Sugar?

Mr. MIKULIAK. He is a Communist. The Communist Party sponsored his candidacy on several occasions. I have here a poster reading, "You are invited tonight to a big banquet for Maurice Sugar for judge of recorder's court."

(The poster was received in evidence and marked "Mikuliak Exhibit No. 7, October 20, 1938.")

Mr. MIKULIAK. The Speakers announced for the meeting were Maurice Sugar, William Weinstone, and Ed Williams.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these sit-down strikes come under your observation?

Mr. MIKULIAK. More or less, showing that the Communist Party was in them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that the Communists have played a very important part in those strikes?

Mr. MIKULIAK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they present at various times directing the strikes?

Mr. MIKULIAK. On all occasions we knew that they took particular interest in the sit-down strikes. They would get jobs for 3, 4, 5, or 6 days in the shop before the strike was called. Then they would have the plant shut down. They would call the strike and sit down. They would pull the switches stopping the work. Reuther and Bishop were on the job for just a few days before the plants shut down. George Edwards, who has been very active in Detroit, in issuing orders for the various picket lines and demonstrations, also got a job for 4 or 5 days before the plant was shut down.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say that in all those plants the Communists would first get jobs for a few days before the strike.

Mr. MIKULIAK. Not in all of these, but they were not very well organized at first.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you care to tell us what was done by the authorities to cope with the sit-down strikes?

Mr. MIKULIAK. We have another witness, the superintendent of the police department, who will go into that for you.

The CHAIRMAN. You would rather not go into that.

Mr. MIKULIAK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

We thank you very much for your testimony.

(Thereupon, at 12 noon, the committee took a recess until 1:30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee reassembled at 1:30 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Maciosek.

TESTIMONY OF LEO MACIOSEK

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name, and spell it distinctly.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Leo Maciosek.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Maciosek?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. About 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you doing now?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I am connected with the Detroit police department.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a sergeant?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you had that position?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I have been with the Detroit police department about 14 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been working with Sergeant Mikuliak?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir; he and I were assigned together on the subversive activities for nearly 6 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard his testimony here this morning, did you not?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. That evidence was collected jointly by you and Sergeant Mikuliak?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir; it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to corroborate and verify the statements he made?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any corrections, any mistakes that he made that you want to correct?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. I think he covered that pretty well.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you have considerable additional information, but we are going to have to cut this short in order to get these witnesses back, because the expenses are increasing by keeping them here, and we do not want to keep them here longer than today.

What you have is along the same lines as he had; is not that true?

Sergeant MACIOSEK. Yes, sir. I may from time to time add a little more but, as you say, the time is limited, and Sergeant Mikuliak covered it pretty well.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we cannot go into so much detail, anyway. We thank you, Sergeant, for your corroboration of Sergeant Mikuliak's testimony, and we will not ask you any further questions.

Sergeant MACIOSEK. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now call Mr. Handy.

TESTIMONY OF THEODORE A. HANDY

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. HANDY. Theodore A. Handy.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Handy?

Mr. HANDY. I live in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. HANDY. I have lived in Michigan all my life, but I think I have lived in Detroit about 15 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the Americanization committee of the American Legion?

Mr. HANDY. I am doing work with the Americanization committee. I used to be a member of that committee. Although not now officially connected with them, I have worked with them right up including the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. You have worked in connection with subversive activities?

Mr. HANDY. In connection with the committee on subversive activities.

The CHAIRMAN. You have some newspaper clippings there?

Mr. HANDY. In our committee, of course, we have a certain amount of men who are giving us information. We also take any pamphlets, newspaper clippings, or anything pertaining to our work that is possible.

I have here, and I would like to offer in evidence, a scrapbook which includes histories of many of the leading Communists in and about Detroit. These histories ran in the Detroit Saturday Night, and were written by a man named Leo J. Kirchner. I think the best proof of the credibility of these statements lies in the fact that to date they have not been contradicted, although they have appeared in the Detroit Press beginning 2 years ago and right up until probably 6 months ago.

Because of the fact that some of these articles were written about men whose names are herein contained, and who have been prominent in strikes and other labor activities since these articles, it was my thought that I should call attention to some of these names, all of whom are Communists, and who are known Communists. Testimony before this committee previously has established that fact. But these histories are a little bit more elaborate than the average police record would be.

For instance, we have one here on John Anderson. We have one on Phil Raymond, who was recruited for Spain, and also has been a political candidate on many occasions: Thomas Parry, ex-president of the U. A. W., Local No. 155, and he is still on their pay roll,

by the way; served time in Canada for activities in connection with the Kelsey Wheel Co. in Canada; William Weinstone, who has been often mentioned here. We have a very complete article on him.

Nat Ganley, the spark plug of the Parke-Davis Co. strike, which was a very important one, because it was led by Communists. It was on a company that had large amounts of narcotics and drugs. The fact of the matter is that the Federal agents took Nat Ganley and several others of the leaders in custody.

Then we have Cross Mischeff, who was one of the leaders in the Briggs Manufacturing Co.'s Highland Park plant. Then Alfred Goetz, who was also active in the Briggs Manufacturing Co. strike; George Morris, Detroit correspondent of the Communist official paper, the Daily Worker, was active in the Packard Motor Car Co. strike, and many others, including those in the Detroit departments stores.

Mr. CHAIRMAN, I should like to submit this file for the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Handy Exhibit No. 1, October 20, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. We will now call Mr. McGillis.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. M'GILLIS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is John P. McGillis?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. McGillis?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I live in the city of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. MCGILLIS. All my life; since I was 8 years old. I was born in the State of Michigan and have lived all my life in the city of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. What work have you done in connection with ferreting out subversive activities in and around the vicinity of Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. As secretary for the Detroit Council of Knights of Columbus it has been part of my duty to attempt to find out what some of these subversive activities were, and for the last year and a half I have devoted part of my time to doing that work.

The CHAIRMAN. You previously testified before our committee in Detroit with reference to the recruiting of volunteers for Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You made a very exhaustive investigation of that whole field, did you not?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Summarizing that testimony—to get that again before us—you found a large number of boys that were recruited by well-known Communists in Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And these boys were sent to Dr. Shafarman for examination?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Dr. Eugene Shafarman.

The CHAIRMAN. And the warrants and vouchers of the city of Detroit showed that the city paid the bill?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those boys were recruited in that area and sent to Spain?

Mr. MCGILLIS. It has been claimed by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, one of the recruiting agencies, that in the neighborhood of 300 boys had been sent to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Abraham Lincoln Brigade a Communist organization?

Mr. MCGILLIS. It is one of the Communist "united fronts." The two men who run the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are both Communists, and membership cards have previously been introduced before this committee to prove their membership in the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. We heard the testimony of some of these boys who were recruited, which supported your general statement. Will you tell the committee, just briefly, how they succeeded in recruiting these boys?

Mr. MCGILLIS. They had various methods, to make it brief. One place in which they recruited boys was in our Fisher Lodge for the unemployed. We have a big industrial city there. We have men, and young men especially, who come in from all over the country. They read headlines in the papers about the General Motors Co. employing large numbers of men, and they come in thinking they can find jobs. Most of them wind up in one of our public institutions, and that was a fertile field for these men to work in. They would find boys on the relief rolls, with no place to turn, many of them without family connections, and they made ideal recruits for these men to send to Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. What Communist was most active?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Philip Raymond, executive secretary for the Communist Party for the State of Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the testimony given by these boys showed that they were approached by Philip Raymond, or for him by someone else, or were sent to Philip Raymond.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they manage to get passports?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I do not know, sir. The boys that I talked to had fake passports—passports under another name. That is the angle, I think that your committee should go into. I think that particular angle of recruiting for Spain should be investigated by the United States Government.

The CHAIRMAN. We asked them to do that but I have not heard from them with reference to what progress they are making in that respect.

Now, most of these boys at Detroit testified that they were sent to a man by the name of Manny in New York.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the boys who appeared here from Boston, Mass., some time ago also testified that they were sent to Manny, and that Manny was located, I believe, in Communist headquarters in New York.

Mr. MCGILLIS. He was apparently the clearing house in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. So that they had a systematic arrangement—

Mr. MCGILLIS. There is no question about it.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Of recruiting the boys and of getting them to Spain; is not that a fact?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir. We have one case—if I may interrupt the chairman—of a boy by the name of Smith who disappeared 19 months ago in the city of Detroit. He had joined one of the John Reed clubs; became interested in “class struggle,” a term that has been repeated here over and over again; I think we are all familiar with it now.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the John Reed Club a Communist club?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir; one of their “front” organizations.

This boy was a graduate of a Detroit high school; he was born and raised in Detroit; his parents lived in Detroit. He decided he wanted to go to Spain and fight. He told his parents he was going to Spain, but refused to reveal to them how he was going. He did not mention Raymond’s name. He disappeared 19 months ago, and the only police clue we have to his disappearance is the connection that we can make through this Communist tie-up. He was examined by Dr. Eugene Shafarman, as were all the other recruits for Spain, and that is the only clue we have to the disappearance of that particular boy.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Shafarman has been discharged since we held our hearings in Detroit, has he not?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not need to go into that. He and all the other doctors who were implicated with him have been discharged?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us, if you know, what steps were taken by the city of Detroit with reference to the Communist teachers whose names were disclosed before the committee?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I have been out of Detroit for a few days, and I do not know what steps are being taken. I believe this, that the members of the trustees board, in charge of the public schools of the city of Detroit, are thoroughly American, and if it can be proven to them that un-American activities have taken place in the public schools, they will take steps to correct those activities, even if it is necessary to bring pressure on the superintendent of schools, who has denied and then admitted he heard about these activities.

The CHAIRMAN. In all of your investigations, in reference to the recruiting of Spanish Loyalists, or men for the Spanish Loyalist Army, have you heard of a single instance where any volunteers were recruited by any one except well-known Communists?

Mr. MCGILLIS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with recruiting, various organizations, fronts of the Communist Party, have collected tremendous sums of money around Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Money to help the Chinese people or money to help the Spanish Loyalists, money to help the people in certain cities involved in the European controversy?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. They operate under different names?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; they do.

The CHAIRMAN. At these meetings of the League for Peace and Democracy, and other similar organizations, are the Communists not always present to lead them and to guide them?

Mr. MCGILLIS. At all times, and especially so far as collections are concerned, they never miss.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there has ever been an accounting made to the people who have contributed, as to what has been done with their money?

Mr. MCGILLIS. I do not believe there has been. I know there has been no desire to make any accounting until after the passage of a recent act by Congress; but I doubt if a true accounting has been made of the thousands of dollars that have been collected in the city of Detroit by the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, by the International League for Peace and Democracy, or by the International Workers Organization, and all the other united front organizations, evidence concerning which has been introduced before this committee.

Aside from the infiltration of Communists into front organizations, evidence of which has been introduced before the committee, if I may say so, communism, as practiced in the city of Detroit, and I assume all over the United States, has another phase, aside from the more serious phase of its undermining our Government. Communism has become a racket. They take the American people for easy marks and suckers, and laugh about it afterward.

They have used our schools until we convinced the board of education that they were not entitled to use the schools to promote un-American activities. They have collected thousands of dollars from American people in the city of Detroit, for which no accounting has been made.

If there is some way by which this committee can put the picture before the American people, I am sure that that will be corrected.

We have in Detroit a young man known as Robert Taylor, and I will say he is just a punk. He has gone to some of our better-known citizens and gotten them to sponsor a meeting at the Book-Cadillac Hotel, so he might take up a collection to apparently aid the suffering Spanish people. This man has, I believe, been introduced in evidence before your committee as a member of the Communist Party. He is supposed to have fought in Spain. He wears a uniform when he attends meetings, the uniform of the Spanish Loyalist Army.

His partner in crime—and I use the word correctly, in collecting funds and laughing about it afterward, was a man named Dan Shugrue, listed on the stationery of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and they have gone around the country, Shugrue taking up collections and operating in Detroit, Mr. Dies, under an alias, with the effrontery to ask the citizens of Detroit to work with him and let him use their names, and many of our citizens have donated money to his cause. The American people have been taken for a beautiful ride.

The CHAIRMAN. Not only have they been taken for a "ride" with respect to money, but many of them have joined organizations with high-sounding titles, not knowing that Communists were controlling those organizations.

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is true. I have had a personal experience in that connection, in Detroit, where the dean of the Episcopal cathedral, one of the finest American men in Detroit, had his name used by the Model Youth Council, who had secured permission from our city fathers to use the city hall to put on a day of propaganda. Apparently, it was to be a youth day.

They secured permission from the mayor and the city council to use the council chambers for that purpose, and they went around town and secured permission to use the names of the dean of the Episcopal cathedral in Detroit, the recreation commissioner, and the dean of Wayne University, and names of a number of other fine American men. They secured permission from those men to lend their names because they thought it was an honest American youth project.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, one of the tactics of the Communists is to get certain prominent, outstanding citizens to lend their names and their background for certain Communist causes.

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And the man himself, who lends his name, does not know anything about it. He gets a letter in which he is told that a certain laudable activity will be carried on and is asked to join an advisory board, and does so.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe Columbia University has just issued a rather extensive report along that line. They have investigated some racketeering organizations that secure the endorsements of prominent Americans, and the report of Columbia University cites many instances that have been investigated, and when it was brought to the attention of some outstanding Americans, they were absolutely dumfounded. They were in earnest when they endorsed the organizations. You found the same thing to be true in the Detroit area?

Mr. MCGILLIS. That has been my personal experience, and these people have told me that they wanted no more of it.

In many cases, their names had been used without permission. They had been approached, and the Communist front organization had used their names, anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe we asked if there was any other doctor besides Dr. Shafarman and Dr. Linden who had been discharged by the city. I see a report here that the city has just discharged Dr. G. W. Ruskin. So that evidently, when this matter was brought to the attention of the people, the authorities took prompt action.

Mr. MCGILLIS. There is no question about that. Mayor Redding assured me personally to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the Communist strategy is to ridicule constantly, and as long as they can get by with that strategy, they prevent a general housecleaning.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What else can you tell us with reference to Communist activities in and around Detroit?

Mr. MCGILLIS. Mr. Dies, I think I could tell you a whole lot. I have a brief case full of files. Much of it has been introduced in the record of your committee hearings in Washington, and in other places where you have sat.

But I would like to say this. Representing the Knights of Columbus, and I have authority in my pocket to speak for the Knights of Columbus, I would like to say that we feel that the Dies committee is very definitely on the right track, that it has been our experience that there are factors at work in this country seeking to undermine our Government and overthrow it by force and violence, and that

the Dies committee, if it can do nothing else, can get that picture out to the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one thing we are trying to get out to the people, and the press have been eminently fair, upon the whole.

Mr. MCGILLIS. They have.

The CHAIRMAN. In assisting us in getting this out, in spite of what we knew in the beginning, that every attempt would be made to ridicule and discredit and distort the facts, with some people constantly on the alert to find some reason to build up fabrications.

In spite of that, we have succeeded in doing the very thing you are saying.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I would like to say one thing in that connection. I have in my files material which will duplicate a lot which have been given here, material which will prove the charges that have been made here, that these people are racketeers, seeking to overthrow the Government.

You will recall that in May, at the Madison Square Garden, in the last convention of the Communist Party, every appeal was made to the Catholic people of the United States.

I cannot presume to speak for the Catholic people of the United States. The Communist Party not only made an appeal there, but in every issue of their papers, the Daily Worker, and the Midwest Daily Worker, and other papers, and other documents, you will find news items discolored to appeal to the Catholic people. But they are on the wrong track.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to many other fundamental reasons why Catholics are so vigorously opposed to communism, is it not true that the Catholic Church, which is world-wide, has seen the results of communism in other countries.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And are fully advised as to the methods employed.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They also know how, in many other countries, no one appreciated the danger until it was too late.

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is the point.

The CHAIRMAN. They know how, in Spain, little by little, there were inroads of communism. While they were ridiculed they finally, all of a sudden, found themselves under the control of the Communists.

Mr. MCGILLIS. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The same thing is true in Russia and in other countries.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So, taking this experience and information from all over the world, they appreciate the grave danger, and they have been on the alert in their determination to expose it.

Mr. MCGILLIS. Yes, sir; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McGillis, the committee wants to thank you and express its appreciation for the fine work you have done in your community in exposing this Communist racketeering that is going on there.

Mr. MCGILLIS. I thank you, Mr. Chairman; I hope we have been of service.

TESTIMONY OF FRED W. FRAHM, SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. FRAHM. Fred W. Frahm.

The CHAIRMAN. You are superintendent of police in Detroit?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that office?

Mr. FRAHM. Two years.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been connected with the police department there?

Mr. FRAHM. Going on 28 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the fact well established in your mind that Communists are deep-rooted in organized labor groups in and around Detroit?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us why you believe and know that to be a fact?

Mr. FRAHM. Because they come in there and try to get labor leaders to join their ranks in their organizations, and start to bore in and after they get them to join they make appeals to them as to what they want to get the labor unions to do to carry out their wishes.

The CHAIRMAN. Many Communists have gotten within the labor organizations of Detroit and attempted to control those organizations?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes; they have.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen many evidences of that?

Mr. FRAHM. Many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You know many well-known Communists are in the labor movement, and you know them?

Mr. FRAHM. Not myself, but my men know them. I do know some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You know who they are?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes; I know who they are.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent are those Communist influences shown?

Mr. FRAHM. Well, they are shown; they make no bones about it. Everybody knows about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The people of the town know about it?

Mr. FRAHM. Sure, they do.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the labor men themselves, in those organizations; do they know about it?

Mr. FRAHM. Some of them do. They are more or less acquainted with the fact, and a lot of them are dropping out, not paying their dues. In fact, in some of the factories, like the Plymouth plant, they have a strike every week or two, and the labor men are beginning to realize there is something wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Actually, the Communists are destroying the labor organizations in that area?

Mr. FRAHM. There is no question about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The membership is falling off; the men are quitting in droves?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right. Then the Communists put on what they call dues drives. The way they work that, they will stand at a gate-

from two to three hundred will come there, and every man going in will have to show his card, his paid-up card, and if he does not show his card he is threatened with violence. They may find two or three fellows who have not paid up, and they all sit down. They shut off the power.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean if they find two or three men in the plant who have not paid their dues promptly, they will stop the whole operation of the plant.

Mr. FRAHM. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the names of some of the outstanding Communists who are responsible for instigating these strikes?

Mr. FRAHM. John Anderson, Jack Wilson, alias Williams, Bishop, McKie, John Hall, Lloyd Jones, Maurice Sugar, Stanley Novak, Paul Kirk, and Meyer Julianson.

The CHAIRMAN. Those men are the guiding geniuses behind the Communist control of labor unions?

Mr. FRAHM. That is just a part of them.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have the Communists in that area been responsible for sit-down strikes?

Mr. FRAHM. Practically all of them; I would say at least 75 percent of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Seventy-five percent of the strikes really have been instigated by the Communists within the labor ranks?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are men forced to go on strike by the Communist leaders, even though they do not want to?

Mr. FRAHM. If they refuse to go on strike they will usually get threats, or these people will break their windows or threaten their wives. If they have automobiles, they may burn them or will attack them on their way home, and when they are attacked, they are usually attacked by five or six men.

The CHAIRMAN. So the labor people are intimidated by these Communists to a certain extent?

Mr. FRAHM. They are. I would say that the disturbing element is about 10 percent, perhaps.

The CHAIRMAN. The 10 percent are able to dictate to the others because they are well-organized and do not scruple to stop at anything to gain their point?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that also hold true with reference to Flint, Lansing, and other points in that section?

Mr. FRAHM. At Flint, Lansing, Monroe—they had quite a time at Monroe.

The CHAIRMAN. With a similar situation; the same Communist leaders operated there?

Mr. FRAHM. The same ones.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us an idea of the methods that these Communists use in dealing with the police and the authorities. Do they resist the authorities?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes; very much. In fact, the leaders are never present when there is any trouble. But they will agitate it up to the time the trouble starts and then they will get out of the way. They will

let the poor man whom they can entice into doing this handle it himself the best he can.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us something about what you have seen and what you know about how these sit-down strikes were conducted, in regard to lawlessness and violence.

Mr. FRAHM. First, they will have a sound car, perhaps two cars, and they will ride back and forth in the cars; they will ride back and forth in the cars exciting everybody in the plant.

They have loudspeakers that they can hear for blocks, and they excite everybody in the plant, and somebody in the plant will shut off the power, some of them will rush the gates to let everybody get out. When they are once out, they are afraid to go back in again. I can show you cases of strikes where there was violence, where Reuther—he, himself, is not a Communist, but he associates with Communists at all times, and they all work together. He gets up with a loudspeaker, he will tell the men that they will not let anyone enter or leave the plant except over their dead bodies.

In one plant—I have some photographs here—

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to see some of those photographs.

Mr. FRAHM. The first one is a photograph of the Michigan Steel Casting Co.

The CHAIRMAN. The first one is a photograph of the strikers and strike sympathizers on the outside of the plant, while the workers are on the inside. The workers were attacked when they left the plant over the week end, and attacked again on Monday morning when the attempt was made to prevent them from reentering. The picket lines included delegations from various locals throughout the city.

Does that describe that scene?

Mr. FRAHM. That describes the picket line before the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. In this photograph it shows the pickets in front of the Michigan Steel Casting Co. plant. It shows the men armed with what?

Mr. FRAHM. With two-by-twos, the same as this one we have here [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a photograph taken at that plant?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. They take them in automobile loads and distribute them to the men. Here is a picture showing the same scene a few minutes afterward [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. We will mark the first photograph exhibit 1.

(The photograph referred to was marked, "Frahm Exhibit No. 1, October 20, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. The next picture is one taken in front of the Michigan Steel Casting Co. on May 14, 1938, and it shows the strikers on the picket lines in action.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. They are holding one police, who is not shown here. You can see his coat. They have him by the leg.

The CHAIRMAN. This picture shows the picket line in action. It shows the men holding a policeman on the ground and hitting him with a club.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

(The photograph referred to was marked, "Frahm Exhibit No. 2, October 20, 1938.")

Mr. FRAHM. Here [indicating] is the number of strikes we have had in Detroit. That is not all of them. That is part of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through with these pictures?

Mr. FRAHM. I will say this about this picture [indicating photograph]: The second picture was taken about an hour after the first one, showing the picket line there and these men in the plant; they roomed in there and also boarded in there, right in the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us develop this in an orderly way. You have here a record of the police department showing the number of strikes that occurred in the Detroit area; is that right?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right. There must be about 50 of them missing.

The CHAIRMAN. And this report was made by George Hertel, inspector.

Mr. FRAHM. He is inspector of the special investigation squad.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the inspector in charge of the special investigation squad?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes. Mikuliak and Maciosek and I reported on that. The inspector was Hertel.

The CHAIRMAN. The report reads as follows:

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD, DETECTIVE DIVISION.

July 6, 1937.

From: Inspector George Hertel.

To: Chief of Detectives.

Subject: Statistics, facts, and reports on the attached list of strikes.

1. Since November 27, 1936, we have had 187 strikes reported to date. One hundred and eighty-five of these have been settled or disposed of. There were 147 sit-down strikes and 40 walk-out strikes. The American Federation of Labor (A. F. L.) were involved in 100 of these strikes, the United Auto Workers (U. A. W.) in 70, the Mechanics' Educational Society of America (M. E. S. A.) in 10, and the balance of 7 were company unions. There were 45,618 employees reported on strike, while 174,847 others were forced out of employment and did not participate in the union activities. This figures to approximately 26 percent. This does not include the countless thousands who were not implicated in the strikes in any way but were laid off because of the strikes having effect on their individual places of employment.

2. In 14 cases this department requested strikers to evacuate their places of employment where they were on sit-down strikes and in two other cases we were present to preserve the peace while the sheriff served court orders. With reference to the forced evacuations, it was learned that known racketeers with long police records were pulling these strikes.

That is the Communists you are talking about?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes; and there was also Miller and a few fellows like that who associated with the Communist Party but did not belong to it. But they worked hand in hand. In fact, all of the unions with communistic set-ups worked together.

The CHAIRMAN. This report was from the period November 27, 1936, up to July 6, 1937; is that right?

Mr. FRAHM. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Continuing with this report:

Their efforts were based on a monetary thought only. They received a stated fee for each strike called and a certain fee for each new applicant to the union they represented. The method used by this department proved effective and was successful.

3. In the majority of these 187 strikes demands were made on the industrialists, some of which are listed in order: Union recognition, sole bargaining rights, higher wages, shorter hours, slowing down of production lines, and

many minor demands. In many cases the industrialists signed working agreements so as to get their plants running while still making final negotiations with the unions, and any number of times workers would sit down at the least provocation. This brought a number of complaints to the union officials who through the press admonished these men who were causing these illegal strikes. Some of these strikes, called illegal by the union officials, would only last for an hour or so, but they had their effects. Since Homer Martin, president of the U. A. W., issued his first orders with reference to illegal strikes we have had rumors of internal trouble within this union. It has been reported from good authority that Wyndham Mortimer, the vice president, and his left wing cohorts are seeking to remove Martin and his following in an attempt to take over the union. Tactics used by some of these officials are similar to those taught to pupils of Communist Russia, "Agitate and Organize," "Organize and Agitate."

4. Finally, arising out of all of these strikes comes the evidence of strife between the various unions and their members, particularly the A. F. L. and U. A. W. This U. A. W. is an affiliate of the C. I. O. (Committee for Industrial Organization) which was founded by John Lewis. Where will it all end? We hope the solution is near at hand when applicable legislation will be enacted which will protect all of the people.

Respectfully,

(Signed) GEORGE HERTEL, *Inspector.*

There is a reference here to Wyndham Mortimer; he is a well-known Communist, is he not?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then following this report there is a list of the strikes.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the date of that list?

The CHAIRMAN. This is July 6, 1937. The period of the strikes, as I understand it, is from November 27, 1936, to July 6, 1937.

Mr. FRAHM. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. This list will be made a part of the record.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD, DETECTIVE DIVISION.

July 2, 1937.

From: Inspector George Hertel.

To: Chief of Detectives.

Subject: Report of all strikes since our first sit-down strike on November 27, 1936.

November 27, 1936. Midland Steel Corporation; 6660 Mount Eliot Avenue; 300 on sit-down strike, employ 1,200; M. E. S. A. union; settled December 4, 1936.

December 4, 1936. Kennedy Clothes Shop, 28 Michigan Avenue; 7 on strike; employ 18. A. F. L. union; settled December 18, 1936.

December 5, 1936. Gordon Baking Co., 2303 East Vernor; 75 bakers on sit-down strike, employ 250; A. F. L. union. "No further activities; closed January 30, 1937."

December 10, 1936. Aluminum Co. of America, 3311 Dunn Road; 150 on sit-down strike, employ 250; U. A. W. union; settled December 24, 1936.

December 11, 1936. Kelsey Hayes Manufacturing Co., 3690 Military and 6100 McGraw, both plants; 450 on sit-down strike; employ 5,000; U. A. W. union; settled December 23, 1936.

December 17, 1936. George & Henry Clothes Shop, 165 Michigan; 4 on strike, employ 22. A. F. L. union. "No further activities; closed January 30, 1937."

December 28, 1936. Bonn Aluminum Co., 2599 Twenty-second Street; 210 on sit-down strike; employ 5,000; U. A. W. union; settled January 29, 1937.

January 7, 1937. Briggs Manufacturing Co., 3100 Meldrum Avenue; several on sit-down strike; employ 1,600; U. A. W. union. "Ejected by company," settled February 1, 1937.

January 8, 1937. Michigan Tool Co., 7171 East Six Mile Road; 250 on sit-down strike, employ 600, M. E. S. A. union; settled February 1, 1937.

January 8, 1937. Cadillac Motor Co., 2860 Clark Avenue; 400 on sit-down strike; employ 4,200; U. A. W. union; settled February 11, 1937.

- January 12, 1937. Fisher Body Corporation (Fleetwood), Fort and West End; 64 on sit-down; employ 1,800; U. A. W. union; settled February 11, 1937.
- January 19, 1937. Zenith Carburetor Co., 696 Hart Avenue; 38 on sit-down strike; M. E. S. A. union; refused information; settled January 30, 1937.
- February 2, 1937. Kelvinator Corporation; 14250 Plymouth Road; 98 on sit-down strike; employ 2,800; M. E. S. A. union; settled February 16, 1937.
- February 9, 1937. Wayne Colorplate Co., 41 Burroughs Avenue; 58 on sit-down strike; employ 58; A. F. L. union; settled February 25, 1937.
- February 17, 1937. Farm Crest Bakery Co., 5845 Russell Street, 400 on sit-down strike; employ 400; A. F. L. union; settled February 19, 1937.
- February 17, 1937. Webster Cigar Co., 5548 Grandy Avenue; 109 on sit-down strike; employ 400; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- February 17, 1937. General Cigar Co., 2682 East Forest Avenue; 40 on sit-down strike; employ 200, U. A. W. union. "Later evacuated; plant will not reopen."
- February 18, 1937. Ferro Stamping Co., 1367 East Franklin Street, 700 on sit-down strike; employ 3500; M. E. S. A. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- February 18, 1937. Mazer Cressman Cigar Co., 5031 Grandy Avenue, 150 on sit-down strike; employ 500; U. A. W. union; settled, March 3, 1937.
- February 18, 1937. R. G. Dunn Cigar Co., 2180 East Milwaukee Avenue, 200 on sit-down strike; employ 700; U. A. W. union. "Evacuated by request of this department" March 20, 1937; settled April 30, 1937.
- February 18, 1937. L. A. Young Co., 9200 Russell Street; 450 on sit-down strike; employ 2,000; U. A. W. union; settled February 18, 1937.
- February 19, 1937. The Detroit News, Lafayette and Cass; pressmen on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; no details; settled February 19, 1937.
- February 19, 1937. New York Bed Spring Co., 638 Brady Street; 125 on sit-down strike; employ 125; A. F. L. union; settled February 23, 1937.
- February 19, 1937. Frye Products Co., 5740 Cass Avenue; 153 on sit-down strike; employ 153; company union; settled February 23, 1937.
- February 22, 1937. Oven King Bakery Co., 693 East Palmer Avenue; 15 on sit-down strike, A. F. L. union; no details; settled February 22, 1937.
- February 22, 1937. Banner Laundry Co., 2233 Brooklyn Avenue; 100 on sit-down strike; employ 200; A. F. L. union; settled March 1, 1937.
- February 23, 1937. Atlas Barrel Co., 1551 East Hancock Avenue; 20 on sit-down strike; employ 20; ——— union; settled February 23, 1937.
- February 23, 1937. Splendid Laundry Co., 10515 Harper Avenue; 30 on sit-down strike; employ 80; A. F. L. union; settled February 26, 1937.
- February 23, 1937. Bowen Products Co., 2760 West Warren Avenue; 150 on sit-down strike; employ 300; A. F. L. union; settled February 26, 1937.
- February 23, 1937. Palace Model Laundry Co., 955 Pine Street; 18 on sit-down strike; employ 300; A. F. L. union; settled February 25, 1937.
- February 24, 1937. Timken Detroit Axle Co., 100 Clark Avenue; 400 on sit-down strike; employ 700; A. F. L. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- February 24, 1937. Essex Cigar Co., 5247 Grandy Avenue; 35 on sit-down strike; employ 120; A. F. L. union; settled April 30, 1937.
- February 24, 1937. Ferry Morse Seed Co., 328 Monroe Street; 200 on sit-down strike; employ 500; A. F. L. union; settled February 25, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. Sally's Fur Shop, 5501 Cass Avenue; 13 on sit-down strike; employ 35; ——— union; settled March 1, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. Mitchell & Smith Co., 9169 Copeland Avenue; 200 on sit-down strike; employ 450; U. A. W. union; settled March 1, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. Mass. Laundry Co., 601 Howard Street; 70 on sit-down strike; employ 300; A. F. L. union; settled February 26, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. Crawford Laundry Co., 707 East Jefferson Avenue; 85 on sit-down strike; employ 143; A. F. L. union; settled March 1, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. Mayer Stark Co., 4501 Wesson Avenue; 75 on sit-down strike; employ 225; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. Federal Screw Works, 3401 Martin Avenue; 25 on sit-down strike; employ 225; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. BonDee Golf Ball Co., 1501 Beard Street; 6 on sit-down strike; employ 6; A. F. L. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- February 25, 1937. Swift & Co., 3001 Michigan Avenue; 14 on sit-down strike; employ 30; A. F. L. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- February 26, 1937. Michigan Malleable Co., 7740 Gould Avenue; 80 on sit-down strike; employ 900; U. A. W. union; settled March 1, 1937.

- February 26, 1937. Newton Packing Co., 5075 Fourteenth Avenue; 75 on sit-down strike; employ 90; A. F. L. union. Evicted on court order by sheriff, March 20, 1937. Union took case to Labor Board; settled June 24, 1937.
- February 26, 1937. American Lady Corset Co., 1060 West Fort Street; 100 on sit-down strike; employ 400; A. F. L. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- February 26, 1937. Fitzsimmons Manufacturing Co., 3104 Woodbridge Street; 200 on sit-down strike; employ 200; U. A. W. union; settled March 16, 1937.
- February 26, 1937. Thompson Products Co., 7881 Conant Street; 200 on sit-down strike; employ 800; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- February 27, 1937. F. W. Woolworth Co., 1261 Woodward Avenue; 70 on sit-down strike; employ 200; A. F. L. union; settled March 5, 1937.
- March 1, 1937. McLaren Screw Products Co., 522 Fifteenth Street; 200 on strike; employ 200; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 1, 1937. Advance Stamping Co., 7075 Lyndon Avenue; 150 on sit-down strike; employ 150; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 1, 1937. F. W. Woolworth Co., 6565 Woodward Avenue; 26 on sit-down strike; employ —; A. F. L. union; settled March 5, 1937.
- March 1, 1937. United States Health Survey, Insurance Exchange Building; 50 (W. P. A. workers) on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; settled March 1, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Motor Products Corporation, 11801 Mack Avenue; 2,000 on sit-down strike; employ 3,200; U. A. W. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Excelsior Machine Co., 4027 Twelfth Street, 13 on strike, employ 20; A. F. L. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Goody Nut Shop, Fox Theater Building; 20 on sit-down strike, employ 20; A. F. L. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Consumers Paper Co., 4056 Beaufait Street; 80 on sit-down strike; employ 80; A. F. L. union; settled March 2, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Huyler's Restaurant, Fisher Building; 50 on sit-down strike, employ 50; A. F. L. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Stauffer's Restaurant, 1450 Washington Boulevard; 60 on sit-down strike, employ 60; A. F. L. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Zenith Carburetor Co., 696 Hart Avenue; 700 on sit-down strike; company refused details; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Hugo Schmidt Co., 212 Randolph Street; 30 on sit-down strike, employ 40; A. F. L. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Murray Body Corp., 7700 Russell Street; 1,000 on sit-down strike, employ 4,500; U. A. W. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Michigan Die Casting Co., 253 St. Aubin Avenue; 100 on sit-down strike, employ 300; A. F. L. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Handy Governor Co., 3925 West Fort Street; 60 on sit-down strike, employ 60; U. A. W. union; settled March 10, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Fort Shelby Hotel, 515 West Lafayette; 25 on sit-down strike, employ 600; A. F. L. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Allied Products Co., 4646 Lawton Avenue; 65 on sit-down strike, employ 400; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Crame Plumbing Co., 150 Randolph Street; 8 on sit-down strike, employ 40; A. F. L. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Ring Screw Works, 1340 East Milwaukee Avenue, 28 on sit-down strike, employ 150; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Works Progress Administration Government Research, 7134 West Lafayette; 30 on sit-down strike, employ 2; U. A. W. union; settled March 8, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Briggs Manufacturing Co., 11631 Mack Avenue; 3,000 on sit-down strike, employ 17,000; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. City Window Cleaning Co., 446 East Columbia Street; 16 on sit-down strike, employ 60; A. F. L. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. O. & S. Bearing Co., 303 Livernois Avenue; 40 on sit-down strike, employ 60; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. National Biscuit Co., 899 West Baltimore Avenue; 300 on sit-down strike, employ 2; A. F. L. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 5, 1937. Detroit Stamping Co., 3445 West Fort Street; 50 on sit-down strike, employ 90; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- February 26, 1937. Defco Laboratories, 920 Henry Street; 60 on sit-down strike, employ 90; A. F. L. union; settled March 5, 1937.
- March 5, 1937. Silver Plating Co., 315 Beaubien Street; 12 on sit-down strike, employ 30; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 5, 1937. Detroit Envelope Co., 530 Piquette Street; 11 on sit-down strike, employ 25; A. F. L. union; settled March 10, 1937.

- March 6, 1937. Webster Hall Hotel, 5040 Cass Avenue; 200 on sit-down strike, employ 400; A. F. L. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Postal Telegraph Co., 230 State Street; messengers in nine branches on sit-down strike. A. F. L. union; settled March 8, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Barlum Hotel, Cadillac Square; 35 on sit-down strike, employ 250; A. F. L. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Hudson Motor Co., 12601 East Jefferson; 2,500 on sit-down strike, employ 11,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 10, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Hudson Motor Co., 10617 Knodel Street; 2,000 on sit-down strike, employ 4,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 10, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Plymouth Motor Co., 10960 Mt. Elliott Avenue; 1,000 on sit-down strike, employ 11,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 6, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Chrysler Motor Co., 12200 East Jefferson Avenue; 2,100 on sit-down strike, employ 15,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 6, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. DeSoto Motor Co., 6000 Wyoming Avenue; 300 on sit-down strike, employ 2,200; U. A. W. union; settled April 6, 1937.
- March 9, 1937. Yale & Towne Manufacturing Co., 12340 Cloverdale Avenue; 80 on sit-down strike, employ 340; U. A. W. union; evicted on court order by sheriff, April 14, 1937. Have since closed this plant and left city.
- March 9, 1937. LeMeasure Bros. Laundry Co., 1506 Twenty-first Street; 70 on sit-down strike, employ 150; A. F. L. union; settled March 14, 1937.
- March 9, 1937. Tuller Hotel, Park and Adams Avenues; 45 on sit-down strike, employ 400; A. F. L. union; settled March 10, 1937.
- March 9, 1937. Lerner Shops, 1243 Woodward Avenue; 55 on sit-down strike, employ 55; A. F. L. union; settled March 16, 1937.
- March 10, 1937. Crowley Milner Co., Woodward and Monroe; 600 on sit-down strike, employ 2,500; A. F. L. union; settled March 13, 1937.
- March 10, 1937. Seward Hotel, 57 Seward Avenue; 98 on sit-down strike, employ 150; A. F. L. union; settled March 12, 1937.
- March 10, 1937. Bohn Aluminum Co., 2512 E. Grand Boulevard; 150 on strike, employ 500; U. A. W. union; settled March 24, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Blue Goose Bus Co., 1910 West Fort Street; 50 on sit-down strike, employ ?; A. F. L. union; settled March 11, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Square D. Electric Co., 6060 Rivard Street; 200 on sit-down strike; employ 625; U. A. W. union; settled March 31, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Crown Hat Manufacturing Co., 230 East Grand River; 25 on sit-down strike, employ 25; A. F. L. union; settled March 14, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Bonn Aluminum Co., 3516 Hart Avenue; 600 on strike, employ 600; U. A. W. union; settled March 24, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Nisley Shoe Co., 1219 Griswold Street; 6 on sit-down strike, employ 14; A. F. L. union; evacuated on request of this department March 19, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Nisley Shoe Co., 1508 Woodward Avenue; 10 on sit-down strike, employ 18; A. F. L. union; evacuated on request of this department March 19, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Allen Shoe Co., 1051 Woodward Avenue; 18 on sit-down strike, employ ?; A. F. L. union; evacuated on request of this department March 19, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. F. A. Ritter Co., 310 Woodward Avenue; 10 on sit-down strike, employ 22; A. F. L. union; settled March 12, 1937.
- March 11, 1937. Detroit Belt and Suspender Co., 401 West Jefferson; 16 on sit-down strike, employ 16; A. F. L. union; settled March 16, 1937.
- March 12, 1937. Thos. P. Henry Co., 41 Burroughs Avenue; 30 on sit-down strike, employ 80; A. F. L. union; evacuated on request of this department March 22, 1937; settled May 14, 1937.
- March 12, 1937. Liggett Drug Co., 1400 Woodward Avenue; 35 on strike, employ 35; A. F. L. union; settled March 19, 1937.
- March 12, 1937. Dawson Food Products Co., 3659 Gratiot Avenue; 150 on sit-down strike, employ 150; A. F. L. union; evacuated on request of this department March 20, 1937.
- March 13, 1937. Sticker Paper Co., 1420 West Fort Street; 22 on sit-down strike, employ 59; A. F. L. union; settled March 20, 1937.
- March 13, 1937. Baker Shoe Co., 1413 Woodward Avenue; 16 on sit-down strike, employ ?; A. F. L. union; evacuated on request of this department March 19, 1937.
- March 13, 1937. Chas. Friend & Co., 2403 Beecher Street; 10 on sit-down strike, employ 30; U. A. W. union; settled March 17, 1937.

- March 13, 1937. A. S. Beck Shoe Co., 1424 Woodward Avenue; 29 on sit-down strike; employ ?; A. F. L. union; evacuated on request of this department March 19, 1937.
- March 14, 1937. Union Lumber Co., 19707 John R. Street; 5 on sit-down strike; employ ?; no details; A. F. L. union; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 14, 1937. Sibley Lumber Co. (three yards), 6160 Kercheval, 5101 Outer Drive, and 10471 Gd. River Avenue; 71 on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; no details; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Moon Hiway Trucking Co., 723 Trumbull Avenue; 25 on sit-down strike; employ ?; A. F. L. union; settled March 15, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Gardner Trucking Co., 2412 Twentieth Street; 40 on sit-down strike; employ ?; A. F. L. union; settled March 15, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. U. S. Warehouse Co., 1448 Wabash Avenue; 100 on sit-down strike; no details; A. F. L. union; settled March 18, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Kotcher Lumber Co., 2137 Gratiot Avenue; 60 on strike; employ ?; no details; A. F. L. union; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Currie Lumber Co., 17507 VanDyke Avenue; 200 on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; no details; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Sutherland Avery Lumber Co., 5172 St. Jean; 30 on strike; A. F. L. union; no details; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Wise Shoe Co., 1059 Woodward Avenue; 15 on sit-down strike; employ ?; A. F. L. union; "Evacuated on request of this department March 19, 1937."
- March 16, 1937. Barlow Kelm Lumber Co., 7201 E. Six Mile Road; 30 on strike; A. F. L. union; no details; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 16, 1937. Braum Lumber Co., 1555 E. Davison Avenue; 30 on strike; A. F. L. union; no details; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 16, 1937. Michigan Lumber Co., 18644 Mt. Elliott Avenue; 17 on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; no details; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 16, 1937. Fort Shelby Hotel, 525 W. Lafayette Boulevard; 375 on strike; employ 600; A. F. L. union; settled March 17, 1937.
- March 16, 1937. Detroit Leland Hotel, Cass and Bagley Avenues; 313 on strike; employ 550; A. F. L. union; settled March 17, 1937.
- March 16, 1937. Book Cadillac Hotel, Michigan and Washington Boulevards; 162 on sit-down strike; employ 800; A. F. L. union; settled March 17, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Statler Hotel, Park and Washington Boulevards; 200 on sit-down strike; employ 800; A. F. L. union; settled March 17, 1937.
- March 15, 1937. Truck Driver's Union, 1500 W. Fort Street; 4,000 drivers on strike, representing 160 companies; all A. F. L. union; settled March 20, 1937.
- March 16, 1937. Detroit Gasket Co., 12420 Burt Road; 1,200 on sit down strike; employ ?; M. E. S. A. union; settled March 16, 1937.
- March 17, 1937. Bohn Aluminum Co., 2306 Franklin Street; 335 on strike; employ 700; U. A. W. union; settled March 24, 1937.
- March 17, 1937. Frank & Seder Co., 1437 Woodward Avenue; 75 on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; no details; "evacuated on request of this department March 19, 1937."
- March 17, 1937. Durable Laundry Co., 8887 Livernois Avenue; 30 on sit-down strike; employ 35; A. F. L. union; settled March 19, 1937.
- March 19, 1937. Detroit Creamery Co., 2925 Tillman Avenue; 110 on sit-down strike; employ 110; A. F. L. union; settled March 19, 1937.
- March 19, 1937. Welfare Department, 6750 W. Fort Street; 20 on sit-down strike; (workers) in office; evacuated on request of this department March 22, 1937.
- March 22, 1937. Certain-Teed Products Co., 2131 Bagley Avenue; 2 on sit-down strike; employ 2; union ?; settled March 23, 1937.
- March 24, 1937. Boydel Bros. Co., 432 E. Lafayette Boulevard; 35 on sit-down strike; employ 120; U. A. W. union; settled March 30, 1937.
- March 24, 1937. Ferro Stamping Co., 1367 Franklin Street; 525 on sit-down strike; employ 700; U. A. W. union; settled March 24, 1937.
- March 24, 1937. L. A. Young Golf Co., 6545 Antoine Street; 150 on strike; employ 200; A. F. L. union; settled March 25, 1937.
- March 24, 1937. Polish Daily News, 1550 E. Canfield Avenue; 50 on sit-down strike; employ 60; union ?; settled April 25, 1937.
- March 24, 1937. Checker Cab Co., 2128 Trumbull Avenue; 25 drivers on strike; employ 1,100; U. A. W. union; "no further action, case closed April 29, 1937."
- March 26, 1937. G. & R. McMillan Co., 7446 Second Boulevard; 9 drivers on strike; no details; settled March 26, 1937.

March 27, 1937. Cinema Service Co., 212 Montcalm Street; 9 city drivers on strike; A. F. L. union; settled March 27, 1937.

March 29, 1937. Paramount Studios, 479 Ledyard Street; 5 on sit-down strike, employ 12; A. F. L. union; settled March 30, 1937.

March 29, 1937. Semet Solvay Co., Solvay & Jefferson; 125 on sit-down strike, employ 300; U. A. W. union; settled April 29, 1937.

March 29, 1937. National Stamping Co., 630 St. Jean Avenue; 14 on sit-down strike, employ 600; M. E. S. A. union; settled April 5, 1937.

March 30, 1937. Lakeson Laundry Co., 431 East Elizabeth Street; 85 on sit-down strike, employ 85; A. F. L. union; settled May 4, 1937.

March 30, 1937. Buell Machine & Die Co., 3545 Scotten Avenue; 75 on sit-down strike, employ 125; M. E. S. A. union; settled April 7, 1937.

April 1, 1937. Palace Model Laundry Co., 955 Pine Street; 22 on sit-down strike, employ 150; A. F. L. union; settled May 21, 1937.

April 1, 1937. Book Cadillac Hotel, Michigan and Washington Boulevard; 200 on sit-down strike, employ 800; A. F. L. union; "evacuated on request of this department April 1, 1937"; settled April 2, 1937.

April 2, 1937. Banner Laundry Co., 2233 Brooklyn Avenue; 100 on sit-down strike, employ 300; A. F. L. union; settled April 19, 1937.

April 4, 1937. Wayne County Newsboys' Association; report 500 newsboys on strike downtown area; own union; "no further action, case closed April 23, 1937."

April 5, 1937. Mazer Cressman Cigar Co., 5031 Grandy Avenue; 50 on sit-down strike, employ 200; U. A. W. union; settled April 30, 1937.

April 6, 1937. Stetson Hat Co., 100 Monroe Street; 5 salesmen on strike, employ 9; A. F. L. union; settled April 16, 1937.

April 7, 1937. Goldberg Hat Co., 650 Gratiot Avenue; 5 girls on sit-down strike, employ 5; A. F. L. union; settled April 10, 1937.

April 8, 1937. Michigan Junction Market, 5544 Michigan Avenue; 5 butchers on strike, employ 11; A. F. L. union; settled April 10, 1937.

April 8, 1937. Detroit Saturday Night, 1959 East Jefferson; 25 typesetters on strike, employ 50; A. F. L. union; settled April 30, 1937.

April 12, 1937. National Sheet Steel Co., 13000 Lyndon Avenue; 15 on sit-down strike, employ 80; U. A. W. union; settled April 15, 1937.

April 13, 1937. Sani-Wash Laundry Co., 4601 Sixth Street; 40 on sit-down strike, employ 200; A. F. L. union; settled May 1, 1937.

April 14, 1937. Richard Tool Co., 1560 East Milwaukee Avenue; 40 on sit-down strike, employ 200; U. A. W. union; settled May 4, 1937.

April 14, 1937. Koestlin Tool Co., 3601 Humboldt Street; 40 on sit-down strike, employ 110; U. A. W. union; settled May 4, 1937.

April 15, 1937. Michigan Tool Co., 7171 East Six Mile Road; 250 on sit-down strike, employ 500; M. E. S. A. union; settled April 15, 1937.

April 19, 1937. Schwartz Tool Co., 5259 Western Avenue; 18 on sit-down strike, employ 60; U. A. W. union; settled May 10, 1937.

April 20, 1937. Webster Hall Hotel, 5050 Cass Avenue; 8 on sit-down strike, employ 350; A. F. L. union; settled April 20, 1937.

April 21, 1937. VanDresser Specialty Co., 1600 Frederick; 100 on sit-down strike, employ 250; U. A. W. union; settled April 24, 1937.

April 26, 1937. Parke Davis Co., 1 McDougall Avenue; 300 on sit-down strike, employ 2,100; U. A. W. union; "evacuated on request of this department April 26, 1937"; settled May 6, 1937.

April 26, 1937. Star Tool Co., 2532 Twenty-fourth Street; 60 on sit-down strike, employ 60; U. A. W. union; settled May 4, 1937.

April 26, 1937. Postal Telegraph Co., 230 State Street; 85 boys on sit-down strike, employ ?; A. F. L. union; settled April 30, 1937.

April 27, 1937. Copeland Refrigerator Co., 1315 Holden Avenue; 50 on strike, employ 150; M. E. S. A. union; settled April 29, 1937; "have since closed plant."

April 29, 1937. Beau Arts Restaurant, 7313 Woodward Avenue; 5 girls on strike, employ 20; A. F. L. union; settled May 5, 1937.

May 11, 1937. American Electric Heater Co., 6110 Cass Avenue; 130 on sit-down strike, employ 145; U. A. W. union; settled May 12, 1937.

May 17, 1937. Briggs Manufacturing Co., 3100 Meldrum Avenue; 40 on strike, employ 1,600; U. A. W. union; settled May 18, 1937.

May 17, 1937. Pelton Crane Co., 632 Harper Avenue; 35 on sit-down strike, employ 70; U. A. W. union; settled May 25, 1937.

May 18, 1937. Papinka Restaurant, 1066 West Baltimore Street; 2 on strike, employ 18; A. F. L. union; settled May 20, 1937.

May 20, 1937. Plymouth Motor Co., 10060 Mount Elliott Avenue; 5,000 walked out, employ 12,000; U. A. W. union; settled May 20, 1937.

May 21, 1937. Electromaster Corporation, 1803 East Atwater Street; 300 on sit-down strike, employ 300; U. A. W. union; settled May 29, 1937.

May 23, 1937. Dime Bank Building, Fort and Congress; 40 charwomen on strike; U. A. W. union; settled June 3, 1937.

May 28, 1937. McCord Radiator Manufacturing Co., 2587 East Grand Boulevard; 800 on strike, employ 1,200; U. A. W. union; settled June 3, 1937.

June 1, 1937. Putnam Tool Co., 2981 Charlevoix Avenue; 30 on strike, employ 30; U. A. W. union; settled June 7, 1937.

June 3, 1937. Fitzsimmons Manufacturing Co., 3104 East Woodbridge Street; 200 on strike, employ 200; U. A. W. union; settled June 3, 1937.

June 3, 1937. Wolverine Bottling Co., 692 Livingstone Street, 30 on strike, employ 30; U. A. W. union; settled June 3, 1937.

June 7, 1937. Postal Telegraph Co., 60 messengers on strike, employ 150; A. F. L. union; settled June 8, 1937.

June 8, 1937. Budd Wheel Co., 12441 Charlevoix Street; 2,000 on strike, employ 3,000; U. A. W. union; settled June 12, 1937.

June 9, 1937. Ternstedt Manufacturing Co., 4796 McGregor Avenue; 130 on sit-down strike (4 plants closed), employ 12,000; U. A. W. union; settled June 16, 1937.

June 9, 1937. Sunny Service Oil Co., 3949 Paritan Avenue; 50 men in 36 stations on sit-down strike; U. A. W. union; settled June 11, 1937.

June 10, 1937. Kelvinator Corporation, 14250 Plymouth Road; 400 on sit-down strike, employ 2,800; M. E. S. A. union; settled June 25, 1937.

June 11, 1937. Detroit Creamery Co., 3920 Twenty-third Street; 12 on sit-down strike, employ 110; C. I. O. and A. F. L. unions; settled June 13, 1937.

June 14, 1937. Detroit Coca-Cola Co., 3609 Gratiot Avenue; 35 on sit-down strike, employ 125; A. F. L. union; settled June 17, 1937.

June 21, 1937. Motor Products Corporation, 11861 Mack Avenue; 200 on sit-down strikes, employ 3,500; U. A. W. union; settled June 23, 1937.

June 23, 1937. Auto City Manufacturing Co., 6445 East Jefferson Avenue; 15 on strike, employ 15; U. A. W. union; settled June 26, 1937.

June 30, 1937. Burkart Manufacturing Co., 2679 Connors Avenue; 130 on strike, employ 160; U. A. W. union; settled June 30, 1937.

July 2, 1937. Non Ferrous Alloys Co., 6425 Charlevoix Avenue, 20 on strike, employ 20; A. F. L. union; pending settlement.

July 2, 1937. Racine Machine Co., 6535 Dubois Street; 55 on strike, employ 60; A. F. L. union; pending settlement.

[NOTE.—The latter two are the only strikes we have on our records today as being active.]

Respectfully,

GEORGE HERTEL, *Inspector.*

HJM.

[Stamped: Approved, July 6, 1937. Henry W. Piel, chief of detectives.]

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD, DETECTIVE DIVISION.

From: Inspector George Hertel.

July 21, 1937.

To: Chief of Detectives.

Subject: Supplementary report on strikes since July 1, 1937.

July 2, 1937. Non-Ferrous Alloys Co., 6425 Charlevoix Avenue; all (20) employees on strike; A. F. L. union; settled July 9.

July 2, 1937. Racine Machine Co., 6535 Dubois Street; 55 employees on strike, employ 60; A. F. L. union; settled July 7.

July 1, 1937. Cadillac Gingerale Co., 688 East Columbia Street; 7 drivers on strike, employ 25; A. F. L. union; out of business July 20.

July 9, 1937. C. I. O. union called a strike of all inside workers in cleaning industry; 70 companies and 1,800 employees.

July 9, 1937. Fruehauf Trailer Co., 10940 Harper; 200 employees sit down, employ 600; U. A. W. Union; evacuated plant July 9.

July 10, 1937. United Dairy Workers called strike of inside workers and drivers in seven dairies, 1,025 employees; settled July 18.

July 12, 1937. Scripps Motor Co., 5817 Lincoln Avenue, report 25 employees on strike, employ 33; U. A. W. union; out of business July 20.

July 14, 1937. Detroit Hotel, 2560 Woodward, report six service employees on strike, employ 200; A. F. L.; settled July 14.

July 14, 1937. Meyer Stark Manufacturing Co., 4501 Wesson Avenue; 260 (all) employees on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; settled July 14.

July 14, 1937. A. F. L. Truck Drivers' Union, 1500 West Fort; called strike all over State; 170 companies and 20,000 out in Detroit; settled July 18.

July 19, 1937. Indian Village Manor, 8100 East Jefferson, report 28 service employees on strike; employ 32; A. F. L.; settled July 20.

July 19, 1937. Home Tea Co., 3437 Bagley; report all employees (19) on strike; have their own association.

July 19, 1937. Central Tea Co., 2456 Twenty-fourth Street; report all employees (20) on strike; have their own association.

July 19, 1937. Cook Coffee Co., 8430 Hamilton; report all employees (55) on strike; have their own association.

Respectfully,

GEORGE HERTEL, *Inspector.*

H.M.

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD, DETECTIVE DIVISION.

July 21, 1937.

From: Inspector George Hertel.

To: Chief of Detectives.

Subject: Active strikes to date.

July 9, 1937. C. I. O. union called a strike of all inside workers in cleaning industry; 70 companies and 1,800 employees affected.

July 9, 1937. Fruehauf Trailer Co., 10940 Harper; report 200 employees on strike, employ 600; U. A. W.

July 19, 1937. Home Tea Co., 3437 Bagley; report all employees (19) on strike; have their own association.

July 19, 1937. Central Tea Co., 2456 Twenty-fourth Street; report all employees (20) on strike; have own association.

July 19, 1937. Cook Coffee Co., 8430 Hamilton; report all employees (55) on strike; have own association.

July 12, 1937. Scripps Motor Co., 5817 Lincoln Avenue; report 25 employees on strike, employ 33; U. A. W. We were informed by Mr. Downey, one of the owners, that this plant was closed and would not reopen in Detroit. They intend moving.

Respectfully,

GEORGE HERTEL, *Inspector.*

H.M.

[Stamped: Approved July 21, 1937. Wm. J. Collins, Deputy Chief of Detectives.]

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT,
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION SQUAD.

October 17, 1938.

From: Inspector George Hertel.

To: Chief of Detectives.

Subject: List of sit-down strikes.

Following is a list of sit-down strikes from November 27, 1936, to date:

November 27, 1936. Midland Steel Corporation, 6660 Mt. Elliott; 300 employees sit-down, employ 1,200; U. A. W. union; settled December 4, 1936.

December 5, 1936. Gordon Baking Co., 2303 E. Vernor Highway; 75 bakers and helpers sit-down; A. F. of L. union; closed January 30, 1937.

December 10, 1936. Aluminum Co. of America, 3311 Dunn Road; 300 employees sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled December 24, 1936.

December 11, 1936. Kelsey Hayes Mfg. Co., two plants, 6100 McGraw and 3600 Military; 450 sit-downs in both plants, employed 5,000; U. A. W. union; settled December 23, 1936.

December 28, 1936. Bohn Aluminum & Brass Co., 2599 Twenty-Second Street; 270 sit-downs, employ 5,000; U. A. W. union; settled January 20, 1937.

January 7, 1937. Briggs Mfg. Co., 3100 Meldrum Avenue; 7 sit-downs, employ 1,600; U. A. W. union; settled February 1, 1937.

January 8, 1937. Michigan Tool Co., 7171 E. Six-Mile Road; 209 sit-downs, employ 600; M. E. S. A. union; settled February 1, 1937.

January 8, 1937. Cadillac Motor Co., 2860 Clark Avenue; 409 sit-downs, employ 4,200; U. A. W. union; settled February 11, 1937.

January 12, 1937. Fisher Body Co., Fort and West End Avenues; 64 sit-downs, employed 1,800; U. A. W. union; settled February 11, 1937.

January 19, 1937. Zenith Carburetor Co., 696 Hart Avenue; 38 sit-downs; M. E. S. A. union; settled January 30, 1937.

February 2, 1937. Kelvinator Corporation, 14250 Plymouth Road; 98 sit-downs, employed 2,800; M. E. S. A. union; settled February 16, 1937.

February 17, 1937. Farmerest Baking Co., 5845 Russell Street; 400 sit-downs; A. F. of L. union; settled February 19, 1937.

February 9, 1937. Wayne Colorplate Co., 41 Burroughs Avenue; 58 sit-downs; A. F. of L. union; sit-downers left at the request of the police; settled February 25, 1937.

February 17, 1937. Webster Cigar Co., 5548 Grandy Avenue; 100 on sit-down, employed 400; U. A. W. union; left on request of police; settled March 4, 1937.

February 17, 1937. General Cigar Co., 2682 E. Forest Avenue; 30 on sit-down, employed 200; U. A. W. union; left at request of police; plant closed June 30, 1937, not to reopen.

February 18, 1937. Ferro Stamping Co., 1367 Woodbridge Avenue; 25 sit-downs, employed 700; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.

February 18, 1937. Mazer Cressman Cigar Co., 5031 Grandy Avenue; 150 on sit-down, employed 500; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.

February 18, 1937. R. G. Dun Cigar Co., 2180 E. Milwaukee Avenue; 200 on sit-down, employed 700; U. A. W. union; left at the request of the police; settled April 30, 1937.

February 18, 1937. L. A. Young Co., 9200 Russell Street; 450 on sit-down, employed 2,000; U. A. W. union; settled February 18, 1937.

February 19, 1937. New York Bed Spring Co., 678 Brady Avenue; 125 on sit-down; A. F. of L. union; settled February 24, 1937.

February 19, 1937. Frey Products Co., 5740 Cass Avenue; 153 on sit-down; settled February 23, 1937; U. A. W. union.

February 22, 1937. Oven King Bakery, 693 E. Palmer; 15 on sit-down; A. F. of L. union; settled February 22, 1937.

February 22, 1937. Banner Laundry Co., 2233 Brooklyn Avenue; 100 on sit-down, employed 200; A. F. of L. union; settled March 1, 1937.

February 24, 1937. Timken Detroit Axle Co., 100 Clark Avenue; 400 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.

February 23, 1937. Atlas Barrel Co., 1551 East Hancock; 20 on sit-down; settled February 23, 1937.

February 23, 1937. Splendid Laundry Co., 10515 Harper; 30 on sit-down; A. F. of L. union; settled February 26, 1937.

February 23, 1937. Bowen Products Co., 2760 West Warren Avenue; 150 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled February 26, 1937.

February 24, 1937. Essex Cigar Co., 5247 Grandy Avenue; 120 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled April 30, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Sally's Fur Shop, 5501 Cass Avenue; 13 on sit-down; A. F. of L. union; settled March 1, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Mitchell & Smith Co., 9469 Copeland; 400 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 1, 1937.

February 23, 1937. Palace Model Laundry, 955 Pine Street; 300 on sit-down; A. F. of L. union; settled February 25, 1937.

February 24, 1937. Ferry Morse Seed Co., 328 Monroe Avenue; 500 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled February 25, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Massachusetts Laundry, 601 Howard Avenue; 300 on sit-down; A. F. of L. union; settled February 26, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Crawford Laundry, 707 East Jefferson; 143 on sit-down; A. F. of L. union; settled March 1, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Meyer Stark Co., 4501 Wesson Avenue; 225 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Federal Screw Works, 3401 Martin Avenue; 25 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 1, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Bondee Golf Ball Co., 1501 Beard Avenue; 9 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.

February 25, 1937. Swift & Co., 3001 Michigan Avenue; 300 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.

February 26, 1937. Newton Packing Co., 5075 14th Avenue; 15 on sit-down; U. A. W. union. Left at the request of the police. Settled June 23, 1937.

February 26, 1937. American Lady Corset Co., 1060 West Fort; 200 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.

February 26, 1937. Fitzsimmons Mfg. Co., 3401 Woodbridge Avenue; 200 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.

February 26, 1937. Thompson Products Co., 7881 Conant; 200 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.

February 26, 1937. Defoe Laboratories, 920 Henry Street; 60 on sit-down; employed 90; U. A. W. union; settled March 5, 1937.

- February 27, 1937. F. W. Woolworth Co., 1261 Woodward Avenue; 200 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 5, 1937.
- March 1, 1937. Advance Stamping Co., 7075 Lyndon Avenue; 150 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 1, 1937. F. W. Woolworth Co., 6565 Woodward Avenue; 26 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 5, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Motor Products, 11801 Mack Avenue; 200 on sit-down, employ 2,000; U. A. W. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 1, 1937. U. S. Health Survey, Insurance Exchange Building; 50 on sit-down; U. A. W.; settled March 1, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Goody Nut Shop, Fox Theater Building; 18 on sit-down, U. A. W. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Consumers Paper Co., 4056 Beaufait; 80 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 2, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Huyler's Cafe, Fisher Building; 50 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Stouffer's Restaurant, 1450 Washington Boulevard; 60 on sit-down; A. F. L.; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Zenith Carburetor Co., 796 Hart Avenue; 700 sit-down; U. A. W.; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Hugo Schmidt Co., 212 Randolph Street; 30 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Murray Body Corporation, 7700 Russell Street; 1,000 on sit-down, employed 4,500; U. A. W. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 2, 1937. Michigan Die Casting Co., 253 St. Aubin; 100 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 2, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Allied Products Co., 4646 Lawton Avenue; 65 on sit-down, employ 400; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Crane Plumbing Co., 150 Randolph; 8 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 3, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Ring Screw Works, 1340 East Milwaukee Avenue; 28 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. W. P. A. Government Research, 1734 West Lafayette; 30 on sit-down; settled March 8, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Briggs Manufacturing Co., 1613 Mack Avenue; 300 on sit-down, employed 3,500; U. A. W.; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. City Window Cleaning Co., 446 East Columbia Avenue; 16 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Handy Governor Co., 3925 West Fort Street; 60 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 10, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. O. & S. Bearing Co., 303 Livernois Avenue; 40 on sit-down, employed 60; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. National Biscuit Co., 899 West Baltimore Avenue; 300 on sit-down; settled March 4, 1937.
- March 3, 1937. Fort Shelby Hotel, 515 West Lafayette; 25 on sit-down; A. F. L.; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 5, 1937. Detroit Stamping Co., 3445 West Fort Street; 50 on sit-down, employed 90; U. A. W. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 5, 1937. Silver Plating Co., 315 Beaubien Street; 12 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 5, 1937. Detroit Envelope Co., 530 Piquette Street; 11 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 10, 1937.
- March 6, 1937. Webster Hall Hotel, 5040 Cass Avenue; 200 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 6, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Postal Telegraph Co., 230 State Street; sit-down in nine branches; U. A. W. union; settled March 8, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Barium Hotel, Cadillac Square; 35 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 9, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Hudson Motor Co., 12601 East Jefferson Avenue; 1,500 on sit-down, employed 10,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 10, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Hudson Motor Co., 10617 Knodell Avenue; 2,000 on sit-down, employed 4,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 10, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Plymouth Motor Co., 10060 Mount Elliott Avenue; 1,000 on sit-down, employed 11,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 6, 1937.
- March 8, 1937. Chrysler Corporation, 12200 East Jefferson Avenue, 2,100 on sit-down, employed 15,000; U. A. W. union; settled April 6, 1937.

March 8, 1937. DeSoto Motor Co., 6000 Wyoming; 300 on sit-down, employed 2,200; U. A. W. union; settled April 6, 1937.

March 9, 1937. Yale & Towne Mfg. Co., 122340 Cloverdale Avenue; 80 on sit-down, employed 340; U. A. W. union; left at the request of the police; plant closed, moved out of Detroit.

March 9, 1937. LeMeasure Bros. Laundry, 1506, Twenty-first Street; 150 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 14, 1937.

March 9, 1937. Tuller Hotel, Park and Adams; 45 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 10, 1937.

March 9, 1937. Lerner Shops, 1243 Woodward Avenue; 55 on sit-down strike; A. F. L. union; settled March 16, 1937.

March 10, 1937. Crowley Milner Co.; 600 on sit-down, employed 2,500; A. F. L. union; settled March 13, 1937.

March 10, 1937. Seward Hotel, 57 Seward Avenue; 98 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 12, 1937.

March 10, 1937. Bohn Aluminum Co., 2512 East Grand Boulevard; 150 remained in the plant for a short time and left; U. A. W. union; settled March 24, 1937.

March 11, 1937. Blue Goose Bus Co., 1910 West Fort; 50 on sit-down; A. F. L. and U. A. W. unions; settled March 11, 1937.

March 11, 1937. Square "D" Electric Co., 6060 Rivard Avenue; 200 on sit-down, employed 625; U. A. W. union; settled March 31, 1937.

March 11, 1937. Crown Hat Manufacturing Co., 230 East Grand River; 75 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 14, 1937.

March 11, 1937. Nisley Shoe Co., 1219 Griswold; 6 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; left at request of police; settled March 19, 1937.

March 11, 1937. Nisley Shoe Co., 1508 Woodward Avenue; 10 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; left at the request of police; settled March 19, 1937.

March 11, 1937. Allen Shoe Co., 1051 Woodward; 18 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; left at the request of police; settled March 19, 1937.

March 11, 1937. F. A. Ritter Co., 310 Woodward Avenue; 10 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 12, 1937.

March 11, 1937. Detroit Belt & Suspender Co., 401 East Jefferson Avenue, 27 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 16, 1937.

March 12, 1937. Thomas P. Henry Co., 41 Burroughs Avenue; 30 on sit-down, employed 80; left at the request of the police; settled May 14, 1937.

March 12, 1937. Dawson Food Co., 3659 Gratiot Avenue; 150 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 20, 1937.

March 13, 1937. Sticker Paper Box Co., 1420 West Fort; 25 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 16, 1937.

March 13, 1937. Baker Shoe Co., 1413 Woodward Avenue; 16 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; asked out by the police; settled March 19, 1937.

March 13, 1937. Charles Friend Co., 2403 Beecher Avenue; 10 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 17, 1937.

March 14, 1937. Union Lumber Co., 19707 John Road; 5 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 23, 1937.

March 14, 1937. Sibley Lumber Co., 2 yards, 6460 Kercheval and 10471 Grand River; 65 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 23, 1937.

March 15, 1937. Moon Highway Trucking Co., 723 Trumbull Avenue; 25 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 15, 1937.

March 15, 1937. Gardner Trucking Co., 2412 Twentieth Street; 40 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 20, 1937.

March 15, 1937. United States Warehouse Co., 1448 Wabash Avenue; 100 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 18, 1937.

March 15, 1937. Curry Lumber Co., 17507 Van Dyke Avenue; 200 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 23, 1937.

March 16, 1937. Michigan Lumber Co., 18644 Monut Elliott Avenue; 17 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 23, 1937.

March 16, 1937. Book Cadillac Hotel, Washington Boulevard; 162 on sit-down, employed 800; left at request of police; settled March 17, 1937.

March 15, 1937. Statler Hotel, Washington Boulevard; 200 on sit-down; settled March 17, 1937.

March 16, 1937. Detroit Gasket Co., 12420 Burt Road; 1,200 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 16, 1937.

March 13, 1937. A. S. Beck Shoe Co., 1424 Woodward Avenue; 29 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; left at request of police; settled March 19, 1937.

March 15, 1937. Weiss Shoe Co., 1059 Woodward Avenue; 15 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; left at request of police; settled March 19, 1937.

March 17, 1937. Frank & Seder Co., 1437 Woodward Avenue; A. F. L. union; left at the request of the police.

March 17, 1937. Durable Laundry Co., 8887 Livernois; 30 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 19, 1937.

March 19, 1937. Detroit Creamery Co., 3925 Tillman; 110 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 19, 1937.

March 19, 1937. Detroit Welfare Co., 6750 West Fort Street; 20 on sit-down; left when requested by police.

March 22, 1937. Certaineed Products, 2131 Bagley Avenue; 2 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 23, 1937.

March 24, 1937. Ferro Stamping Co., 1367 Franklyn; 525 on sit-down, employed 700; U. A. W. union; settled March 24, 1937.

March 24, 1937. Polish Daily News; 200 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 26, 1937.

March 27, 1937. Cinema Service, 212 Montcalm; 9 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled March 27, 1937.

March 29, 1937. Paramount Studios, 479 Ledyard Avenue; 5 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled March 31, 1937.

March 29, 1937. Semet Solay Co., Solvay and Jefferson Avenues; 125 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled April 29, 1937.

March 29, 1937. National Stamping Co., 630 St. Jean; 14 on sit-down, employed 600; U. A. W. union; settled April 5, 1937.

March 30, 1937. Lakeson Laundry, 431 East Elizabeth; 85 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled May 4, 1937.

March 30, 1937. Buell Machine & Dye Co., 3545 Scotten Avenue; 75 on sit-down, employed 125; M. E. S. A. union; settled April 7, 1937.

April 1, 1937. Palace Model Laundry, 959 Pine Avenue; 22 on sit-down, employed 150; A. F. L. union; settled May 21, 1937.

April 1, 1937. Book-Cadillac Hotel, Washington Boulevard; 200 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; asked to leave by police; settled April 2, 1937.

April 2, 1937. Banner Laundry, 2233 Brooklyn Avenue; 100 on sit-down; employed 300; A. F. L. union; settled April 19, 1937.

April 5, 1937. Mazer Cressman Cigar Co., 5031 Grandy Avenue; 50 on sit-down, employed 200; A. F. L. union; settled April 30, 1937.

April 7, 1937. Goldberg Hat Shop, 650 Gratiot; A. F. L. union; 6 on sit-down; settled April 10, 1937.

April 2, 1937. National Sheet Steel Co., 13000 Lyndon Street; 15 on sit-down, employed 80; U. A. W. union; settled April 15, 1937.

April 13, 1937. Sani-Wash Laundry 4001 Sixth; 40 on sit-down, employed 200; A. F. L. union; settled May 1, 1937.

April 14, 1937. Richard Tool Co., 1560 East Milwaukee; 40 on sit-down, employed 200; M. E. S. A. union; settled May 4, 1937.

April 14, 1937. Koestlin Tool & Dye Co., 3601 Humboldt Avenue; 40 on sit-down, employed 110; M. E. S. A. union; settled May 4, 1937.

April 14, 1937. Michigan Tool Co., 7171 East Six Mile Road; 250 on sit-down, employed 500; M. E. S. A. union; settled April 15, 1937.

April 19, 1937. Schwartz Tool Co., 5259 Western Avenue; 18 on sit-down; M. E. S. A. union; settled May 10, 1937.

April 21, 1937. Van Dresser Specialty Co., 1600 Frederick; 100 on sit-down, employed 250; U. A. W. union; settled April 24, 1937.

April 26, 1937. Park-Davis Co., No. 1 McDougall Avenue; 300 on sit-down, employed 2,100; U. A. W. union; left at request of police; settled May 6, 1937.

April 26, 1937. Star Tool & Dye Works, 3522 Twenty-fourth Street; 60 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled May 4, 1937.

April 26, 1937. Postal Telegraph, 230 State Street; 40 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled April 30, 1937.

May 11, 1937. American Electric Heater Co., 6110 Cass; 130 on sit-down, employed 145; U. A. W. union; settled May 12, 1937.

May 17, 1937. Briggs Manufacturing Co., 3100 Meldrum; 40 on sit-down, employed 1,600; U. A. W. union; settled May 18, 1937.

May 17, 1937. Felton Crane Co., 632 Harper Avenue; 35 on sit-down, employed 70; U. A. W. union; settled May 25, 1937.

May 21, 1937. Electro Master Corporation, 1803 East Atwater; 300 on sit-down; U. A. W. union and company union; settled May 29, 1937.

May 27, 1937. Schlafer Iron Co., 11030 Harper Avenue; 22 U. A. W. union men on sit-down; settled May 27, 1937.

- May 28, 1937. McCord Radiator Manufacturing Co., 2587 East Grand Boulevard; 800 on sit-down, employed 1,200; U. A. W. union; settled June 3, 1937.
- June 9, 1937. Ternstaedt Manufacturing Co., 4796 McGregor Avenue; 130 on sit-down, employed 12,000; U. A. W. union; settled June 16, 1937.
- June 9, 1937. Sunny Service Oil Co., 3949 Puritan Avenue; 50 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled June 11, 1937.
- June 10, 1937. Kelvinator Co., 14250 Plymouth Avenue; 400 on sit-down, employed 2,800; M. E. S. A. union; settled June 21, 1937.
- June 11, 1937. Detroit Creamery Co., 3920 Twenty-third Street; 12 on sit-down; U. A. W. and A. F. L. unions; settled June 13, 1937.
- June 14, 1937. Detroit Coca-Cola Co., 3609 Gratiot Avenue; 35 on sit-down, 124 employed; A. F. L. union; settled June 17, 1937.
- June 21, 1937. Motor Products Co., 11801 Mack Avenue; 200 on sit-down, employed 3,500; U. A. W. union; settled June 23, 1937.
- July 2, 1937. Fruehauf Trailer Co., 10940 Harper Avenue; 200 on sit-down, employed 600; U. A. W. union; asked to leave by the police; settled July 26, 1937.
- July 14, 1937. Myers Stark Manufacturing Co., 4501 Wesson; 260 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled July 14, 1937.
- July 26, 1937. Clayton Lambert Manufacturing Co., 11111 French Road; 350 on sit-down, employed 500; U. A. W. union; settled July 26, 1937.
- August 24, 1937. Detroit Casket Co., 12400 Burt Road; 60 on sit-down, employed 900; M. E. S. A. union; asked to leave by the police; settled September 6, 1937.
- September 15, 1937. Hutto Engineering Co., 5159 Lyncaste Avenue; 36 on sit-down, employed 70; U. A. W. union; asked to leave by police; settled October 21, 1937.
- September 25, 1937. Standard Steel Treating Co., 3467 Lovett; 12 on sit-down, employed 34; U. A. W. union; settled October 11, 1937.
- October 7, 1937. Clayton Lambert Co., 11111 French Road; 500 on sit-down, employed 650; U. A. W. union; settled October 13, 1937.
- October 8, 1937. Fisher Body Co., 950 East Milwaukee; 300 on sit-down, employed 1,400; U. A. W. union; settled October 11, 1937.
- October 11, 1937. Bohn Aluminum; four plants, 1,900 affected by a sit-down in the four plants; U. A. W. union; settled October 11, 1937.
- October 18, 1937. Tuller Envelope Co., 2744 West Fort Street; 40 on sit-down; A. F. L. union; settled October 19, 1937.
- October 21, 1937. Copeland Refrigerator Co., 1331 Holden Avenue; 85 on sit-down; M. E. S. A. union; this plant moved to Sidney, Ohio.
- November 9, 1937. Bohn Aluminum Co., 3605 Hart; 200 on sit-down, employed 600; U. A. W. union; settled November 13, 1937.
- November 17, 1937. Cadillac Motor Co., 2860 Clark Avenue; 200 on sit-down, employed 4,200; settled November 17, 1937.
- November 22, 1937. Bundy Tubing Co., 10951 Hern Avenue; 400 on sit-down, employed 1,100; U. A. W. union; settled December 2, 1937.
- December 16, 1937. Postal Telegraph Co., 230 State Street; 80 sit-down, employed 100; C. I. O. union; settled December 16, 1937.
- January 8, 1938. Detroit Creamery, 3925 Tillman Avenue; 110 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; settled January 9, 1938.
- February 28, 1938. Consolidated Brass Co., 139 Summitt Avenue; 50 on sit-down, employed 64; U. A. W. union; left plant at request of police; settled April 8, 1938.
- April 16, 1938. American Brass Co., 174 South Clark Avenue; 30 on sit-down, employed 800; U. A. W. union; left at request of police; settled June 18, 1938.
- July 15, 1938. Royal Textile Co., 409 East Forest Avenue; 6 on sit-down, employed 15; U. A. W. union; settled July 25, 1938.
- August 24, 1938. McCord Manufacturing Co., 2587 East Grand Boulevard; 120 on sit-down, employed 300; U. A. W. union; settled September 21, 1938.
- September 28, 1938. Detroit Housing Co., 5631 Grandy; 180 on sit-down; U. A. W. union; left at the request of the police that evening; settled October 1, 1938.
- October 12, 1938. Motor Products, 11801 Mack Avenue; 1,400 on sit-down, employed 2,400; U. A. W. union; settled October 12, 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. In what area was this list compiled?

Mr. FRAHM. In the Detroit area.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in Detroit?

Mr. FRAHM. Detroit alone.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not include Flint, or other cities in Michigan?

Mr. FRAHM. No. We have some more in 1938, here [indicating list].

The CHAIRMAN. You have a 1938 list?

Mr. FRAHM. We have some of them here, I believe. There are 7 there. I will say that there have been at least 50 in 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. There have been at least 50 of these in 1938?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the ones that you have named?

Mr. FRAHM. Including all of them; yes.

Now, here is another photograph taken on May 1.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Let us get this in the record in logical order. Here is a photograph taken from the top of the Wayne County Building, city of Detroit, Mich., May 1, 1938, showing a mass meeting in Cadillac Square; is that correct?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be made an exhibit in this hearing.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 3" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. Who took these photographs, the police department?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next photograph that will be offered in evidence is a photograph taken from the top of Wayne County Building in the city of Detroit, May 1, 1938, showing a mass meeting in Cadillac Square. In the photograph here may be seen the banners of the Communist Party of Michigan, carried along with others, and prominently displayed, is that a fact?

Mr. FRAHM. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 4" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next photograph?

Mr. FRAHM. Here is a strike that was instigated by a Communist in the Parke-Davis Co. plant.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a photograph of the entrance to the sixth drug and chemical department, south side, of the Parke-Davis Co., taken April 26, 1937. What does it show?

Mr. FRAHM. This is the place where all of the narcotics and the medicines are kept. They took possession of that and the city of Detroit at that time was short of narcotics and we had to go in there and get these fellows out of there, in order to get the plant back to the owners.

The CHAIRMAN. They had seized the plant and refused to surrender possession of it, is that correct?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes. At that time the strikers were on the inside and they turned the hose on us, a big fire hose.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 5" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. This photograph you have handed me is a photograph of another entrance to the same plant, is that correct?

Mr. FRAHM. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing what?

Mr. FRAHM. It shows the entrance right there [indicating on photograph].

The CHAIRMAN. Barricaded by the strikers, is that correct?

Mr. FRAHM. Barricaded by the strikers; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 6" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is this photograph [indicating another photograph] a photograph of the same strike?

Mr. FRAHM. They are practically all of the same situation.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no use introducing all of these individually. These photographs indicate the methods that were used in seizing possession of these plants and preventing others from coming in; is that correct?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right.

Now, here is the case of the American Brass Co. That is a strike where 11 of our men, police officers, were sent to the hospital with cracked skulls.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the American Brass Co. That strike occurred when?

Mr. FRAHM. That occurred on May 26.

Mr. MOSIER. Of what year?

Mr. FRAHM. This year.

Mr. MOSIER. 1938?

Mr. FRAHM. 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. You say 11 of the policemen were injured in that strike and sent to the hospital?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. They were hit on the head with these clubs. It seems that they used these clubs in all of the picket lines.

The CHAIRMAN. I have in my hand a photograph which reads "American Brass Co.," showing policemen, one of them apparently hurt, having been hit on the head. You say he was hit on the head by one of these clubs [indicating club]?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was thereupon marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 7" of this date.)

Mr. FRAHM. That [indicating photograph] is where they attacked a lot of the workmen's cars.

The CHAIRMAN. You hand me another photograph of the same strike, at the American Brass Co., showing a group of men who you say attacked workers' cars?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; coming out of the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. What were they going to do with the cars?

Mr. FRAHM. Break them up; smash them.

The CHAIRMAN. Smash them up?

Mr. FRAHM. Here is one right here [indicating on photograph].

The CHAIRMAN. Why would they smash them up?

Mr. FRAHM. Because they were not in sympathy with them; they were working.

The CHAIRMAN. That photograph may be marked as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 8" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next photograph is one showing one of the worker's cars which has been smashed up by the strikers: is that correct?

Mr. FRAHM. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 9" of this date.)

Mr. FRAHM. Some of our officers were hurt there. They took these big streetcar ties and threw them across the track and stopped the cars, and then four or five would attack the car and the worker, pull him out, and beat him up. One of our men, trying to get over to a cistern, was hit on the head by about four or five fellows.

That [indicating photograph] shows the line there. This shows when one of our officers was hit on the head.

The CHAIRMAN. You also have here a group of photographs of actual scenes that occurred in the strike area.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. That is Lieutenant Brown [indicating photograph], that was hit on the head.

The CHAIRMAN. One photograph showing Lieutenant Brown, who had been hit on the head by the strikers?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These may be put in as one exhibit.

(The photographs referred to were marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 10" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a photograph the legend on which reads, "Union sound car gassed by police."

Mr. FRAHM. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this [indicating on photograph] the sound car?

Mr. FRAHM. That is the sound car.

The CHAIRMAN. Who operated that? Is this one of the sound cars that the Communists operate?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That may go in as an exhibit.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 11 of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. The rest of these photographs may go in as a group, as portraying the actual scenes that occurred in the strike. The reports accompanying these photographs may also be made part of the record.

(The group of photographs referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 12" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have an another group of photographs showing injuries sustained by policemen?

Mr. FRAHM. This is one of the Communists here [indicating]. This fellow was hit on the head. They had their first-aid station right across from the factory. They had it set up, expecting trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a group of photographs showing one of the strikers injured; also showing the policeman. Is this policeman in the second group injured [indicating on photograph]?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is another photograph showing a policeman injured. We will let these go in as a group.

Mr. FRAHM. I would like to explain this case to you, if you will.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that man [indicating on photograph]?

Mr. FRAHM. I cannot tell you his name. I think it is Novak. We have seen him at meetings. The Federal Screw case was March 30. In that case the Communist outfit reported to the city council—they reported on two or three occasions—that the police department was creating a disturbance. They were the ones that were causing the fights. The third fight I went over there myself to see whether or not our men were implicated in creating any trouble. At that time, I would say that we were not having a lot of trouble. But they had about 5,000 people, women and children and men, around the Federal Screw works. There were about 39 or 49 men that were working in the plant and their cars were about five blocks away from the plant. I had 150 men there and it was up to us to get these men to the cars in safety and get them away.

We got them out about 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon. Everything seemed to be peaceful until they got about a half a block away when they started to throw cobblestones and brickbats, and women were throwing salt shakers out of the windows at us and shooting ball bearings with slingshots made out of rubber tires.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these some of the ball bearings that were shot at the police?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; and at the men that were going out. There is one picture there that will demonstrate that.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put these ball bearings in an envelope and have it marked as an exhibit in the hearing.

(The ball bearings referred to were received and marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 13" of this date.)

Mr. FRAHM. Here are the men leaving the plant [indicating on photograph]. They got about half a block away.

The CHAIRMAN. This is another group of pictures showing the strike situation and strike scenes.

Mr. FRAHM. You can see where they are picking up the stones.

The CHAIRMAN. This group may be made a part of the record.

(The group of photographs referred to was marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 14" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have given us enough of a picture of this situation.

Mr. FRAHM. There is one point here. Here is a court order to evict these people from the Yale Towne Manufacturing Co. plant. The court ordered them out and they refused to go out. The sheriff went there and we assisted the sheriff in putting them out. At the time we put them out, they had as much gas and weapons, which you can see on the top of the building here [indicating on photograph]—that is one right there; and that is what they threw at us from the top of the building [producing babbitt].

The CHAIRMAN. These were thrown at the police from the roof of the building, you say?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. That [indicating on photograph] is the building. We got up on this truck. That was the only way we could get up there. Then we got on the building and they were shooting

gas at us and we are shooting it back at them. You can see where the gas came down here, where we were.

The CHAIRMAN. You have here a group of photographs which shows your attempt to evict the strikebreakers after the court order?

Mr. FRAHM. You see the way they had it all there on the roof.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that show on the roof?

Mr. FRAHM. That is the babbit, the same as you have here. You can see the way it is piled up in one of the corners here, all the way around.

Mr. MOSIER. They were all ready for the police to arrive, weren't they?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right. The sheriff had the injunction, but he did not go with us. The sheriff did not go with us. McGrath, the deputy, did go with us. They were all young fellows and girls. We told them, we asked them to come down and not create any disturbance, that this was a court injunction. They said, "To hell with the court injunction. We are here. If you want us, take us down. But when you take us down, you are going to get this," and they had gas pipe and water pipe, about 3- to 4-foot lengths. We had to go up there and force them out. The court, I believe, sent two or three of them to jail for 30 days and the rest of them were fined.

We had taken the plant and left 10 officers there. I stayed around there and then another crowd of about 100 to 150 came to take the plant away from the police again: Bishop and Walter Reuther and the whole gang. We took Reuther and put him in the lock-up with a couple of his constituents and the trouble started and we took the sound car away and held that for 4 days.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put these photographs in as an exhibit of the Yale Towne situation.

(The photographs referred to were received and marked "Frahm Exhibit No. 15" of this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have covered that phase of it pretty well.

Mr. FRAHM. At the time of the trial, Mr. Dies, these fellows who occupied the Yale Towne plant, the strikers—

The CHAIRMAN. They were tried for what; what charge did they have against them?

Mr. FRAHM. They were charged with contempt of court.

The CHAIRMAN. For refusing to obey the mandatory injunction of the court?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right. At the time of the trial about four or five hundred people got into the courtroom, so nobody else could get in to testify, and we had an awful time getting in and out.

The CHAIRMAN. They picketed the courthouse to keep people from going in or out?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you observe that scene?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the Communists leading that?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. I think Mr. Mikuliak saw that, too.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent was this Communist-directed sit-down strike responsible for the loss of jobs to employees in the shops? Did they lose many hours of work?

Mr. FRAHM. Many hours and many weeks and months.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever gain anything by way of an increase in their wages?

Mr. FRAHM. Do you mean did they gain any membership?

The CHAIRMAN. No; an increase in wages; in other words, did they get any net benefit from it?

Mr. FRAHM. They perhaps got some benefits from it, but at the same time lost in the way of unemployment. Plants had to close, and even after agreements were reached by the manufacturers the strikes were still going on and no one seemed to know who was causing it. The heads of the union could not do anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. That was because the Communists were not striking for better wages or for shorter hours?

Mr. FRAHM. They were not interested in that.

The CHAIRMAN. They were striking to create class hatred and unrest; is not that the fact?

Mr. FRAHM. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is shown by the fact that when they settled one strike, regardless of the agreement, they would strike again; is that true?

Mr. FRAHM. They would strike, anyhow; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And keep it up indefinitely?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the reaction among the labor people to all of this sit-down strike activity and the Communist influences there?

Mr. FRAHM. The way I look at it now, and the way it looks to me very much, is that in a very short time there is going to be an awful clash. And I am afraid that a lot of people are going to get hurt unless something can be done regarding this Communist outfit.

The CHAIRMAN. If it were not for these Communists agitating this and leading it and directing this policy of violence and lawlessness, you would not have any serious trouble, would you?

Mr. FRAHM. I am satisfied that if they go along and work, that the manufacturers want to deal with the working people. But it seems as though no one seems to be able to hold them down. They are creating the disturbance regardless of what the manufacturer does.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean, in other words, that the union heads cannot control these men on account of the influence of the Communists within their ranks; is that correct?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right. We find that in so many cases. We go there to find out what the cause of it is and nobody seems to know.

The CHAIRMAN. What attitude are they creating so far as law and order and the maintenance of law and order are concerned?

Mr. FRAHM. I feel myself right now that the attitude that they are showing is that they want to keep everything in an uproar at all times, and that they do not want peace at all. That is the way it looks to me. They want to start trouble at all times. They are not interested in peace; they want trouble.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Frahm, of course Detroit is the center of the automobile world, is it not?

Mr. FRAHM. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. And you have lived there for how long?

Mr. FRAHM. I was born there; 51 years.

Mr. MOSIER. You have seen Detroit rise from a small city to a city of approximately two million population?

Mr. FRAHM. A million and a half.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, from your observation as a citizen of Detroit and as a police official, what would you say about the effect upon the city of Detroit and its population, its business, its educational system—everything—what has been the effect of these sit-down strikes in the last couple of years?

Mr. FRAHM. It naturally meant that the workmen did not have work. I think there is a lot of work there, if they could work. I think there are a lot of manufacturers that would open their factories, but just as soon as they do, a strike is immediately started and they again close the plant. And they have been keeping men out of work so long that right now the city is suffering financially, people are not able to pay their taxes, and the city government is hurt.

Mr. MOSIER. Has there been an increasing number that have gone on relief in the last couple of years?

Mr. FRAHM. Oh, yes.

Mr. MOSIER. City relief?

Mr. FRAHM. A very substantial increase.

Mr. MOSIER. And W. P. A.?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. The load of W. P. A. in 1936 was not as heavy in Detroit, was it?

Mr. FRAHM. I do not think it was at that time; no.

Mr. MOSIER. But it is very great now, is it not?

Mr. FRAHM. It has better than tripled, I would say.

Mr. MOSIER. I believe you are the president of the International Police Chiefs Association, are you not?

Mr. FRAHM. No. I was a past president of the Michigan Police Chief Association. I am on the executive board for the International Police Chiefs.

Mr. MOSIER. And that has been your business for how long?

Mr. FRAHM. Going on 28 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you regard this lawlessness as a major national problem?

Mr. FRAHM. I certainly do.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think it is one that the Federal Government should take cognizance of?

Mr. FRAHM. They surely should.

Mr. MOSIER. When these strikes were going on out there that you have testified to, some two or three hundred of them in the last couple of years, and your city police tried to cope with the situation, did you ever get any help from the State of Michigan?

Mr. FRAHM. We did not.

Mr. MOSIER. From your observation, Mr. Frahm, when a strike is on in Detroit, do they import people to help in that strike from other sections of Detroit other than the place where the strike is located?

Mr. FRAHM. I am satisfied right now that there are at least two to three hundred people from different parts of the United States in there helping in these strikes.

Mr. MOSIER. And they come from all over the country?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That has been true in strikes not only in the automobile industry but in the rubber industry in Ohio and in the steel industry.

Mr. FRAHM. In all strikes; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That occurs in those strikes as well as in automobile strikes.

Mr. FRAHM. In some strikes they would go right in there, chase out the proprietor, and ask for the keys. If they did not give them the keys, they would take them away and lock the doors and stay inside.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean in business houses in the city?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They would walk right in and take it away from the proprietor?

Mr. FRAHM. It would be either that, or they would throw them out.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that such a disrespect for law presents a major problem?

Mr. FRAHM. I believe that was a local problem right then. It spreads throughout the country, when this outfit goes from one State to another. When they go from one State to another, it is a major problem; but I think that so far as these cases were concerned they were people who were organizers. I went to the head of the union, and I said, "You certainly have swell organizers, chasing these people out." and he said, "You must admit that they are damned good organizers." I said, "They will not organize any more."

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent would these organizers exert political influence?

Mr. FRAHM. They do to the extent of securing warrants. In many cases we could not secure warrants.

The CHAIRMAN. Warrants for arrest?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. There were several we arrested. In some cases they would not issue warrants where the police officers were trying to enforce the law.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they threaten the police with dismissal through political influence?

Mr. FRAHM. They never did, because they knew the Commissioner would never listen to it. So far as the chief executive of the city was concerned, Mayor Cousins would not do any such thing. They had a motion before a council in the *Federal Screw case*, where they wanted the commissioner dismissed. In that particular case, they claimed that the police department were the aggressors. I know they were not, and I testified so before the council.

The CHAIRMAN. Who refused to issue warrants for arrest?

Mr. FRAHM. The prosecuting attorney of Wayne County.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. FRAHM. Duncan McCrea.

Mr. MOSIER. I want to ask you this question: This is something I have wondered about during these hearings. The Communists are always talking about war, fighting, and revolution: Now, when you have a group of your policemen chasing some of those Communists, are they actually fighters, or are they brave fellows? Will they fight,

or do they start the trouble, get out, and let somebody else do the actual fighting?

Mr. FRAHM. That is the idea. They are agitators, but they will not fight. You never see them at the scene of trouble. You see them there up to that point, and then they vanish.

Mr. MOSIER. They do the talking.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. When the fighting starts, they disappear.

Mr. FRAHM. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. We were talking about law and order, and the refusal of the prosecutor to issue warrants: Were there any Detroit or Michigan officials who were actually on the side of the strikers?

Mr. FRAHM. I believe there were.

Mr. MOSIER. Did any of them make speeches to them during the strikes?

Mr. FRAHM. Perhaps not during the strike, but they made speeches at gatherings at the campus, or the Governor did.

Mr. MOSIER. At what campus?

Mr. FRAHM. In Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. Who made the speech?

Mr. FRAHM. The Governor made the speech.

Mr. MOSIER. The Governor of Michigan?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that during the strikes?

Mr. FRAHM. It was during the May Day celebration. It was one of their big days. That was when all of the labor demonstrations took place. Labor Day was the last time he talked to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he not in some store when a sit-down strike occurred?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; he was.

Mr. MOSIER. What was he doing in the store?

Mr. FRAHM. That was in the Franklin-Cedar Store. They were the Miller and Setrin boys that were used in that store. They told them to get out.

Mr. MOSIER. Who told them to do that?

Mr. FRAHM. Miller and Setrin.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they Communists?

Mr. FRAHM. No, sir; but they worked with them.

Mr. MOSIER. Were they organizers?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. From what union?

Mr. FRAHM. They were organizers for the Detroit Federation of Labor. At that time the mayor had set up a committee to listen to these strike difficulties. They had a meeting at the Statler Hotel, and Mr. Sincere, the manager, was stirred up quite a bit and wanted to know how it happened they could come in there and chase good business people out of their place of business and take possession. They all agreed that we must call police headquarters and get some men. It was only about 5 minutes going and 5 minutes coming back. When we returned—the Governor was also at the meeting at the Statler, with Mr. Cartell—when we returned to the store, the Governor and Mr. Cartell were sitting on a box talking to the people who had taken possession of the store.

Mr. MOSIER. You say that Louis Miller was one of them.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; he is the man I arrested in the store at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. And also Louis Setrin.

Mr. FRAHM. He was not present at the time. Some of them got away before we got back.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he in the store with Miller?

Mr. FRAHM. Not at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. But Miller was there.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. I have before me what purports to be the police record in the Detroit Police Department of Louis Miller.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. It appears that he was arrested in 1925 on a charge of robbery; again in 1930 for investigation; again in 1930 for larceny of property; still again in 1930 for contributing to the abduction of a child; in 1933 for investigation; again in 1933 for investigation; in 1935 for grand larceny; and in 1937 for investigation.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. He was the man who went in and told the executives of the store that they had to get out.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; and he and his crowd took possession of the store.

Mr. MOSIER. You say he is not a member of the Communist Party, but that he associates with them and works with them.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How about Louis Setrin?

Mr. FRAHM. He was with Miller on this store job, and another one in the Crowley-Milner store. They held that store up.

Mr. MOSIER. They took possession of the store.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. I have here what purports to be the police record of Louis Setrin, alias Joe Miller, alias C. B. Blackman, alias Joe Schlossman, alias C. B. Blaskman. It appears that he was arrested in 1922 under the United States drug law; in 1924 under the drug law; in 1926 for burglary, in Utah; in 1926 as a fugitive from Omaha, Nebr.; in 1928 wanted for burglary at San Francisco; in 1929 for violation of the Mann Act; in 1937 as a fugitive; in 1926 as a fugitive, at Denver, Colo.; in 1927 on suspicion at Beaumont, Tex., and held for investigation for murder at Kansas City. Now it appears that this man is one of the leaders out there. He went in and took over property.

Mr. FRAHM. That is right. They took over about 10 stores.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, you say that the Governor of Michigan was in one of those stores.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he having anything to do with the strikers in the store? Was he encouraging them or discouraging them?

Mr. FRAHM. I cannot say as to that.

Mr. MOSIER. He just happened to be there.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; he and Frank Martell, the head of the Detroit Federation of Labor.

Mr. MOSIER. Governor Murphy did send out some troops, did he not, at one of the Michigan cities?

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir; at Flint.

Mr. MOSIER. Did the sheriff ask for troops, or do you recall as to that?

Mr. FRAHM. I do not know. That is 60 miles from Detroit. I do not know whether he did or not.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of men were in the Newton Co. strike?

Mr. FRAHM. There were several people known as the Purple Gang. One man was named Fleischer.

The CHAIRMAN. Representatives of the old Purple Gang.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the Governor get out of the store when he was in there?

Mr. FRAHM. He walked out. Kleman was one of the men who did the butcher and barber shop jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he?

Mr. FRAHM. He was a man with a record around Detroit. He was killed a short time ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the State make some determined effort to save itself when they knew that these Communists were active in creating those conditions there? Was no effort made by the State to stop them?

Mr. FRAHM. I know they never gave us any assistance at all. The Governor came down and held a meeting sometimes.

The CHAIRMAN. For what—encouraging it?

Mr. FRAHM. No, sir; I cannot say that.

Mr. MOSIER. What was the purpose in seizing the stores?

Mr. FRAHM. To make them join the union, and do as they want them to do.

Mr. MOSIER. They would seize the stores in that way until the employees of the store signed up with the union.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir. In the Woolworth 5 & 10 cents store they did the same thing, and they did it at 9 or 10 shoe stores. One man would go around with cards and sign them up, and ask them to pay their dues.

Mr. MOSIER. They always had to pay their dues.

Mr. FRAHM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for coming here under the subpoena, like the rest of them.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN W. KOOS, DEARBORN, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you live in Detroit?

Mr. KOOS. No, sir; I live in Dearborn.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a practicing attorney.

Mr. KOOS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Dearborn is a suburb of Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. Dearborn is a city that does not belong in the United States, according to the Communist version.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you appearing in the capacity of a lawyer, or as an individual?

Mr. Koos. I appear as an individual who is graduating from the melting pot into a citizen of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. Koos. In Europe. For a time it has been in Roumania, but at the time I was born it was in the Ukraine. I am of Ukrainian descent.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in this country?

Mr. Koos. For 20 years. I was brought up and educated in Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been living in Dearborn since you came?

Mr. Koos. No, sir; I have been in Canada for 9 years and 15 years in Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion to make a careful study of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism, or have you had occasion to observe their activities and what they lead to? If so, will you give us the benefit of your experience and information?

Mr. Koos. Well, Mr. Chairman, coming from Europe, where communism is sitting in today, and being of Ukrainian descent, Ukraine now being under the rule of Moscow, I naturally am interested in everything that is going on, because I have my relatives there, but not immediate relatives. I have my school chums there, with whom I correspond, and because of the sad lot of the Ukraine, herself under Moscow rule, naturally I have studied as many phases of it as I could. I think I have a fair knowledge of what communism means.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it mean in a country that actually has it?

Mr. Koos. Communism is the doctrine of socialism of international scope. That is, communism does not recognize any boundaries, but the goal of communism is to encompass the whole world and call it a union or Soviet Union of the World, including the United States whenever they get it.

The CHAIRMAN. By what means do they hope to accomplish that?

Mr. Koos. By means of appeal to the proletariat or classes.

The CHAIRMAN. By peaceful means, or by force and violence?

Mr. Koos. Usually by force and violence, because the doctrine of communism advocates force and violence. Of course, if it could be possible to enthrone communism or a communistic regime in a country without force or violence, that would also be acceptable, but if it cannot be, force and violence must be used. The doctrine of communism is always preached to people who are among the less enlightened people who have been oppressed, as in Europe by the czars, by the kaisers, by kings, or by other lords. Those people are more receptive to the doctrine because it teaches them that they will have the government and will rule. Naturally, you cannot preach communism to people of other classes, but only to the classes that are less enlightened, or the laboring class. That has been done in Europe, and that is what is being attempted today in America.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into that, what does communism mean in actual practice in the Ukraine, where your people reside?

Mr. Koos. From what basis?

The CHAIRMAN. From the standpoint of social and economic betterment. What has actually taken place?

Mr. Koos. At first, it is supposed to be the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is, the proletariat class of people are supposed to have control of the government, but after it is enthroned, as it has been in Russia, then all classes vanish, and the government remains in a few hands or in one hand. It becomes a totalitarian dictatorship where the State rules supreme, where everything belongs to the State. Every man's body belongs to the state, and even his soul belongs to the state. He cannot recognize or practice any religious feeling, as has been shown and widely known as a matter of record in Russia today, where churches of all kinds, description, or denomination have been done away with. With very few exceptions, they are used for other purposes.

Where the land has been confiscated, the land does not belong to any man in particular: it belongs to the State. The collectivization and regimentation that we have read so much about and heard so much about means just that thing. The people are expropriated. They do not own anything. The right to personal property or real property ownership is unknown to the doctrine of communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Then all plans that contemplate economic and social regimentation and bureaucratic control are to a large extent communistic, are they not?

Mr. Koos. Well, I would say they are socialistic rather than communistic.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. Koos. I would not say they are communistic. Communism and socialism, of course, are similar doctrines. Communism was derived from socialism, and so were nazi-ism and fascism. The difference between the two—and I say "two" because I bunch nazi-ism and fascism into one and communism into another—the difference between those two groups is that the one is practiced within certain boundaries—nazi-ism and fascism—within a given country. Socialism is practiced within these boundaries, and communism is international. It knows no boundaries. All of them are dictatorships, strictly, where the people have nothing to say, as it is in Germany, as it is in Italy, and as it is in Russia.

Nazi-ism and fascism are the reactions, as we call them, of communism. When communism was enthroned in 1917 in October, in Moscow, and the doctrine of communism began to spread across the boundaries, it is a matter of record that Hungary became communistic and had a communistic dictator for a while; then later Italy, and then later Germany. Nazi-ism and fascism are the Socialist doctrines that were born as a reaction to communism, because they did not want to cross the boundaries. They would rather practice that for the betterment of their people inside the boundaries.

And, of course, communism, knowing no boundaries, crossed into America, and we have had for the last 20 years different phases of it studied and practiced here, and phases that have penetrated into, I would say, our most sacred institutions in the United States.

Personally, I feel averse to all dictatorships, because of a personal feeling. I came to the United States. I selected the Constitution of the United States when I was 32, or more than that; and when dictatorships preach to me personally that the constitutional provisions of the United States are not very good, and that they

should be changed, and that the Constitution of the United States is not the modern document for America, I feel personally offended, because only a few years ago I swore that I would support it and that I would die for it if necessary. And that is a personal feeling. That is why I have studied the different phases of it, whether they be in Europe or here in America.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent do you feel that communism has progressed in the United States?

Mr. KOOS. I do not think it has progressed very far. Communism in the United States does not count a great membership. The membership of Communist members is probably very limited. But so it is in Russia today. Russia has 170,000,000 people, and the actual Communist Party members number less than one million.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the membership in Spain before the war?

Mr. KOOS. I would not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. So that their program does not call for a big membership?

Mr. KOOS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what is their program?

Mr. KOOS. It is probably hard to put it. The program is worked on the old and tried system of mass psychology. If you have 1 or 2 men that are well versed in a certain subject, and they have 5,000 hearers, and 1 gets up on the rostrum or the platform and gives a nice speech and incites the people to the pitch of excitement, and during that time somebody gets up and says, "I move that this body resolve so and so, and so and so," everybody says, "Aye, aye"—everybody is for it. There you have resolutions, and these resolutions are being passed every day. These things are happening in all kinds of circles, not only in communistic circles but in all others.

You do not need to have many members. You have to have a few militant members, who know what this is all about, and work on the mass.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the different degrees in communism?

Mr. KOOS. I do not know if there are many degrees. I think communism is communism. There are some factions or fractions, you might say, that have broken off since communism became powerful in Russia. These fractions are called the Trotskyites, for instance—the fraction of the Trotskyites. As we all well know, Mr. Trotsky went from the United States to Russia to help Mr. Lenin to enthroned the Communist regime in Moscow. Then the two disagreed, for some reason, and Mr. Trotsky withdrew from Russia and has been traveling; has been everywhere—in Turkey, in Switzerland, in Sweden, and presently, I understand, he is in Mexico. He is opposed to Mr. Stalin's communism, because Mr. Stalin perhaps went a little further than the doctrines of communism preached. Mr. Trotsky would like to check him, if he could.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are Trotskyites. Then you have Lovestoneites, do you not?

Mr. KOOS. Well, that is a local affair.

Mr. MOSIER. Explain that, will you?

Mr. KOOS. I don't know if I could explain it very well, but I think the Lovestoneites are the followers of Mr. Lovestone, who is supposed

to head what they call the opposition to the Communist Party or to the Communist régime at the present time.

As you know, in the last year and a half—we all read about it—there were more people purged and executed in Moscow than ever before in all the programs known in history. Perhaps the purging tactics of Mr. Stalin are aversive to Mr. Lovestone and his followers, and that is why they probably do not like Mr. Stalin and count themselves in the corral of the opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have the members of the Communist Party. They are the paid-up, dues-paying members. Then what other class do you have besides those?

Mr. Koos. Oh, you mean that way. Well, of course, that would be classified—almost in any organization you would find members of that description. You perhaps mean this: That there are men who are convinced Communists; men who are idealists; men who believe in communism, and who preach communism. Then there might be men who are in the Communist corral because of necessity, because of their personal gain; and there are also probably men who do not know anything about communism but they think it is very smart to expound so-called democratic, liberal, and progressive ideas; and, as it is in America today, unfortunately they count on the votes which are not there. That is probably because of political honors that certain men in America today are seeking. They are seeking political honors, and appear among Communists and sponsor some of their duties and activities, but they do not know that they are being used for ulterior motives.

It is one of the programs of communism that in a given country, in order to spread communism, you cannot use the names of people foreign to that country. You must try to win on your side men who are prominent in the country, who command the respect of their community, men who mean something; and when that man says something at their gatherings or at their meetings in favor of communism, be it under the guise of liberalism or progressivism, that means everything to the propagandists of communism or any other "ism" in their work to saddle the people with their doctrines; if they can go ahead and put it to the people. "Well, look; here is Mr. So and So. He is our judge. Here is Mr. So and So; he is our attorney general. Here is So and So; he is our governor. Now he is saying so and so." The ordinary man does not know any different. He cannot be expected to know what is behind this thing, but since he sees these people on the side expressing their ideas favorably to a certain "ism," the people are drawn into that net that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have been a resident of Michigan for quite a number of years. Why is it that the employers do not get rid of the Communists on their pay rolls? Why do they continue to let them stay there and operate in their factories?

Mr. Koos. Well, that is perhaps a hard thing to explain, except probably for this: The Communists, as the program calls, work on labor, as I said a while ago, and on classes that are—well, less enlightened; and because they are in American labor today, and because we have great American unions, and because some of the great American unions have received protection of the Government, this very protection is used for their protection. So if a Communist is caught

disseminating an un-American "ism," if he is caught disseminating injurious propaganda to the institutions of the United States, the protection of a certain union is very handy. He says, "I am a member of U. A. W.," or "A. E. F. of L.," or some other union.

The CHAIRMAN. Why can't they get rid of them? Why can't they fire them?

Mr. KOOS. That probably would have to be left to our legislators, because under the present legislation, the National Labor Relations Board seems to be very, very sympathetic with the cause that the Communists propagate inside of the labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not get into that point. You mean that under the labor law the employer cannot fire a Communist who is working for him?

Mr. KOOS. That is just what I am trying to explain. He cannot fire him because the man instantly hides himself behind the union, and he says he is a member of the union, when the fact is that he is not in the union for the purpose of unionism.

The CHAIRMAN. If a man is operating under cover in Communist organizations, do they undertake to label him as a labor spy? Does the term "labor spy" include a man who is operating under cover to find out about Communist activities?

Mr. KOOS. That is a very convenient name to ridicule anybody who is patriotic, we will say—to find out what this is all about—and if he so much as says a word that he does not like these acts and activities within the union immediately he is branded a labor spy. That is a very convenient name to use.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the Communists seek to confuse the definition so as to brand those who go within the organization to find out what is going on; they seek to put the brand of "labor spy" on them likewise?

Mr. KOOS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything further that you want to add to your statement?

Mr. KOOS. I think not at the present time, unless you want to call me tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sufficiently acquainted with communism in the automobile unions in Detroit to testify on it?

Mr. KOOS. Well, I have a fairly good knowledge, generally speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they made definite inroads in those unions?

Mr. KOOS. They have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they dominate the activities of the unions?

Mr. KOOS. They dominate absolutely the activities of the unions by their functionaries at the head of the unions—the different locals.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all. Thank you very much, sir.

We will meet at 10 o'clock in the morning. We will hear Mr. Homer Martin as the first witness, and he will be followed by witnesses from Flint and Lansing.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, October 21, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,

Washington, D. C.

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

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

It was announced yesterday to the press that Mr. Homer Martin would be here today, but late yesterday evening his attorney called me and said Mr. Martin was not feeling so good and asked if it would be agreeable to postpone his appearance until some time next week, to be mutually arranged between Mr. Martin and the Chair, and the Chair agreed to that. So Mr. Martin will appear some time next week. The date has not yet been set, but they will advise me today or tomorrow, and the date will be fixed then for his appearance.

We will continue today with witnesses from Flint, and then tomorrow have witnesses from Lansing.

Then on Monday we plan to have witnesses from an entirely different area, to develop some new phases that have not been touched upon, on which we have been working for some time and are about ready for testimony to be presented. Then we will have witnesses from other sections of the country.

The first witness this morning is Mr. Edwin Hughes, captain of the Flint, Mich., Police Department.

STATEMENT OF EDWIN H. HUGHES, CAPTAIN, POLICE DEPARTMENT, FLINT, MICH.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Edwin H. Hughes?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are captain in the Flint, Mich., Police Department?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Captain, how long have you been connected with the police department of Flint?

Captain HUGHES. Since 1923: February 1.

Mr. MOSIER. You have been continuously connected with the department since that time?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How large a city is Flint, Mich.?

Captain HUGHES. About 152,000 at the present time.

Mr. MOSIER. For the purposes of the record, will you tell us what automobile plants are located in the city of Flint?

Captain HUGHES. The Buick Motor Co. and the Chevrolet Motor Co., both branches of the General Motors Corporation, and several subsidiary plants.

Mr. MOSIER. When you talk about, we will say, Fisher plant No. 2, what I would like you to do, for the purposes of the record, is to name these plants so that when you designate one plant as Fisher plant No. 2, we will know what you are talking about.

You say there is a Buick plant located there?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. One plant?

Captain HUGHES. That is, the entire Buick plant is located there.

Mr. MOSIER. The entire Buick plant is located at Flint, Mich.?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Do they have more than one plant, or is it all in one plant?

Captain HUGHES. They have several factories that make up the plant.

Mr. MOSIER. When you talk about a Buick plant, you do not number them?

Captain HUGHES. The buildings are numbered. They have several department buildings.

Mr. MOSIER. They are numbered from "1" up?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the Buick. How about Chevrolet?

Captain HUGHES. The Chevrolet is numbered the same, so far as the plants are concerned, but the entire group are together in one section.

Mr. MOSIER. How about the Fisher Body?

Captain HUGHES. The Fisher Body has two separate plants in the group class; one group is located on South Saginaw Street; that is No. 1. The No. 2 unit is located on Chevrolet Avenue. That is across the street from the Chevrolet Motor Co., where they make bodies for the Chevrolet cars.

Mr. MOSIER. One of the Fisher plants is located across the street from the Chevrolet Motor Co.?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir. Plant No. 1 makes bodies for Buick automobiles, and plant No. 2 makes bodies for Chevrolet automobiles.

Mr. MOSIER. For the purposes of the record, will you tell us, when those automobile companies are going along with their normal business, approximately how many people are employed in those plants at Flint?

Captain HUGHES. I would not be able to state definitely, but I think somewhere in the neighborhood of 38,000.

Mr. MOSIER. At all the plants?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Thirty-eight thousand people?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have any other large companies in Flint, aside from the automobile companies?

Captain HUGHES. We have an A. C. Spark Plug division. We have a small plant called the Standard Cotton Products plant.

Mr. MOSIER. You have no other plants there that will appear in your testimony?

Captain HUGHES. No, sir; there are no other plants there that are not connected with the General Motors Corporation, as a subsidiary, or making parts for them.

Mr. MOSIER. When was the first serious strike in Flint?

Captain HUGHES. The first serious strike in Flint occurred in 1930.

Mr. MOSIER. In 1930?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. What is your form of government in Flint? Do you have a mayor or city manager? What type of government do you have there?

Captain HUGHES. At the present time it is the city manager form of government, with a mayor and city commission. The city manager is the administrative official.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that true in 1930?

Captain HUGHES. No.

Mr. MOSIER. You had a mayor?

Captain HUGHES. There was an aldermanic form of government at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. Since 1923, when you started with the Flint police department, did you have any occasion in the line of your duty to make any investigation or any observation of Communist activities in the city of Flint?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you please tell the committee, starting back when you first had occasion to make those observations and investigations, what you found in the course of your observations and investigations?

Captain HUGHES. The Communist movement was pretty well under cover in the city of Flint up until approximately 1927. Meetings were held under cover. There was probably a lot of literature circulated, and there was some literature that came to our attention.

In 1927 the only noticeable increase was the increase in the amount of literature in circulation, until prior to the Fisher Body strike of 1930.

About 2 or 3 months prior to that time the meetings became more open, and the literature was increased accordingly.

At the time of the strike in 1930, the movement was led by avowed Communist elements, noticeably one Philip Raymond, of Detroit.

We also had people who were active in the movement and assumed the leadership, and who admitted their membership in the Communist Party and in the Young Communist League.

Mr. MOSIER. Can you name any others, other than Philip Raymond, of Detroit?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you give us the names for the record?

Captain HUGHES. There was one Albert Goetz, one Theodore Andamoff, as to the latter of whom the last I heard of him he was under investigation by the Federal Immigration Department and was in custody. I do not know what the disposition of his case was.

Mr. MOSIER. Was Andamoff a resident of Flint?

Captain HUGHES. No; Andamoff was from Detroit.

Mr. MOSIER. He was from Detroit?

Captain HUGHES. Yes; and Goetz was also from Detroit.

There was a man named Stachel, whose first name I do not have.

Mr. MOSIER. Stachel was a well-known Communist leader from New York, and, as I recall, he has been in and out of this testimony for 30 days.

Captain HUGHES. We have him recorded as secretary of the International Labor Defense out of Detroit.

There was also one Louise Morrison, a woman; I do not know where she was from. And there was one Clarence Killip.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know where he was from, Captain?

Captain HUGHES. I do not. There was also one William Siroko.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know anything about him?

Captain HUGHES. No; I know nothing further about him.

Mr. MOSIER. Are those all the names you have in mind?

Captain HUGHES. That is all the names I have that we have definitely connected with the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. You said the first strike was in 1930?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Would you care to tell us a little about the strike in 1930, or would you rather go to the 1937 strike.

Captain HUGHES. I might tell you that the strike of 1930 was under the auspices of the Trades Union Unity League, and the membership of the shops were recruited for membership in that organization.

Mr. MOSIER. The Trades Union Unity League, Captain, was an organization, was it not, in which there participated not only Communists but Socialists, left-wing Socialists, and all of that group were called the Unity group?

Captain HUGHES. It was considered a leftist organization. For the purposes of organization, the men were organized in the United Auto Workers and aircraft organization.

Mr. MOSIER. The United Auto Workers?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That was before this present organization of the automobile workers?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Was Victor Renthler there, in the 1930 strike?

Captain HUGHES. No, sir; not that I know of.

Mr. MOSIER. He appeared later?

Captain HUGHES. He did not come to our attention until 1936.

Mr. MOSIER. Where was the strike in 1930, in what plant?

Captain HUGHES. That involved the Fisher Body, No. 1; that was a South Saginaw plant.

Mr. MOSIER. How long did that strike last?

Captain HUGHES. It lasted about 8 days.

Mr. MOSIER. Was anybody killed or injured in that strike?

Captain HUGHES. There were a few injuries, but no one was killed.

Mr. MOSIER. Suppose you go up to 1937; that was the next strike, was it not?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That was last year, in January?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Suppose you tell us about that strike.

Captain HUGHES. This strike of 1937, or late in 1936, I think it was called on the 30th of December 1936, followed closely upon the heels of the transportation strike; and, naturally, the two strikes ran along together; the transport was out at the same time and started prior to the automobile strike by about 6 weeks.

Speaking of the two Ruether brothers, Roy and Victor, Roy was the first to put in an appearance in the transportation strike, where he fronted for the bus men in the negotiations with the company and also before the city commission of the city of Flint.

Mr. MOSIER. That was Roy Ruether?

Captain HUGHES. That was Roy Ruether; yes, sir.

The first time that Victor Ruether came to our attention was in the early part of January—I cannot give you the exact date on that.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, it was in January 1937?

Captain HUGHES. Yes. We found it necessary to make a couple of arrests for breaches of the peace as the automobile strike was getting under way, and Victor Ruether made his appearance at the head of a group of about 200 people and sympathizers in front of the police station, where their purpose was to either get these men out of jail or deliver them from jail.

Victor Ruether manned a loud speaker on a sound car that night.

Mr. MOSIER. Were you present at the time?

Captain HUGHES. I was present; I led the dispersal of that crowd.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you hear him as he spoke from the sound car in front of the jail?

Captain HUGHES. I did.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you recall anything he said at that time that would be pertinent to this hearing?

Captain HUGHES. Yes. First, in his general address he told the assembled people that they were going to try to get these men out of jail, and if they could not get them out of jail they would go in and take them out of jail. Then he switched from that to addressing the police, telling them and the crowd that probably in a short time they would also have the police in their organization.

He was not at that particular time preaching any revolutionary doctrines or anything of that kind that might have been termed incitement to a riot.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Captain, what happened? Did you disperse the crowd?

Captain HUGHES. We dispersed the crowd; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Go right ahead.

Captain HUGHES. Both of the Ruether brothers—

Mr. MOSIER. There are really three, are there not?

Captain HUGHES. Yes; there is Roy and Victor—

Mr. MOSIER. Roy, Victor, and Walter?

Captain HUGHES. Walter, to my knowledge, did not put in his appearance in Flint.

Mr. MOSIER. Roy and Victor were in the strike, in Flint?

Captain HUGHES. They were in the strike in Flint; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to Victor Ruether making a speech, did you see some well-known Communists actively participating at that time?

Captain HUGHES. At that particular time I saw no one whom I could positively identify as a Communist.

Mr. MOSIER. On this particular night.

Captain HUGHES. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, go right ahead in your own way, and tell us about the strike as it progressed.

Captain HUGHES. Between the 1st of January and about the 10th, it was more or less of an intensive organization program that they were putting on there, the use of sound trucks, and so forth, being quite constant. These sound trucks were manned mostly at that time by either Roy or Victor Ruether.

Mr. MOSIER. During that time did you have any serious disturbances where the police force took part?

Captain HUGHES. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Where was that?

Captain HUGHES. Upon the night of January 11, 1937, I received an order from headquarters to proceed to Fisher Body No. 2 plant and investigate a reported disturbance there, in which the factory doors had been broken in and the premises taken from under management control, that the factory guards had been driven away, and the strikers were in control of the ingress and egress of the plant. So I, with six men and Sheriff Wolcott, of Genesee County, with about the same number of men, in four automobiles, went out to the plant.

A sound truck, manned by Victor Ruether, was at the scene at the time, addressing a crowd of probably about 100 or 150 people.

I left my squad behind and I went to the door of the plant, and I noticed that there had been some damage done. The doors of the shop had been broken and there were no company officials or company guards in sight.

I went to the door and noticed there were about 15 men in the clockhouse, which is inside of the doorway, with two men on each door holding the handles. As I put in my appearance they ran out a couple of fire hoses, evidently with the intention of either making an attack or repelling any attempt to get in. In fact, no one had a chance to talk to anyone.

The trouble started on the street between the squads and the people assembled there while I was at the door. The trouble did not start from the factory itself. It did start on the street, in front of the factory, and we were involved so quickly that it would be difficult to tell you all of the angles involved there.

There were showers of bricks and stones and clods of dirt, milk bottles, door hinges—anything that came to hand, and fire hose were used, and the police used tear gas, up to a certain point, and it seemed there were plenty of reserves available for the attack upon us at that time.

In fact, there probably were about a thousand people in the streets in a very few minutes. Clods of dirt and pieces of pavement made their appearance.

We found later that pieces of pavement were taken from a dump back of what we call the Atwood Stadium, about six or eight blocks away, and they must have been transported in there by automobile.

After the thing had progressed from 20 minutes to half an hour, the authorities were out of tear gas and it was necessary to resort to

firearms in order to control the situation. There were several people hurt. There were 14 police officers hospitalized, and I think there was an equal number of citizens hospitalized from the effects of tear gas and gunshot wounds.

All the time this riot was going on it was under the direction of Victor Ruether. He exhorted his followers to attack, telling them that if there were any more strikers injured to go in and tear up the plant, and also if they would go home and get their guns and make an attack that they would give the police what they deserved.

Mr. MOSIER. Did he say anything about the police?

Captain HUGHES. Yes; the police were called all kinds of names, as is usual under the circumstances.

Mr. MOSIER. By Ruether?

Captain HUGHES. By Ruether.

Mr. MOSIER. Over the loudspeaker?

Captain HUGHES. Over the loudspeaker in the car. My impression of the whole proposition was that it was directed under a highly organized system by men who had been versed in just such tactics.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, at that strike, did you see anyone there besides Ruether who was an agitator?

Captain HUGHES. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. A Communist or a leftist Socialist?

Captain HUGHES. As I say, at that time I had not any definite proof that any of the people who were in it were Communists, communistic, or leftist Socialists.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get that proof later?

Captain HUGHES. Only by what I have heard. I have reason to believe it is true, but I have no definite proof in the form of knowing that they are actually members.

Mr. MOSIER. You have not seen their cards?

Captain HUGHES. I have not seen their cards.

Mr. MOSIER. Can you give us the names of some of them?

The CHAIRMAN. The reason for that question is because this record contains a good deal of testimony with reference to all of these individuals.

Captain HUGHES. As the situation there progressed, a man by the name of Robert Travis put in his appearance upon the scene. Travis at that time was in charge of the organization of the United Auto Workers.

There was also a man by the name of Carney, who was from some place in Ohio; I understand he was from Akron. He was prominent on the sound car that night.

Mr. MOSIER. He talked on the sound car?

Captain HUGHES. That is right. The sound car seemed to be manned by Victor Ruether and Carney to the greatest extent.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know Carney's full name?

Captain HUGHES. William J. Carney.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you any other names that come to your mind?

Captain HUGHES. No; I have not in mind any others on that particular occasion. I do have the names of people who participated in that riot from outside the State of Michigan.

Mr. MOSIER. That is what I want to know. Do you know whether there were other people present at that riot who were from outside the State of Michigan?

Captain HUGHES. Yes; I know that from my own knowledge and as a matter of record as well as from information reaching me from men inside the shop at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. Where were they from?

Captain HUGHES. Most of them were from Ohio and Indiana.

Mr. MOSIER. Were their automobiles there?

Captain HUGHES. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. With Ohio license tags on them?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And Indiana license tags?

Captain HUGHES. The Ohio licenses were most prominent. We saw the records of the men we know were there from Ohio.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you make any check on those license tags?

Captain HUGHES. Yes; we did.

Mr. MOSIER. Where were they from?

Captain HUGHES. The majority were from northern Ohio.

Mr. MOSIER. Where, in northern Ohio, if you know?

Captain HUGHES. There were some from Toledo, the majority from Toledo, and some from Akron, and some from Norwood.

Mr. MOSIER. From Norwood, Akron, and Toledo?

Captain HUGHES. We also had some from Anderson, Ind.

Mr. MOSIER. From your subsequent investigation, or the investigation made at that time, do you know what was the occasion for those men coming up there? Do you know of any request being made out of Flint to have those men come up there?

Captain HUGHES. I do not know that of my own knowledge, although I had information to that effect from both Flint and the points involved in Ohio, that requests had been made by Robert Travis, a telegram sent for reinforcements.

Mr. MOSIER. Were any of those people from outside of Michigan injured in this riot?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know the names of any of them that were injured?

Captain HUGHES. I do.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you give the committee the benefit of those names, and tell us where they lived, if you have that?

Captain HUGHES. I have the name of one Lee J. Montett, from Mont Clova, Ohio, age 40.

Mr. MOSIER. Where did you obtain this list; from the hospital records?

Captain HUGHES. It was obtained direct, from the men themselves.

Mr. MOSIER. Go ahead.

Captain HUGHES. The next is William Ligtop, of Toledo, Ohio, age 30.

Clarence Hoskins, I believe of Norwood, Ohio. Those men were injured in the riot.

Mr. MOSIER. Captain, did you make any investigation as to the weapons that were used by the strikers in this riot?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you tell us about that, please?

Captain HUGHES. I have a statement here taken from one of the strikers who was arrested for carrying concealed weapons who was

in the Fisher Body plant No. 1 on South Saginaw Street. I have a transcript of his own statement covering that particular point.

Mr. Mosier. Will you give us the salient points? Is it a long statement?

Captain HUGHES. It is not very long.

Mr. Mosier. Will you give us the salient points, then?

Captain HUGHES. This is a statement of Gerald DeMott, taken on January 5, 1937. He gives his address as 1012 Harrison Street, Flint, Mich.; age 25.

He had been in Flint since September 9, 1936. He came from Gratiot County, Mich.; had served in the United States Army from June 11, 1930, to October of 1933. Has an honorable discharge.

He was employed by the Fisher Body Corporation on September 9, 1935. He was in the shipping department. He was one of the original sit-downers. He was one of the men who sat down when the strike was called. That would be from December 30 until January 4. He states here:

Question. How many men are in the factory now to the best of your knowledge?

Answer. I put it at 1,000. That is my estimate.

Question. I am going to show you this blackjack and ask you if you ever saw that before.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is it yours?

Answer. I guess so. I had it with me.

Question. When did it come into your possession?

Answer. In the afternoon. That would be before I came out last night.

Question. At about what time?

Answer. In the middle of the afternoon.

Question. How did you come to get hold of this blackjack?

Answer. One of the boys had two and he said, "Do you want a blackjack?" I said, "Yes; I will take it."

Question. And you had it in your possession from that time until your arrest?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you make this blackjack yourself?

Answer. No.

Question. Did you help to make any other blackjacks similar, or any blackjacks in the factory?

Answer. No.

Question. Did you see other men with blackjacks similar to this one in the factory?

Answer. Yes.

Question. How many are out there?

Answer. Eight or nine hundred, pretty near everybody.

Question. Do you know why they are armed with these blackjacks?

Answer. I don't know why they are, but it is my opinion most of them are afraid. They are afraid of something. They know they are there for what they think is a good reason and naturally they think there will be trouble and I imagine it is fear more than anything else.

Question. Fear of what?

Answer. That I don't know; the unexpected. Nobody knows anything out there. They are milling around like a bunch of sheep and no sleep.

Question. Why did you carry your blackjack with you?

Answer. Because everybody else did.

Question. When you got a pass last night to come out of the plant between 10 and 11 p. m., you carried it with you?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And where did you have it on your person?

Answer. Right in my coat here. I do not know if it was under here or between here and my coat, but I had it concealed on my person.

Question. Did you think somebody was going to harm you?

Answer. No; I did not think anyone was going to harm me.

Question. Is this statement voluntary on your part?

Answer. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Captain, from your investigation did you conclude that these blackjacks were being manufactured in the plant?

Captain HUGHES. Yes; I knew they were.

Mr. MOSIER. You knew they were?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. They made them right in there while this strike was going on?

Captain HUGHES. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. There is just one other question, Captain. We have had in and out of this testimony several times a copy of a letter written from Russia around 1934 by Victor and Walter Reuther. Do you have a copy of that letter?

Captain HUGHES. I have not. I have seen the letter, but I have not a copy of it.

Mr. MOSIER. You have seen the letter?

Captain HUGHES. I have.

Mr. MOSIER. In short, can you recall what that letter stated?

The CHAIRMAN. We have that letter.

Mr. MOSIER. Very good.

Captain HUGHES. I have one letter here this committee might be interested in that came into our possession in 1931, was written in 1931 in Michigan by a Communist to a man who had applied for a job in Russia. You might be interested in that letter.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have that letter with you?

Captain HUGHES. Yes; I have. This letter is postmarked Detroit, Mich., April 1, 1931, at 2 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the original letter?

Captain HUGHES. This is the original letter. The letter is addressed to one C. E. Powell, of R. F. D. No. 1, Clarkston, Mich. The letter is as follows:

No. 484 COLTON STREET, DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. A. E. POWELL,
Clarkston, Mich.

DEAR COMRADE: Your letter to hand and contents noted. As I stated, comrade, I have no connection with the Soviet Government or the Amtorg Trading Co. of New York. This is a department separate from the Communist Party of this country. You will have to write to them and leave your application there. However, every now and then an agent of some Soviet industry comes to this country and inquires of the local T. U. U. L. unions for workers of different trades who want to go to the Soviet Union. Such an agent from the A. M. V. auto factory in Moscow was here in Detroit a month or so ago and gave us a list of the men he wanted. He left a week later taking 16 men back. He wanted a tool hardener at that time.

If any further calls come, I shall refer you and send for you. Concerning the T. U. U. L. Comrade Goetz will be in Pontiac again and you may be in touch with him.

You know, comrade, we do not like to encourage American workers to leave this country; I mean class-conscious workers. They are needed here to help overthrow this rotten system. Now is the time to expose this capitalist system of Millions for the parasites and poverty for the working class. Workers will listen to us now while a year ago they would not.

This capitalist system is not going to hold together very much longer, but it won't die a natural death. It must be killed, and we need every class-conscious man of the working class to help kill it.

Let us boost the unemployed councils of the T. U. U. L. unions and leave the germ of a good live organization in Pontiac.

With comradeship greetings,

(Signed) JOHN RUSHTON.

Mr. MOSIER. Where did you obtain that letter, Captain?

Captain HUGHES. Is it necessary that I divulge that?

Mr. MOSIER. No.

Captain HUGHES. I would rather not.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you obtain it in your official capacity?

Captain HUGHES. I did.

Mr. MOSIER. Captain, just one more question. In your official position in connection with the police department of Flint, as an observer of these strikes, what would you conclude as to whether or not the strikes, which were called in Flint, were called and dominated by either a Communist group or those engaged in un-American activities in Flint, Mich.?

Captain HUGHES. I believe that the Communist Party attempted to dominate the movement in Flint, and my reasons for that belief would take me back to the evidence that I have gone over from 1927 on through, and using this particular letter here as a book-up in the interim, in the period that the Communist Party became to all outward appearances dormant, between the dates of 1930 and 1936.

Information reached us from the East in 1932, being relayed from the Communist convention or World Congress in Russia, I believe, of that year, or 1931, to the effect that the Communist Party was not going to indulge in anything abortive. In other words, their instructions were in this country to infiltrate into bona fide labor unions for the purpose of being in a position of power when the time was ripe, when the masses were ready for such leadership.

I believe that, in effect, was correct, in view of the evidence that followed, because we heard very little openly of the Communist movement between those dates. If the leadership in the automobile strike in Flint was Communist, I think the theory would probably be true that that was to be the signal for Communist leadership in this country, provided the masses were ready for it.

Mr. MOSIER. That is all, Captain. We are very grateful to you for your testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Captain.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recall Mr. Morrow, as he has some photostatic copies of membership cards that we want to put in the record.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF CLYDE MORROW

The CHAIRMAN. You have already been sworn, Mr. Morrow?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have some photostatic copies of membership cards in the Communist Party?

Mr. MORROW. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You know they are true and correct photostatic copies of original membership cards?

Mr. MORROW. Yes. I took these photostats myself from the original books of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read the names?

Mr. MORROW. First, I want to introduce the name of Ray Burke. He is the vice president of Local 212, U. A. W. A., which is the Briggs local, one of the largest locals of the international union. I introduce his book in evidence, his 1938 membership book, which is No. 92581.

Next I introduce the book of William Koskie. His 1938 membership book is 62435. He is a chief steward in the Meldrum plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co., and a member of Local 212, U. A. W. A.

Next I introduce the Communist Party book of Peter Wolowicz. Wolowicz is a chief steward in the Highland Park plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. and is a member of Local 212 of the U. A. W. A. His 1938 membership book is 62771 and his Communist Party name is Peter Wallace.

Next I introduce the name of Mather McGlothen. This man is a Negro, very active in the Negro section of Detroit. He is a chief steward in the Eight Mile Road plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. and is very active in the Communist Party and in his local union, which is 212. He has been in the party since 1930. I introduce his book.

I also introduce the Communist Party membership book of Florian Kapata. This man is a member of one of the numerous Ford units and is a member of the board of strategy of the Ford Local No. 600 of the U. A. W. A. This board of strategy has five members and he is one of the members and one of the directing geniuses. His 1938 membership book is 79224. This man's Communist Party name is F. Cap, but his real name is Kapata.

I introduce the Communist Party membership book for 1938 of Will Thompson, a Negro, who is a member of section 1, unit No. 8, district No. 7, of the Communist Party. This man's Communist Party name is Leon Taylor, but his real name is Will Thompson. He is very active in the Ford section of the Communist Party.

I introduce the name of Alene Thomas. Her Communist Party membership book is 74695. She is a member of section 1, unit No. 8, district No. 7, of the Communist Party. Her real name is Mrs. Will Thompson. She is the wife of the man named before, and she is a Negress.

I introduce the book of John Brandt, alien born. This man is a chief steward in the Briggs Manufacturing plant in Detroit, Mich., and is a member of Local 212, U. A. W. A. His 1938 membership book is 62702. He is very active in distributing Communist literature in the plants of the factories around there and selling Daily Workers and stirring up a little strike once in a while in his spare time.

I have a few other names here. I want to introduce the name of Michael Groessens. I have not got his membership book here, but he is a party member. He is vice president of Local 212, U. A. W. A., the Meldrum plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. His wife, Adela Cook Groessens, is also a member. Both are members of unit No. 5, section 2, district No. 7, and they attend their regular unit meetings at 5702 Mitchell Street, Detroit, Mich. This is an important U. A. W. A. local, a huge local. The Briggs local has 32,000 members when they are all paid up.

I want to introduce the name of Charles Clark, a functionary of the Briggs unit of the Communist Party.

I want to introduce the name of James Jones, a functionary in the Briggs unit of the Communist Party, chief steward in the Highland Park plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. and brother to Lloyd Jones, who is the president of the Murray Local, No. 2, and was a

former member of the executive board of the international union, U. A. W. A.

I want to introduce the name of Matthew Komatz, Detroit, member of the Chrysler unit of the Communist Party.

I want to introduce the name of Neil Tucker, member of the Chrysler unit of the Communist Party. His wife is a member of the Hudson unit of the Communist Party.

I want to introduce the name of Raymond Cook, a functionary in the Chrysler unit of the Communist Party.

I want to introduce the name of Celia Paransky, unit No. 1, section No. 2, of the Communist Party. This woman received a medal from the U. A. W. A. for her organization activities in the Negro section around the Bohm Aluminum plant.

Roscoe Baker is the name of a Negro, a member of the Cadillac unit of the Communist Party and an instigator of riots at the gates of the American Brass Co., where several people were injured and some were nearly killed.

I want to introduce the name of Otto Grellman, a member of a street unit of the Communist Party, Detroit, active in all strikes.

I want to introduce the name of his wife, Emma Grellman, member of the Chrysler unit of the Communist Party, Detroit.

I want to introduce the name of Karl Kiser, a member of the W. P. A. unit and active in picketing plants that are struck.

I want to introduce the name of John Pirosko, a member of the Hungarian section of the Communist Party, employed in the Ford Motor Co. and active in the Ford unit of the Communist Party.

I want to introduce the name of Mose Mackey, a Negro member of the Ford unit of the Communist Party; a member of the board of strategy of Ford Local, No. 600, U. A. W. A.

I want to introduce the name of Robert Lind, chief steward of the Verner plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. He is an active organizer for the Communist Party.

I think I mentioned the name of James Jones before. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Those photostats of membership books will be received as a group and marked as an exhibit.

(The membership books referred to were marked "Morrow Exhibit No. 1, October 21, 1938.")

The CHAIRMAN. There is one question I want to ask you. Is it not one of the principal strategies of the Communists to designate undercover men who are working within their groups, or caught working within their groups for the purpose of getting information as to their activities, labor spies, placing the brand of labor spy upon them?

Mr. MORROW. Well, they do not say labor spy. They say stool pigeon. That is a little more sinister. They say labor spy and stool pigeon.

The CHAIRMAN. That is part of their tactics, to brand these people in that way?

Mr. MORROW. That is correct. In fact, the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, has put out a book of 85 pages, which was written by Peters, a member of the control commission, which says that if you catch a man in your shop working actively against the Communist Party, when he leaves the

department for a minute, to go out, have someone set his machine so his work will come out under size so he will be fired. Follow his children to the schools and call them stool pigeons and rats. Picket the grocer where he buys his food and tell that grocer that you will not buy anything there if he does not quit selling to stool pigeons and labor spies.

Those are the tactics to create mass hatred against anyone who goes against the Communist Party. I have taken it for 4 years and I will take it another 40. I am not afraid of the Communists, and never was.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it that these people are not gotten rid of when it is known that they are there to instigate a strike, not for the betterment of working conditions but for the purpose of promoting class hatred? How do they manage to escape, by joining the union and seeking protection through the union?

Mr. MORROW. That is right. A member of the Communist Party until 3 or 4 years ago was very weak in the shops, because a man caught with a membership book in that party used to be arrested in the streets in demonstrations, taken to police headquarters, and his Communist Party membership book found in his pocket; in many cases raids were made on homes and Communist Party membership books were found. Those men would be discharged immediately, because no manufacturer likes to use Communist Party members unless he is a little crazier than I think he is. But now, under the present set-up, the National Labor Relations Act, the Wagner Act, they cannot fire a man for being a revolutionary in this country. It is impossible. He protects himself with the cloak of a card in some union and when you discharge him he says, "I am discharged because I am a union member."

The CHAIRMAN. One more question. In the haste to organize, when they were trying to build up organizations with great numbers, and they were taking men in wholesale numbers, is it or is it not a fact that some of these unions had to rely upon trained and skilled Communists to do the job for them?

Mr. MORROW. That is true. A No. 1 organizer, the first organizer ever hired in the International Union, U. A. W. A., was my running mate in 1934. He was candidate for Governor of the State of Michigan on the Communist ticket, John Anderson. I was a candidate for State senator on the Communist ticket the same year. We made speeches together all over the city. John Anderson was hired by Martin, not because Martin is a Communist because Martin is not a Communist. He is not in sympathy with their program. He was hired because he knew all the tool and die makers in Detroit, because he had been one, had worked in all the shops, and he would naturally bring in the tool and die makers quicker than somebody strange to the Detroit situation.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they had a skilled, trained leader.

Mr. MORROW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Communists had been going to schools and getting ready to do the job?

Mr. MORROW. That is right; for years they had been doing that. Mr. Martin, in his haste to get the automobile workers organized, went out and hired Communist members to do it. I think Martin thought he could use them 3 or 4 months and get rid of them.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have gotten to the point where they might get rid of him?

Mr. MORROW. That is right. They might get rid of Martin the way it looks to me. I hope not.

The CHAIRMAN. Why cannot the international officers get rid of these men?

Mr. MORROW. Here is the set-up in Detroit. I only speak for Detroit because that is all I know about in Michigan. The international union has fired many Communist Party organizers. John Anderson has been discharged. They have discharged Emil Mazey of the Briggs local. He has been discharged. Numerous Communist Party organizers have been discharged; William Newells, a Negro, who had been to the Soviet Union, has been discharged. Paul Kirk was discharged.

Now, what happens to them when Martin fires them? We have three or four "red" locals in Detroit, Local 155, which is a haven for discharged officers, and when they are discharged by Martin these "red" locals immediately hire them as their financial secretaries, or recording secretaries, or organizers. Local 174 is what I would call an old soldiers' home for discharged Communist Party members whom Martin has fired. They are immediately taken in by the Communists in charge of their locals, such as Lloyd Jones and Walter Reuther, and people like that.

The CHAIRMAN. And they continued their activities?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir; they continued their activities. They never stopped working, day or night.

The CHAIRMAN. It happens that a local officer fails, do they take them off, or do they reinstate them?

Mr. MORROW. No, sir. During the last few months there has been a trend to get rid of the Communist Party organizers. They refer to it as an economy wave, but it is really a move against members of the Communist Party. Mr. Martin sincerely believes that—that they are trying to get rid of them.

Mr. MOSIER. You testified that in the Flint strike, you observed automobiles from Ohio and Indiana, or residents of Ohio and Indiana in Flint, taking part in the strike.

Mr. MORROW. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Can you give us any idea of the number of out-of-town or out-of-State people in there during that strike?

Mr. MORROW. I cannot give you a definite figure on that, but over a given period, at different times, there were from 25 or 30 to several thousand on one particular afternoon.

Mr. MOSIER. Out of the several thousand, from what State would you say that the majority came?

Mr. MORROW. Ohio.

TESTIMONY OF HERMAN LUHRS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Luhrs, you are chairman of the joint American committee of the American Legion, at Flint, Mich., are you not?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And a member of the department subversive committee?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir. That committee is composed of delegates from the six Legion posts at Flint, Mich. That joint Americanism committee consists of committeemen from each of the six Legion posts at Flint, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been interested in this character of work?

Mr. LUHRS. I have been a member of the Americanism committee for possibly 7 or 8 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had occasion to make an active investigation with regard to subversive activities in that area, have you not?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir. My interest was first aroused in 1933, when the Duncan-Baldwin bill was introduced at Lansing. There was some question of the bill being opposed by pressure from subversive groups, which forced this bill back onto the platform in public debate. At that time our past department commander, now deceased, Mr. Lester O. Moody, was our proponent of the bill, and, also former Governor Brucker.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had some testimony on that bill. The sum and substance of it is that outstanding Communists opposed and fought the bill.

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir. They were not only the Communists fighting the bill about whom you have had testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you run into the organization known as the Professional League for the Protection of Civil Rights?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who heads it?

Mr. LUHRS. I think the chairman of the league is Rev. Bolens, of Detroit. That started in Flint, Mich. The first time we saw this movement was in a lecture by Walter Reuther, which happened on March 18, 1933, when Walter Reuther spoke at the Masonic Temple. He had spent 33 months in Europe.

Mr. MOSIER. In Russia?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir. He told the audience that he went through Germany, Italy, and other European countries. He had traveled through them on a bicycle, spending 33 months in Europe, most of the time in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. He was praising Russia and the wonderful things that had been accomplished there.

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. His speech was given as a lecture for the League for Peace and Democracy, was it not?

Mr. LUHRS. No, sir; at that particular time he made his speech under the auspices of the Young People's Socialist League, which was the forerunner of the League for Protection of Civil Rights.

He mentioned the fact that the people in Russia who did good work had a red flag on their machines; but if they did poor work they had a burlap sack placed on them. It was not unusual to hear men talk about Russia. At this meeting Walter Reuther was asked this question: "Do you believe in religion and God or in science as a religion?" His answer was, "We do not believe in God but that man is God." That is when we first began to check on Reuther's subversive activities.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a copy of a letter that was written by Reuther from Russia, have you not?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that letter?

Mr. LUHRS. I have it here.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a copy of the letter?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that it is a correct copy of the letter?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read the letter, or you may take it up in order when you come to it.

Mr. LUHRS. Following the lecture of Walter Reuther there was a series of meetings held in a hall adjoining the Methodist Church, on Court Street, in Flint, under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy. Several meetings were held at that time, and occasionally speakers were brought in there. We kept watching them. We knew that they were a front organization, but we were not able to do much about it until they brought Roger Baldwin in there. So far as Roger Baldwin's record is concerned, I refer you to House Report No. 290, where he testified in favor of the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

The CHAIRMAN. Roger Baldwin wrote a book or an article in 1935 in which he said that communism was the goal.

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been introduced in evidence. He is the head of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir; the American Civil Liberties Union made its appearance in Flint and the first meeting was held at the Durant Hotel on February 11, 1936. The League for Industrial Democracy had stopped holding meetings in the Court Street Church and that was later changed to the Contemporary Problems Club. L. R. Manning, the chairman of the meeting, made the statement that due to circumstances they were unable to hold any meetings under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy. At the first meeting after the change D. Goodwin Watson was the first speaker. He spoke at the Y. M. C. A. hall. I have a letter that Dr. Goodwin Watson sent to the superintendent of our schools at Flint, wherein he invited him to take a trip to Russia. I mention this to tie him up with the front organization. He starts out by saying:

The most fascinating cultural transformation today is that of the Soviet Union, and we shall have excellent opportunities to get first-hand experience in some of their achievements and deficiencies.

I have spoken of the Contemporary Problems Club, and I will say that they were people who were citizens of Flint, and who I cannot say were Communists, but they were sympathetic toward this movement. I have a long list of names here of people who attended the meetings. One of the most outstanding speakers that came there under the auspices of the organization was Mary Van Kleeck. She spoke in room 217, Y. W. C. A., on April 24, 1937. Her subject was Creative America. She went on to present the matter, as she saw it at that time, and was very critical of the American Legion and the D. A. R. She was asked the question, "What is the churches' position in regard to this new changing social order?" Mary Van Kleeck was very much embarrassed by the question, but she finally answered that "The church of tomorrow will be one of antichurch

Christianity." She said that under the changing order, it would be antichurch. Whereupon, Miss Van Kleeck left the meeting, as she was scheduled to give a talk at the Pengelly Building, which is the headquarters of the U. A. W. U. in Flint.

Then a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union was held on February 25, 1937. That was during the sit-down strike in Flint. The meeting was held in the ballroom of the Durant Hotel. The protest meeting, in January 1937, was first announced in a closed Communist meeting in Detroit, with Weinstone presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that?

Mr. LUHRS. The first announcement was made in a closed Communist meeting in the city of Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. The first announcement of what?

Mr. LUHRS. The meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union. At this meeting several resolutions demanding the impeachment of Judge Black and Police Chief James V. Wills were offered. The speakers were Prof. Robert Lovett, M. Sugar, Weinstone, Victor and Roy Reuther, Frank Martell, Robert Traverse, and Mr. Kruse, who was an organizer. There were several other meetings held around, and there was the Emergency Peace Campaign. I think you have had some testimony as to the nature of that organization. We have members of the department committee in other towns investigating certain of those activities.

I happened to go to Lansing on May 22, 1937, where a meeting of the Conference for Protection of Civil Rights at Lansing was held. Reverend Bolen, of Detroit, was chairman of the meeting, and the speakers on the program were John Read, of Lansing, who represents the American Federation of Labor at Lansing; Pat O'Brien, of Detroit, Robert Travis, of Flint, who spoke twice at the meeting; Walter Bergman, a professor at Ann Arbor; Robert Passage, who was very active in union forces around the city of Flint, and who had a bodyguard with him that day, and a man by the name of Charles Gates was present speaking for Senator Diggs, both of whom are colored. There was also present Genevieve Evanoff, a school teacher of Flint, Mich., and the wife of Mike Evanoff, a U. A. W. U. lawyer from Flint, who was one of the speakers. Mr. Weinstone, the secretary of the Communist Party of Detroit, was a speaker, and there was a man named Mr. Hammer, who was shot in Fisher No. 2 riot in Michigan. Reverend Knox, of Detroit, was also there. The object of the meeting was the approving of bills pending before the State legislature at Lansing. One of the things we were most interested in was the definite subversive nature of the meeting. When Mr. Weinstone spoke, he ended his speech dramatically by holding up \$10. and saying that it was donated to the Communist Party. They approved a list of bills that day. There was quite a large amount of Communist literature, including the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party, which was sold at this meeting.

Then another meeting that popped up at Flint was held in the National Guard Armory.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of meeting was it?

Mr. LUHRS. An antilynching bill meeting or demonstration.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that sponsored by the League for Protection of Civil Rights?

Mr. LUHRS. No, sir; it was sponsored by the U. A. W. U. The audience was quite small at this particular meeting. Several telegrams were read in the meeting asking that they be recorded as being unable to come to the meeting. One in particular was from Gov. Frank Murphy saying, "Wish you every success. Regret I am unable to be with you." They had the usual kind of telegrams from all over the State of Michigan. I have here a copy of the Daily Worker that was bought at that meeting.

Now, we will go down to recent meetings. There was the anti-war demonstration held in the Flint Park dance hall. They expected 4,000 people to be at this meeting, but there were only 300 people in attendance. Kermit Johnson was active in arranging this meeting, and Reverend Atkins, district superintendent of the Methodist Church, was chairman. The speakers included Maynard Krueger, of the University of Chicago, who made quite a lengthy talk. Homer Martin also made a speech.

Mr. MOSIER. When was that meeting held?

Mr. LUHRS. May 21, 1938.

Then, we had another meeting on July 21, 1938, sponsored by the local committee for the support of Spanish democracy, which was affiliated with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The purpose of the meeting was to raise funds for medical supplies, doctors, hospitals, and nurses for the Loyalist Government of Spain. Rev. Michael O'Flannigan was a speaker at this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Daily Worker sold at that meeting?

Mr. LUHRS. No, sir; it was not sold there.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go briefly into the report you have.

Mr. LUHRS. I merely bring that in to show the type of meetings that were held.

There was another meeting of the Flint Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Then, in Detroit, there was a meeting at the Cass Technical High School, when Senator Robert La Follette spoke. The chairman of the meeting was Rev. Fred G. Poole, of Detroit, and he was assisted by Rev. John H. Bollens, chairman of the Civil Rights Federation, who also spoke.

Mr. MOSIER. When was that meeting held?

Mr. LUHRS. On February 28, 1938, at 8:30 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that sponsored by the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir. There was such a mass of Communists literature at this meeting that it took the Detroit police department approximately 48 hours to clear it out.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. LUHRS. There was so much of this literature that it was not cleaned up until approximately 48 hours after the meeting was held. That gave the school children a good chance to pick up this literature.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose there was a notice in the lobby that the same literature could be obtained at a certain book store.

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Collective security material.

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir; it was the general run of their literature.

On February 19, 1938, they had a speaker to come to Flint by the name of G. William Kunze. Mr. Kunze was the representative from the German bund, and this was the first Nazi meeting held in Flint.

The chairman of the meeting was Erie Betterman, 1228 Pershing Street. He was a roomer at the home of the former city manager, Mr. William Findlater. Mr. Findlater was discharged by the city because of the riot at the Mary Fea Candy Co. He acted as chairman of the meeting, and stated that he was the bund agent at Flint, Mich. However, we watched that movement closely, and found that Betterman got very little support from Michigan people in Flint. There have been no bund meetings held since that time. At that particular time, I asked Mr. Kunze a few questions. I asked if he was paid by the German Government, or if he was paid by the German bund in New York. He stated at that time that his expenses were paid by the bund movement in New York.

We had occasion to visit Detroit on two occasions. One was a huge anti-Nazi rally, and there were about 5,000 people at that meeting. I learned from the men who were in charge of selling the literature there that \$2,000 worth of subversive and Communist literature was sold at this meeting. Victor Reuther was a speaker at this meeting. They took in a very large amount of money. I recall particularly a statement made by Victor Reuther that they had to have money to carry on this movement. He said, "Dig down in your pockets, and if you owe the landlord money, let him wait." He said, "This movement must go on."

There was another meeting on January 18, 1938, of which Earl Reno was chairman. Mr. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, was a speaker.

The Lovestone group held a series of meetings. One was held at Detroit, December 12, 1937, when J. Lovestone was the speaker. We also had occasion to attend a meeting where Earl Browder was the speaker. When Weinstone and Browder were in Flint, they had several meetings. Mr. Savage acted as chairman of one of those meetings. They had several men coming in there as speakers. Victor Reuther spoke on January 13, 1938.

The reason I mention these names so much is because different members of the U. A. W. U. interested in the activities of this subversive movement come to us and ask us to point out the members who are members of the Communist Party.

At a meeting at Flint a delegation from Buick Liberty Motor Post No. 310, American Legion, attended a Communist meeting in Flint, where Mother Bloor was the main speaker. She painted a rosy picture of Soviet Russia and said how much better off the people of that country were than those here in America.

William Weinstone was a speaker on several occasions, and on one occasion William Weinstone did not get there, and Eugene Fay spoke in his place. He was formerly educational director of the U. A. W. U. Last spring he was cited by the Communist Party for obtaining 30 new members.

On May 11, 1938, an organizational meeting was held at 109½ West Second Avenue, upstairs, to start a labor institute which was described as a new organization. It was the first meeting. Walter Reuther was billed as the main speaker. However, after about an hour's delay, he did not show up. About 200 people attended, and Roy Reuther spoke instead of Walter Reuther. A man named Sloan was chairman of the committee, and he was assisted by Kermit Johnson, of Flint, a Chevrolet worker. Roy Reuther made quite

a lengthy speech, and the thing that interested me particularly was his reference to the American soldier. He said a man was crazy to put on a uniform, and that he would much prefer his blue suit to any uniform that could be placed on him. When Roy Reuther talked about an hour, and Walter Reuther did not put in an appearance, they served free beer and sandwiches. The audience was not made up of the usual riffraff that you see at these meetings, but some of the women were in evening clothes, and there was an orchestra playing. There was dancing. Kermit Johnson told them that they should sing a song before they adjourned, and the song sheets were passed out. It was the Russian International, which was sung twice. I have a copy of the statement put out at this meeting with me here, advocating a boycott of Chevrolet.

Kermit Johnson led the group in singing the Russian International. The one I was particularly watchful of at this time was Roy Reuther, who stood at a Communist salute, singing the Russian International. This song was sung not only once, with great gusto, but it was sung twice. They sang it through both times.

Communist literature was also passed out at this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us hurry on, Mr. Luhrs. You have given a pretty good background now.

Mr. LUHRS. To get down to the Reuthers, we made quite an extensive check on them, due to the fact that we had so many requests from the U. A. W. A. to do that. The whole town was beginning to get suspicious of these two men, owing to their active part in the strike at that time.

I had occasion to get a copy of this letter which was sent from Russia to Merlin Bishop. Do you want me to read this letter?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; read the letter.

Mr. LUHRS. The letter says:

DEAR MEL AND GLAD: Your letter of December 5 arrived here last week from Germany and was read with more than usual interest by Wal and I. It seemed ages since we had heard from you, so you might well imagine with what joy we welcomed news from Detroit. It is precisely because you are equally anxious I know to receive word from the "Workers' Fatherland" that I am taking this first opportunity to answer you.

What you have written concerning the strikes and the general labor unrest in Detroit plus what we have learned from other sources of the rising discontent of the American workers, makes us long for the moment to be back with you in the front lines of the struggle; however, the daily inspiration that is ours as we work side by side with our Russian comrades in our factory—

And he has "our" underlined—

the thought that we are actually helping to build a society that will forever end the exploitation of man by man, the thought that what we are building will be for the benefit and enjoyment of the working class, not only of Russia but the entire world, is the compensation we receive for our temporary absence from the struggle in the United States. And let no one tell you that we are not on the road to socialism in the Soviet Union. Let no one say that the workers in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are not on the road to security, enlightenment, and happiness.

Mel, you know Wal and I were always strong for the Soviet Union. You know we were always ready to defend it against the lies of reactionaries. But let me tell you, now that we are here seeing all the great construction, watching a backward peasantry being transformed into an enlightened, democratic, cultured populus, now that we have already experienced the thrill, the satisfaction of participating in genuine proletarian democracy, we are more than just sympathetic toward our country—

“Our” is underlined again—

we are ready to fight for it and its ideals. And why not? Here the workers, through their militant leadership, the proletarian dictatorship, have not sold out to the owning class like the S. P. in Germany and like the Labor Party in England. Here they have against all odds, against famine, against internal strife and civil war, against sabotage, against capitalist invasion and isolation, our comrades here have maintained power, they have won over the masses, they have transformed the “dark masses” of Russia into energetic, enlightened workers. They have transformed the Soviet Union into one of the greatest industrial nations in the world. They have laid the economic foundation for socialism, for a classless society. Mel, if you could be with us for just 1 day in our shop you would realize the significance of the Soviet Union. To be with us in our factory Red Corner at a shop meeting and watch the workers as they offer suggestions and constructive criticism of production in the shop. Here are no bosses to drive fear into the workers. No one to drive them in mad speed-ups. Here the workers are in control. Even the shop superintendent has no more right in these meetings than any other worker. I have witnessed many times already, when the superintendent spoke too long, the workers in the hall decided he had already consumed enough time and the floor was then given to a lathe hand who told of his problems and offered suggestions. Imagine this at Ford's or Briggs'. This is what the outside world calls the “ruthless dictatorship in Russia.” I tell you, Mel, in all the countries we have thus far been in, we have never found such genuine proletarian democracy. It is unpolished and crude, rough and rude, but proletarian workers' democracy in every respect. The workers in England have more culture and polish when they speak at their meetings, but they have no power. I prefer the latter.

In our factory, which is the largest and most modern in Europe, and we have seen them all, there are no pictures of Fords and Rockefellers, or Roosevelts and Mellon. No such parasites, but rather huge pictures of Lenin, * * * etc., greet the workers' eyes on every side. Red banners with slogans “Workers of the world unite” are draped across the cranes. Little red flags fly from the tops of presses, drill presses, lathes kells, etc. Such a sight you have never seen before. Women and men work side by side—the women with their red cloth about their heads, 5 days a week (our week here is 6 days long). At noon we all eat in a large factory restaurant where wholesome plain food is served. A workers' band furnishes music to us from an adjoining room while we have dinner. For the remainder of our 1-hour lunch period we adjourn to the Red Corner recreation, where workers play games, read papers and magazines or technical books, or merely sit, smoke, and chat. Such a fine spirit of comradeship you have never before witnessed in your life. Superintendent leaders and ordinary workers are all alike. If you saw our superintendent as he walks through the shop greeting workers with “Hello, Comrade,” you could not distinguish him from any other worker.

The interesting thing, Mel, is that 3 years ago this place here was a vast prairie, a waste land, and the thousands of workers here who are building complicated dies and other tools were at that time peasants who had never before even seen an industry, let alone worked in one. And by mere brute determination, by the determination to build a workers' country second to none in the world, urged on by the spirit of the revolution, they have constructed this huge marvelous auto factory which today is turning out modern cars for the Soviet Union. Through the bitter Russian winters of 45° below they have toiled with bare hands, digging foundations, erecting structures; they have, with their own brute strength, pulled the huge presses into place and set them up for operation. What they have here they have sacrificed and suffered for; that is why they are not so ready to turn it all over again to the capitalists. That is why today they still have comrades from the Red Army on guard at the factory at all times to prevent counterrevolutionists from carrying on their sabotage.

About a 20-minute walk from the factory an entirely new Socialist city has grown up in these 3 years. Here over 50,000 of the factory workers live in fine new modern apartment buildings. Large hospitals, schools, libraries, theaters, and clubs have sprung up here and all for the use of those who work, for without a worker's card one cannot make use of all these modern facilities. Three nights ago we were invited to the clubhouse in “Sosgor” (Socialist City)

to attend an evening of enjoyment given by the workers of the die shop. Imagine, all the workers with whom we daily work came together that evening for a fine banquet, a stage performance, a concert, speeches, and a big dance. A division of the Red Army was also present as guests. In all my life, Mel, I have never seen anything so inspiring. Mel, once a fellow has seen what is possible where workers gain power, he no longer fights just for an ideal, he fights for something which is real, something tangible. Imagine, Mel, Henry Ford throwing a big party for his slaves. Here the party was no gift of charity from someone above, for we own the factory, we held the meeting and decided to have the party, and it was paid for from the surplus earnings of our department. What our department does is typical of the social cell. These which are being fostered throughout the entire factory and the entire Soviet Union.

Mel, we are witnessing and experiencing great things in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are seeing the most backward nation in the world being rapidly transformed into the most modern and scientific, with new concepts and new social ideals coming into force. We are watching daily socialism being taken down from the books on the shelves and put into actual application. Who would not be inspired by such events?

And now my letter is getting long and still I have said little, for there is so much to say and so little time in which to do it. We have written Merlin and Coach—

I might say that Merlin Bishop is a brother of Melvin Bishop. Melvin Bishop was the educational director of the C. I. O. "Coach" is a nickname they have for Roy Reuther. [Continuing:]

We have written Merlin and "Coach" rather lengthy letters and have requested they forward them to you to save duplicity of material. I believe there is little in this letter which they have not already received, so there will be no need of your forwarding this to them.

A word about your letter. You mentioned that * * *.

Roy Reuther typed this letter from the original letter, and he left out a portion of it right there. He says:

Keep your eye on the S. P. It being affiliated to the Second International I am not so certain it is "drifting" in the right direction, certainly not in the light of recent events.

The S. P. is an organization in Germany.

Let us know definitely what is happening to the Y. P. S. L. and also the Social Problems Club at C. C. C. * * *

The Y. P. S. L. is a Young People's Socialist League, and the Social Problems Club is an organization in the C. C. C. camps.

Carry on the fight for a Soviet America.

VIC. and WAL.

Mr. MOSIER. That letter was written by Victor and Walter Reuther?

Mr. LUHRS. I would take, from the way it is signed, "Vic. and Wal.," that the letter was written by Victor Reuther.

Mr. MOSIER. To whom?

Mr. LUHRS. To Melvin Bishop. It is addressed to "Dear Mel and Glad." It is Melvin Bishop and his wife, Gladys.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the date?

Mr. LUHRS. January 20, 1934. This was sent from Abmozazooof, Topkini.

Mr. MOSIER. That is a place in Russia?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes. His address is printed on the back—"Victor G. Reuther, B. Paumep, Anepikarakin 11, Don. 4." and then this name that I gave you on the top—"C. C. C. P., U. S. S. R."

Melvin is a brother of Merlin, of course, as I mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have about as much of that as we need. Is there anything more that you think is important that we ought to ask?

Mr. LUHRS. Well, I could go on about how the Communists work in the schools. It would take quite a little while to finish it at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you have information about how they began working in the school system?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes; and about how they work in the U. A. W. It leads right up to the strikes.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you step aside and let us put on this short witness, and we will recall you later on.

Lieutenant Mulbar.

TESTIMONY OF HAROLD MULBAR

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. MOSIER. Your name, please?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Harold Mulbar.

Mr. MOSIER. What is your occupation, Mr. Mulbar?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I am a police officer with the Michigan State Police.

Mr. MOSIER. Are you a lieutenant of the Michigan State Police?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Lieutenant, were you in Flint, Mich., at the time of the strike in the latter part of 1936 and the beginning of 1937?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MOSIER. Were you assigned there by your superior officer?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; I was sent there by the commissioner.

Mr. MOSIER. The commissioner of State police?

Lieutenant MULBAR. The commissioner of the State police.

Mr. MOSIER. Were you sent there alone?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I was sent up there in charge of a group of 14 men, members of our department.

Mr. MOSIER. What were your instructions when you went there?

Lieutenant MULBAR. These men were investigators; that is, working in civilian clothes for the purpose of observing what took place during the difficulty there.

Mr. MOSIER. And to whom would you make reports as to your observations?

Lieutenant MULBAR. To Capt. Lawrence A. Lyon, superintendent of the division, and to Commissioner Olander, State police commissioner.

Mr. MOSIER. And were you instructed to take any active part in that situation?

Lieutenant MULBAR. The only part that I had in connection with the group that I had charge of was that they were investigating all activities and, I might say, as observers, to see what was going on during this trouble.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, will you give this committee the benefit of the observations which you made at that time?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I don't know just how far you want me to go into that.

Mr. MOSIER. What did you find when you got there?

Lieutenant MULBAR. The first night I arrived in Flint I made a personal tour of the strike area, as I call it—that is, in front of the Fisher Body Co. plants. I went down to the plant on Chevrolet Avenue—I believe that is plant 2; I am not positive about that—and I saw some police cars overturned in the street.

Mr. MOSIER. By whom?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That I did not see. I was told that it was by some of the people who had participated in a riot that had taken place just previous to my arrival.

Mr. MOSIER. But you saw police cars overturned?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir. They were badly demolished.

Mr. MOSIER. Were they police cars of your own?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No. One of them was the Flint police car; I recall that. And there were crowds of men milling about the streets, armed with clubs and billies. It was a general disorder, I will say, at that particular time.

Mr. MOSIER. What did you do the next day?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Of course, following that, I established headquarters at the Durant Hotel, and used that as an office to supervise the work in the handling of this crew of men that were operating under me there at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you have any occasion to go inside the plant while you were there?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir. I went with Captain Lyon out to the—I am rather confused about plant No. 1 and plant No. 2. This was not the plant on Chevrolet Avenue, but it was the larger of the two plants. Captain Lyon and I went out to the other plant; not the one on Chevrolet Avenue—because of the fact that we heard that men in the plant were armed and were doing considerable damage in there. We did want to make a tour of that plant if we could get in.

We went out to the plant and talked to some of the strikers there at the time.

Mr. MOSIER. You talked to some of the strikers inside the plant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No; at this time we were outside, talking through the window. We identified ourselves as members of the department. We told them that from reports we had heard we understood that they had the place fortified, and we wanted to know whether that was true or not. After some conversation they asked us if we cared to step through the window and talk with the strike committee, as they called it. We did not care particularly to crawl through the window, and we told them we wanted to go through the door. So we did. When we got in there we were met by a fellow that they called Bud Simonds, who seemed to be in charge of operations there. I say in charge of operations; I mean of the strike itself at that particular plant. We had some conversation with him, and he said he would have to take the matter up with the committee. So we told him we would wait, and we did wait. He returned later and came back with a crew of about six or eight men, and they said that it was agreeable that we could go through the plant; and we were escorted by this committee who, incidentally, were armed with clubs,

and they took us through those sections of the plant that I suppose they would care to show us. I could not say that I saw all of it, because I was not familiar enough with the factory.

Mr. MOSIER. Then you did go into the plant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, can you describe, for the purposes of the record, what you found in the plant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. We saw hose lines laid out alongside of windows, which we were told were for protection in case there was an invasion on the part of any law-enforcement group or other group who would attempt to force them to evacuate the plant. At numerous windows we saw large piles of metal, hinges, and other things, to be used as missiles to be thrown, either by hand or slingshots that they had built for that particular purpose. There were jars which we were told contained acid. Of course, I do not know what was in the jars. But that was the information that was given us at the time.

Some of the doors were welded—fire doors, I would call them—at various points throughout the plant.

The place was in general disorder, I would say. The men had, naturally, taken cushions and other supplies and laid them out for sleeping quarters.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you have any opportunity to talk to any of the strikers who were in the plant, other than members of this committee?

Lieutenant MULBAR. We tried to, while we went through there, but the committee took exception to any conversation we might have with anybody else except the committee itself; that is, the men who were escorting us. We did see a large number of men in there, and personally I wanted to talk to some of them but the committee would not permit it.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you talk to any of those men after you got out?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I talked to several of them and, of course, the men with me talked to a great many of them. We tried to contact as many of them as we possibly could.

Mr. MOSIER. From your contacts with them, would you say that those men were there in the plant of their own volition?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Of course, I could not speak for all the men in the plant, but we talked to a few of them, and they said they were forced to stay in the plant.

Mr. MOSIER. Forced by the leaders, you mean?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right. Some of them had to fight to escape when they had the opportunity. I recall one man telling me that story. Others who were not affiliated with the union at that time were induced to promise to join and then failed to return at the prescribed time.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you take written statements from any of those men?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I have here a written report. It is not indexed properly, but in that are reports of the men who were working with me, and it relates their part of the story. In that, of course, are the names and addresses of those individuals.

Mr. MOSIER. This is the official report?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir. I took that out of the files of the department.

Mr. MOSIER. And it was the official report made to the State police department of the State of Michigan by you and your men?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right. The first page is addressed to Commissioner Oscar G. Olander.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Lieutenant, did you take any pictures there?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I did not personally, but I did secure as many photographs as I possibly could, so that we would have a photographic record of the trouble there. Some I have here in an album, which also is a part of our file. Many of these are press pictures.

Mr. MOSIER. You were present and you saw—

Lieutenant MULBAR. Saw many of these pictures taken.

Mr. MOSIER. You saw many of these pictures taken, and you saw the same things yourself, with your own eyes?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. So that you can say that these pictures which you are about to give to this committee fairly represent the situation that existed there at that time?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Are these pictures contained in—what is this folder?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is just an album, or a scrapbook, that I placed them in.

Mr. MOSIER. Is this your own, or—

Lieutenant MULBAR. This is the property of the Michigan State police.

Mr. MOSIER. These are official records of the Michigan State police?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct. That is a part of this report.

Mr. MOSIER. These pictures accompanied the other report to which you have referred?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Here [indicating] is a picture with hose lines.

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is plant No. 1, on the roof of the building. You will notice, here [indicating] are the little pails and buckets that I spoke about, and the hinges and stuff, which was ammunition.

Mr. MOSIER. Ammunition in these buckets?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir. I say ammunition. They were missiles to be thrown in case—

Mr. MOSIER. In case they wanted to throw them?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. There are no numbers on these pages to identify these pictures; but this [indicating], Mr. Stenographer, is identified as "Roof, Building 8, P-1."

By the way, did these strikers sleep in the plant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And did they entertain themselves while they were there on strike?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Here [indicating] is a picture of a sound car. Is that a car that was used by the strikers?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is one of the sound cars that they used in directing their activities there.

This [indicating] is one of the offices in the plant, after the plant was evacuated, showing some of the weapons and things that were picked up at the time.

Mr. MOSIER. "Plant protection office in 2" designates this picture [indicating]. What does that picture show, Lieutenant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Those were a lot of home-made billies and clubs and things that were used as weapons by the men in the plant.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you any pictures in this book that you desire to call especial attention to?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, of course, the entire photographic record is of different parts of the plant, such as this particular picture here [indicating]. Here [indicating] is the hose laid out. Here [indicating] is one showing jars of acid that I spoke about, and some more clubs and weapons that were picked up.

Incidentally, this [indicating] was a common weapon. That was braided out of leather and filled with lead. That weapon was made by some of the men.

Mr. MOSIER. I notice in this picture [indicating] some broken clubs.

Lieutenant MULBAR. You can see that as this picture was being taken, here [indicating] are men up here breaking the clubs.

Mr. MOSIER. Those are pictures of men breaking the clubs?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Those are pictures of men breaking windows?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. Would they go along and break windows with these clubs.

Lieutenant MULBAR. They were doing that at that particular time. This is one of the sleeping quarters for men in the plant [indicating photograph].

Mr. MOSIER. I think, Lieutenant, you have given us a general understanding of the situation.

There is just one more thing I would like to ask you. How long were you at that plant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. When I made that tour, do you mean, when I was going through the plant initially?

Mr. MOSIER. How long were you and your group in the plant observing this strike?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I was there better than a month; I do not know the exact dates.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you you obtain any information while you were there concerning workers in the plant who wanted to get out, and who actually paid to get out?

Lieutenant MULBAR. We had information to that effect, that men wanted to get out, but that they could not get out. I have no information about anybody paying their way out. But we did talk to men afterwards who wanted to get out, who claimed they were held against their will.

Mr. MOSIER. Were you present in Lansing, Mich., on the day of the so-called labor holiday?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I was at my office, at our headquarters in East Lansing, which is a suburb of Lansing.

Mr. MOSIER. Was that after this strike in Flint?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. What was the occasion for that?

Lieutenant MULBAR. You mean what started—

Mr. MOSIER. What started the trek up to Lansing, to the State capital?

Lieutenant MULBAR. The report we received relative to that was that some people had been arrested by Sheriff McDonald, of Ingham County, for illegal picketing, and they were confined in the city jail, at the city hall, in the city of Lansing, and it was a protest meeting against that arrest.

Mr. MOSIER. When did that take place, what day?

Lieutenant MULBAR. June 7, I believe, was the correct date.

Mr. MOSIER. 1937?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. They came into Lansing that day from Flint and other cities?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How many were there, do you have any idea?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I was not downtown in that activity at all, but there were a good many people there.

Mr. MOSIER. Hundreds or thousands?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Oh, I would say thousands.

Mr. MOSIER. Were you ordered—

Lieutenant MULBAR. I took no part, in my official capacity as a police officer, in the Lansing situation.

Mr. MOSIER. You had no orders to get into that situation?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

Mr. MOSIER. That was a city police matter?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have any other statement you would like to make concerning any other phase of this matter that you think would be beneficial to the inquiry?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I do not know anything in particular.

Mr. MOSIER. In your official capacity, would you have anything to do with an investigation of un-American activities?

Lieutenant MULBAR. We have no such function in the Michigan State police.

Mr. MOSIER. You do know, however, of your own knowledge, that various well-known characters in the State of Michigan are engaged in communistic and other un-American activities?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know whether or not these men have been prominent in most of these strikes?

Mr. MULBAR. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. When these men were inside the buildings, that is, the men you talked about a few minutes ago, is it a fact that they were refused permission to leave unless they joined the union and paid their dues?

Lieutenant MULBAR. We had any number of reports like that. I have names and records of men in this book here who were nonunion men and who were not permitted to leave the plants until they joined the union.

The CHAIRMAN. And paid their dues.

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until half past 1 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee took a recess until 1:30 p. m. this day.)

AFTER RECESS

The subcommittee reassembled, pursuant to taking a recess, at 1:30 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. The first witness this afternoon is Mr. Adams.

TESTIMONY OF EDGAR T. ADAMS, CHIEF, PLANT PROTECTION DEPARTMENT, FISHER BODY CORPORATION, FLINT, MICH.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is what?

Mr. ADAMS. Edgar T. Adams.

The CHAIRMAN. You are chief of the plant protection department, Fisher Body, Flint, Mich., are you not?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in Flint, Mich.?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Flint, Mich.?

Mr. ADAMS. This time 3 years and 3 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you chief of the plant protection department when the sit-down strike occurred there?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Communist literature distributed throughout the plants during this strike?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, it first appeared in our plant in February 1936, apparently, from those I was associated with, and had been subsequent to that. There had been none until the spring of 1936. It then started to appear, and our interest being aroused, we watched to see how it was being distributed. We found that at about midnight a girl driving a car would throw this literature out on the sidewalks and streets adjacent to the plant. We found several of the pamphlets or bulletins in the plant. I have some of those that were found at that time.

I have one here [indicating], on which my assistant at that time made a notation, on October 22, 1936, and that carries the typed or printed signature, "Fisher Body Unit Communist Party."

It has a scurrilous picture at the top and some reading matter below relative to what the Communist Party, apparently, wanted from the workers at that time.

I have one here [indicating pamphlet] that was found on February 11, 1936. It has the identical picture that appears on the other and another portion of reading matter. It is signed in printing, "Fisher Body Unit, Communist Party, U. S. A."

Mr. MOSIER. Will you let us see those?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, sir [handing pamphlet to Mr. Mosier].

The CHAIRMAN. I notice it says here, on the second one—

What can be done about these conditions. The Communist Party which is composed of workers who work side by side with you in the shop points out that progressive organization is necessary.

Then it says—

Join the Fisher Body Local of the A. F. of L. and demand that progressive steps be taken to get higher wages, less speed, and better working conditions.

The owners of industry are responsible for lay-offs and unemployment. Therefore the workers must fight for unemployment insurance to be paid by the employers and the Government. Fisher Body Unit, Communist Party, U. S. A.

You found that on the premises?

MR. ADAMS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This other one has this statement:

The workers can control this situation by being organized into a trade union.

Then it says—

Join and support the union.

What else have you?

MR. ADAMS. I have one that was found on July 28, 1936, that has reading matter, and again it bears the typed notation, "Fisher Body Unit, Communist Party, Flint Unit."

The CHAIRMAN. It says in this pamphlet:

Dillon, the former President, appointed by Green, is out, a progressive leadership has been elected and pledged itself to better the conditions of the auto workers. Join the union, the only guarantee to better working conditions. Fisher Body Unit, Communist Party, Flint Unit.

MR. ADAMS. I then have one that must have appeared in the spring of 1937, and it bears quotations from a book called, "The C. I. O. New Challenge" by Will Herberg [handing pamphlet to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. It says:

Here are excerpts from the last page of a book given out at the Automobile Workers Union, on Monday night, April 12, 1937. This book was published by the Workers Age Publishers Association, 131 West Thirty-third Street, New York City. The name of the book, "The C. I. O. New Challenge," by Will Herberg. "Workers, we appeal, join our ranks and together let us strive for a mighty united Communist movement that will be able to achieve our great goal—a Socialist America."—February 15, 1937. The other book and excerpts from the last page, "May Day 1937, What It Means to You," by Louis F. Budenz. 1 cent.

It is the Communist Party members who have been a tower of strength in the sit-down strikes in Detroit and in Flint and who have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the organization drive. In marching in the May Day demonstration, the working people of America can recall these things. They can resolve on the building of a strong Communist Party.

"Now they are getting ready here to pull a strike. Are you prepared to keep your homes and families as they should be kept for a couple of months? These are actual facts."

The CHAIRMAN. That was distributed some time in April 1937?

MR. ADAMS. It was in the spring; I would not know just when.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that before the strike occurred?

MR. ADAMS. No; it was after the strike was over.

The CHAIRMAN. These others were distributed before the strike?

MR. ADAMS. Those were prior to the strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Did a strike follow after this was distributed [indicating]?

MR. ADAMS. Not yet.

Mr. MOSIER. Can you offer any explanation as to why the Communist Party in this literature would advise the workers to join the C. I. O.?

Mr. ADAMS. I can only give my own conclusion, my own opinion.

Mr. MOSIER. It is true, is it not, that the Communist Party does not as a rule advise their workers to join any organization that they do not control?

Mr. ADAMS. As I understand it, the way they are now working, they are advised to join and make themselves active in any organization, church, social, or any other type of organization that will further their ends.

It was agreed and admitted that the labor movement in the United States was going to receive a forward impetus, and they, foreseeing that—this is an opinion on my part—attempted to lead those organizations, so that when an opportunity for the revolution would present itself, they would be in a position to further their own party ambitions.

The CHAIRMAN. But Simmons was elected chairman of the strike committee at the Fisher plant, was he not?

Mr. ADAMS. I do not know whether he was elected or not, but he was the chairman of the strike committee at the Fisher Body plant. He so represented himself in three previous sit-downs, prior to the sit-down of December 30, 1936, which lasted 44 days in both plants.

I had charge of both plants, Fisher 1 and Fisher 2, in Flint, which are 4 miles apart, but Simmons was only associated directly with the activity in Fisher 1.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the strikers do; did they march through the plant?

Mr. ADAMS. On the night of December 30, they went out to lunch at 9:30. Across the street from the plant is their headquarters, and in front of it there is a light. That night, for the first time, the light went on and off, it flashed, and a great number of employees went into the union and when they came back at 10 o'clock our second shift did not resume work in the body shop. Our plant is a fabrication plant, and the parts are stamped out and assembled in automobile bodies and from there shipped to the Buick and other plants. The activity of the strike took place mostly in the north unit, which is the assembly plant for Buick units.

When they went down I was in the office upstairs, and word came that plant 2 had gone down at 7:10 that morning. I immediately went to the north unit, telling everybody the plant was down and was not going to operate further, and that they could go home.

Each employees' entrance and gate was picketed by strong pickets, from 12 to 40, most of whom were armed with truck stakes about 4 feet long, a little longer than a baseball bat. One end you could get hold of very handily, and the other end is a regular bludgeon. They were not all armed.

We helped all those in the plant who wanted to go home; we got them through the picket lines. We told them to go over the back fence.

These pickets were on our property, inside our gates, not on the sidewalk or outside the fences. They went on the inside of the buildings and clock-house entrances. At one gate I disarmed a picket and

got them through. I advised every one who asked me, to go over the back fence and to go out any gate in the plant. There are 14 gates.

I was asked many times what was the reason for the strike, why did the shops all go down. But nobody seemed to know.

In fact, it did not develop for a day or so what the issue might be.

There was one department in which there were about 400 women who were milling around; they had not left the department. I escorted them in a body out of a certain gate.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any that you could not get out?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, indeed; because we let others out who had passes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why could not the rest of them leave?

Mr. ADAMS. You had to make your way through a line of armed men to get out, and unless you possessed a pass permitting you to be out for a period of hours, signed by the strike committee, not having that, you could not get out.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see Roy and Victor Ruether and Bob Travis around there during the strike?

Mr. ADAMS. On January 31, at 9 o'clock in the morning, Roy Ruether entered our plant for the first time; he came in through the north unit. They had seized all of our gates.

Mr. MOSIER. You say January 31?

Mr. ADAMS. Pardon me. On December 30 we went down at 10 o'clock in the evening, and at 9 o'clock in the morning of December 31, Roy Ruether entered the plant with Bob Travis and another man unknown to me, but who works in Toledo, in the mechanical shops.

Mr. MOSIER. He was from Toledo.

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You do not know who he was?

Mr. ADAMS. I do not know. His statement then was that the last time he was in Flint he was only there for a few minutes until he was thrown in jail, and this time he arrived at 7:50, and he said, "It is now 9:50 and I am still not in jail."

They addressed a gathering of striking employees. Roy Ruether told them not to have any liquor or any women in the plant; that if they would obtain their objective they must be prepared to fight and be prepared to sit tight and obey their organizer, who was Bob Travis. He was in there many times after that with his brother, Victor. Then they were in the street.

They accompanied Alice Wilkerson, a member of the British House of Commons, I believe, representing labor, at our plant windows or around the property.

They accompanied our Lieutenant Governor, Edward Norwick, on our property, and through a window in the plant. They were in the plant many times, Roy and Victor, but more often they handled the sound car in the street.

Mr. MOSIER. Did Norwick address these people?

Mr. ADAMS. He did, in both plants.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they play the Internationale there, at any time, during the strike?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; the sound truck played it in front of our windows a lot; in the strike they had the windows wired for sound so they could call their army, as they called it, to duty at any time. I heard the Internationale personally twice on the record over the sound car's

amplifying system directly in front of the portion of the plant where the strikers were.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any acid around the window sills?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes. That was after they had gone away and we went through there. I accompanied the photographer who took the pictures for Lieutenant Mulbar, that were taken in our plants, and I was present at some further action that was shown by news photographers of the riot at plant 2 on January 11.

Acid was taken from the electric factory inside of our plant and put on our floors and put in bottles. It was also put in paint pressure tanks from which our paint hose leads to a spray gun. These were arranged adjacent to our front windows on the second and third floors, apparently to be ready to blow into the faces of any who might appear to eject strikers.

Mr. MOSIER. What part did you say this man, Bud Simmons, played in that strike?

Mr. ADAMS. Bud Simmons was chairman of the strike committee, and Walter Moore was the secretary and treasurer, and J. C. Green was a member of the committee.

Mr. MOSIER. Bud Simmons was chairman of the strike committee?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; his name is Berdene.

I have here some of the objects picked up at the riot. These hinges [indicating] were thrown. They were used as missiles, and hundreds and thousands of them were taken to our roofs and other points of vantage in the plant.

This was the missile [indicating] used, to be thrown by rubber sling-shots. They used brass knuckles; they would wrap this around their hands at the portion that protruded [indicating]; they would sharpen it to a point and had both sides fixed so that they would protect their knuckles.

Mr. MOSIER. Was there any inventory taken after this strike to determine what amount of property, or what the value of the property was, that was lost during the strike by reason of this sort of stuff being thrown?

Mr. ADAMS. I took no inventory myself nor accompanied anybody on any inventory, but before we could resume operations the debris had to be cleaned away and our lines had to be stocked again.

The cushions and upholstery and leather that was destroyed and the material missing from the body lines and parts had to be replaced before we could resume operations.

Mr. MOSIER. You could not testify as to the approximate value of that material?

Mr. ADAMS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you, sir, for your testimony.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF H. F. LUHRS

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Luhrs, I want to ask you a couple of additional questions?

You know Bud Simmons?

Mr. LUHRS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. LUHRS. The Communists had started on a program in Flint whereby they held meetings in different homes around the city. Their

technique was to have from 8 to 10 people in these meetings with the Communists present who would give them pamphlets to study and then they would ask some questions to make sure they got everything out of these pamphlets from Lenin's work and Marx's work. After about 8 or 10 days they were approached by a Communist with a Communist card. A series of these meetings were held in Bud Simmons' home at Flint. But I never saw Bud Simmons' Communist card.

Mr. Mosier. Of course, he was present at those meetings.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK ZEIDER, FLINT, MICH.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Frank Zeider?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You used to be employed at the Fisher body plant in Flint, in the electrical maintenance department; is that correct?

Mr. ZEIDER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you there on December 30, 1937, when the sit-down strike occurred?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attempt to leave the plant?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened?

Mr. ZEIDER. Well, it was during the lunch hour, from 9:30 until 10 o'clock. I had lunch at 9:30, and I came back to go to work and they said there was a strike in progress. At approximately 10:30 our foreman told us that there was a strike and for us to go home until further orders.

I put away my tools and went down in the basement, thinking my group were going to go out. When I got to the gate there were 40 or 50 men lined up in front of the clock house and they said we could not go out. I said, "Why?" They said, "You will have to get a pass from Bud Simmons; he is issuing orders here."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Bud Simmons?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes; I know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get a pass from him?

Mr. ZEIDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see Bud Simmons at a meeting at the Workers' Alliance Hall?

Mr. ZEIDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see him at a meeting of the Communist Party in Detroit?

Mr. ZEIDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the testimony given by the previous witness?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he correctly state what took place there?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see here the weapons that were used in that strike?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of others that were denied permission to leave the plant without a pass signed by Bud Simmons?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes; there were possibly 30 of us in one group, that I know of. They were maintenance men that were denied the privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. Bud Simmons was the leader there, was he?

Mr. ZEIDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Victor Reuther and his brother?

Mr. ZEIDER. Just by sight.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they there?

Mr. ZEIDER. Not that night.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see them there that night?

Mr. ZEIDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You saw this Communist literature, or did you see any Communist literature distributed there?

Mr. ZEIDER. Previous to that I had.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did they keep you there before you finally got out?

Mr. ZEIDER. It was just an hour before Chief Adams, that testified he had seen me, came along and with his help we managed to force our way through the lines.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF JUDGE PAUL V. GADOLA

(The witness was duly sworn.)

Mr. MOSIER. You are Judge Paul V. Gadola?

Judge GADOLA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And you are a judge of the circuit court of the city of Flint?

Judge GADOLA. Of the Seventh Judicial Circuit of Michigan.

Mr. MOSIER. For the purpose of the record, is the circuit court in Michigan a trial court?

Judge GADOLA. The circuit court is the highest court of general jurisdiction in Michigan. The only court above that is the appellate court, the supreme court of Michigan.

Mr. MOSIER. The only court above that is the supreme court?

Judge GADOLA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have any associates on the bench with you?

Judge GADOLA. There are three in my circuit.

Mr. MOSIER. Three in your circuit?

Judge GADOLA. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. How long have you lived in Flint, Judge?

Judge GADOLA. Since 1919.

Mr. MOSIER. Before that were you a practicing lawyer in Michigan?

Judge GADOLA. I was.

Mr. MOSIER. You are a member of the American Legion?

Judge GADOLA. I am.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Judge, along in the latter part of 1936 and the first part of 1937 there was a strike in Flint.

Judge GADOLA. Yes; I have heard so.

Mr. MOSIER. And you are, I believe, familiar with that?

Judge GADOLA. To some degree; yes.

Mr. MOSIER. And I believe that the court proceedings which took place during that strike were held before you, in your courtroom?

Judge GADOLA. They were.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you please tell the committee what took place?

Judge GADOLA. I will give you just a little background prior to that time, because it will explain some of the things, and some of the knowledge which we had. The first connection I had with Communist activities in strike situations in Flint was in the strike of 1930. That is the strike that has been testified to here. There were five men in that strike bombed the Chevrolet power plant, although the Chevrolet was not on strike. It was a Fisher Body strike, but five of them bombed the Chevrolet power plant. They were brought before me and ultimately pleaded guilty before me to the offense.

The Civil Liberties Union immediately came in to defend these men, and, of course, as soon as the representatives of the Civil Liberties Union came in, I knew, from the background, that the matter was more than a labor matter.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you recall the names of any of the counsel who appeared on behalf of the Civil Liberties Union?

Judge GADOLA. Maurice Sugar is the king pin back of that situation. He was at that time. It was taken over later to some degree by Patrick O'Brien, who was a former circuit judge and also a former attorney general of the State of Michigan.

Then we come up to the situation of the strike of 1937. An application was made, of course, for an injunction to evacuate the seized plants. An order to show cause was issued out of my court, returnable, of course, under due process, and was adjourned from time to time until the situation was——

Mr. MOSIER. Adjourned for what reason?

Judge GADOLA. Well, counsel had not gotten together, as lawsuits go, you know, and they wanted time to prepare their briefs and to prepare themselves for the litigation, naturally.

Then the matter finally came up for hearing. The National Guard had moved into the city of Flint prior to that time. The entire National Guard of the State of Michigan was assembled in Flint because of the riot at plant No. 2, where a great many people were injured and policemen were injured to quite an extent. There were three cars, two police cars and a sheriff's car, completely demolished in that riot, and they stood on the street there for days after that.

The applications for the writ, of course, was to evacuate the two seized plants Fisher No. 1 and Fisher No. 2, so described in the bill of complaint.

When the matter came up for hearing the attorneys for the strikers, or the union, Maurice Sugar, Mr. Pressman, and Larry Davidow appeared in court. One of the peculiar things about it that struck me as significant at the start was that in a court in this land any attorney thought that he had to appear with a bodyguard. They appeared with six bodyguards, who immediately took possession of my outside office.

Then we proceeded into court. Prior to their arrival, telephone calls had come in, one that Mr. Pressman was to call Washington. Whom he talked with in Washington I have no way of knowing.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Pressman?

Judge GADOLA. He is an attorney from New York representing the C. I. O., Lee Pressman. Also a call that Mr. Sugar or Mr. Davidow were to immediately call the Governor as soon as they arrived in court.

Mr. MOSIER. How do you spell Davidow's name?

Judge GADOLA. D-a-v-i-d-o-w.

Mr. MOSIER. Is he a Michigan lawyer?

Judge GADOLA. He is.

Mr. MOSIER. Where is his law office?

Judge GADOLA. Detroit. He is a brother-in-law of Maurice Sugar. As a matter of fact, they are on opposite sides of the fence in the union controversy, one representing the unity group and one representing the other. They were both representing the union at that time.

Mr. MOSIER. Sugar represents the unity group?

Judge GADOLA. And Davidow represents Martin and his group.

Mr. MOSIER. Davidow represents Martin?

Judge GADOLA. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. They are on opposite sides now?

Judge GADOLA. They are on opposite sides of the fence at the present time.

Mr. MOSIER. When you say they were to call the Governor, you mean Governor Murphy of Michigan?

Judge GADOLA. The Governor of the State of Michigan. I conveyed that message to them. They went into my private office and naturally their communications were private. I allowed them to have my office. The door was closed and they were in there.

Mr. MOSIER. Judge, what was the approximate date of this?

Judge GADOLA. I cannot remember; it was the day of the hearing. I do not know what date it was.

Mr. MOSIER. It is all a part of the court records, is it not?

Judge GADOLA. Yes; it is all a matter of public record.

Mr. MOSIER. It is a matter of public record. But would it be January or February, do you recall?

Judge GADOLA. It was in February, as I recall.

Mr. MOSIER. That is near enough; February 1937?

Judge GADOLA. Yes. After they had had their telephone calls completed they requested me to come into the office and called the attorneys for General Motors, likewise, for a conference.

Mr. Sugar said to me, "We desire to have this matter adjourned."

I said, "This matter has gone too far. There is this dangerous situation existing in Flint at this time and I cannot see that it should be adjourned. It has got to be decided some time."

He turned to me and he said, "The Governor desires this adjournment."

Of course at that time I said something perhaps I should not have. I said, "The hell with the Governor."

Mr. MOSIER. If I may interrupt you there, we do not want to get politics into this, but we do want to get at the truth. It is true, is it not, that the Governor is a Democrat?

Judge GADOLA. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. And you are a Democrat?

Judge GADOLA. Not by any means. I am a Republican. As a matter of fact, up until the new deal and the coattail parade, we never had a Democratic judge in Michigan.

Anyway, we proceeded with that hearing. After we had proceeded for some time with the argument—because it was a law argument; no evidence was necessary; they read affidavits—a demonstration started in front of the courthouse. We had been informed in ad-

vance that a demonstration was to take place in front of the courthouse.

There was a slight demonstration, a lot of noise. Anyway, it caused the police to gather at the courthouse. All the law enforcement bodies gathered at the courthouse.

It was really a subterfuge. When they had assembled the police, ostensibly to protect the court, the parade started and went to Chevrolet plant No. 9, where a real riot took place that day.

The background in the matter of attempting to seize the Chevrolet plant was that that particular territory was not covered by the application for the injunction. I informed the attorneys at that time, so far as I was concerned, the bill of complaint was broad enough so that I would decide that it covered every piece of General Motors property in the State of Michigan, if they so desired.

Mr. MOSIER. While this crowd was outside the court house that afternoon, was there anybody in your court room?

Judge GADOLA. The court room was crowded, completely packed.

Mr. MOSIER. It is true, is it not, that the American Legion had a great many men in the court room for your protection?

Judge GADOLA. The American Legion had a great many guards in the court room.

Mr. MOSIER. All right, go ahead.

Judge GADOLA. The hearing proceeded. As a matter of fact, it lasted until almost 7 o'clock in the evening. All of this time this riot was going on at the Chevrolet plant. I know, when the riot first started, an officer handed me up a notation that the riot was going on. About an hour after that, someone came in and spoke to Mr. Pressman. I remember this, because it was very dramatic. Mr. Pressman leaped to his feet, and he said, "Your Honor, while we are here talking about this situation seven men have been killed at the Chevrolet plant." I said, "Well, Mr. Pressman, I have known that a riot has been going on for over an hour while I was listening to you talking. I certainly would be pleased to find anyone who has killed anyone else and have them before me."

Well, it proceeded, and then they asked for time to file briefs. I told them I did not feel any great deal of time was necessary for filing briefs. They had had almost 3 weeks to prepare their cases and from their arguments they had very thoroughly prepared their cases in advance. But I said I would hold the matter until the next morning. In the meantime I had gotten in touch with the commanding officer of the National Guard and he had requested some notice in order to carry out any orders. From his conversation I was thoroughly convinced at that time that he thought he was to carry out the orders of the court. But I told him I would grant him 24 hours and hold the writ for 24 hours, or the decision for 24 hours. And then it was issued.

Mr. MOSIER. During that time, Judge, did you receive any of what might be called threats?

Judge GADOLA. Yes. I received threats from then on for weeks. As a matter of fact, there was a guard maintained over my home. There was a guard maintained over my children in school. I never was allowed to go to the court alone. I was always escorted. And from information I had, it really was necessary.

Mr. MOSIER. Did the American Legion guard you?

Judge GADOLA. The American Legion guarded me to a great extent. But there were other guards. The school guards I do not know anything about, and did not know for some time after. The school guards were maintained by some other organization.

Mr. MOSIER. You do not know what organization that was that maintained the school guard?

Judge GADOLA. No; I do not know.

Mr. MOSIER. All right. Judge, go ahead. You issued the writ?

Judge GADOLA. I issued the writ, and then, of course, the cry went out of absolute defiance. The newspapers carried all of the communications. Telegrams were sent, lengthy telegrams, from both of the sit-down groups, that I had signed a death warrant for them, that they were to die on the premises and that blood was to be shed, and all of those things. As a matter of fact, I personally believe that if the order had been issued to execute the order of the court, as the National Guard officers thought they were to do, they would have marched out of the sit-down plants right then.

Mr. MOSIER. Judge, aside from Maurice Sugar—and, of course, we know his affiliations with the Communist Party—are you able to tell us of any other Communists or left-wing Socialists, or un-American radicals that were connected with that strike who were either in your court room or who were publicly known to be there?

Judge GADOLA. I could not name individuals by name that were in the courtroom or about the courtroom. I did, however, of course, receive reams of communications from different organizations. There are three of them that I brought here to present to you because of some of the background. One of these organizations I know nothing about, the American Federation of Government Employees, Washington, D. C., who protested the denial of the personal liberties of the strikers, and so forth, and so on. That letter is signed by Janet Gaines, president, and Margaret Wallace, secretary, 1703 E Street NW. I do not know what that organization is.

I also have a communication from the American League against War and Fascism, 961 East Fourteenth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., February 8, 1937.

Mr. MOSIER. Who signed that?

Judge GADOLA. That is signed by Hester—and I cannot read the other name. It is written in red ink. Here is the letter:

The members of the Midwood Branch of the American League Against War and Fascism have asked me to send this letter to you protesting your action taken in the recent General Motors strike wherein you prohibited individual and mass picketing for the duration of the strike.

Of course, your committee has plenty of reports about what the League Against War and Fascism is.

Mr. MOSIER. Yes; we have.

Judge GADOLA. I also have a communication—I received many communications from the Civil Liberties Union. As a matter of fact, for a while I received a telegram or a letter almost every day from the Reverend J. H. Bollens, of Detroit. They later changed their name to the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights. The letterhead gives the Reverend J. H. Bollens as the chairman, in 310 Hofmann Building, 2539 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich., and the name of the Honorable Patrick H. O'Brien as counsel. This letter is under date of February 24, and is written to me as follows:

Judge PAUL V. GADOLA:

Flint, Mich.

SIR: At our monthly conference, the following motion was unanimously accepted:

That we go on record demanding the withdrawal of the indictments pending against Robert Travis, Roy Reuther, Victor Reuther, Henry Krause, Bill Carney, Leslie Towner, B. J. Whitlock, of the United Automobile Workers of America.

Yours truly,

MARIE HEMPEL, *Secretary.*

MR. MOSIER. Is it not a fact that all of those people named in that letter are well-known Communists?

Judge GADOLA. They are well-known Communists; they have that reputation; yes, sir.

MR. MOSIER. Now, to go back, Judge. Is the first name of Davidow, Larry?

Judge GADOLA. Larry Davidow. I think the right name is Lawrence. He is known as Larry.

MR. MOSIER. Going back to the afternoon when the crowd gathered outside of your courtroom, you said they were also in the courtroom?

Judge GADOLA. Yes. There was a large crowd in the courtroom.

MR. MOSIER. Was that crowd in the courtroom sympathetic to you or were they strikers, or what?

Judge GADOLA. I would have no way of knowing.

MR. MOSIER. Could you tell us about that?

Judge GADOLA. I have no way of knowing. I will say this, however, for that crowd. With the stress that was on at that moment, when I got through dictating my decision in the matter, you could have heard a pin drop. There was not the slightest demonstration. They all got up and filed out.

MR. MOSIER. You issued the writ and you say the order in the writ was not carried out?

Judge GADOLA. It was not carried out.

MR. MOSIER. Was that due to a lack of enforcement officers, or why?

Judge GADOLA. The sheriff of our county, I believe, would have attempted to execute the writ except that he was prevented from doing so by the Chief Executive of the State of Michigan.

MR. MOSIER. That is, you say that the Governor prohibited the sheriff from carrying out the order in the writ?

Judge GADOLA. At least, that is the information the sheriff gave to me. I asked him. I said, "Sheriff—"

MR. MOSIER. Was Maurice Sugar in that situation at all?

Judge GADOLA. Maurice Sugar was always in the situation. Any time they tried to do anything, Maurice Sugar would say, "Just a minute, just a minute, now, let us talk with the Governor."

MR. MOSIER. Did you have any conversation with the sheriff about his carrying out the order in the writ?

Judge GADOLA. I did.

MR. MOSIER. What was said in that conversation?

Judge GADOLA. I talked to him. I took him to task as being the chief enforcement officer of the State of Michigan in our community, for not executing the orders of the court. He said, "Well, what can I do? The Governor does not want me to." I said, "Do you know, you are sheriff, the Governor is not sheriff here." He says, "Yes; but he can remove me from office."

Mr. MOSIER. Did you ever cite anybody for contempt for not carrying out that writ?

Judge GADOLA. I did.

Mr. MOSIER. Who was that?

Judge GADOLA. Homer Martin, for one.

Mr. MOSIER. A number of them?

Judge GADOLA. Yes. Those who were named in this letter, Roy Reuther and Victor Reuther, and Krause and Carney and Towner and Whitlock—I do not remember all the names.

Mr. MOSIER. You cited all of them for contempt?

Judge GADOLA. That is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. What was done with them?

Judge GADOLA. They have never been apprehended.

Mr. MOSIER. They have never been apprehended?

Judge GADOLA. No.

Mr. MOSIER. Although they are leading strikes around Michigan?

Judge GADOLA. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. Any they cannot find them?

Judge GADOLA. So far as I know, the sheriff has the writ in his possession still.

Mr. MOSIER. And they are well-known members of the Communist Party?

Judge GADOLA. Well known.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a complete break-down of law enforcement in that community, is that right?

Judge GADOLA. Absolutely. Civil authority had completely broken down. As a matter of fact, the worst evidence of the entire situation, or the worst culmination of the entire situation was—and it still exists to some extent; it did for a long while after—that when we brought people into court on writs every little while one of them would say, "You could not do anything with these strikers. I am just a poor sucker here alone. What do you want to do with me?"

There was a complete break-down of civil authority.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the sheriff's name there?

Judge GADOLA. Thomas Wolcott.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Judge.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES H. PRATT

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Charles H. Pratt?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in the city of Flint, Mich.?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a past State vice commander of the American Legion?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You also served on the American Legion city subversive committee?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with what happened in Flint during January and February 1937?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us what took place during that sit-down strike?

Mr. PRATT. Mr. Chairman, it is very hard to bring to you or anyone else that has never seen a mob of this description in action, although I will attempt to visualize for you what actually happened.

On November 11, as Captain Hughes has told you, this main riot occurred. There were literally hundreds of people there being egged on through this sound car by this Reuther set-up. The sheriff's car was tipped over. While the sheriff was getting out of the car, somebody heaved a milk bottle, hit him in the head and knocked him down. City police cars were wrecked, one of them a total loss. I am told the estimated cost of repairing these automobiles was near \$2,000.

These people, of course, as the story got around the city, flocked down towards this Chevrolet Avenue. Along later in the evening the police were literally surrounded with people. They did not know their enemies from their friends. It was very hard to tell. This went on, of course, practically all of this evening.

Later, we had on the Fisher Body unit No. 1, which is located on South Saginaw Street, the widest street in the city of Flint—we had a mob gathered there which held up traffic. They questioned everybody who went through. If people did not slow up, they took these long clubs and they hammered the automobiles, put dents in them and in some cases they dragged out the drivers, threw them in the back seats and took their cars and went for a ride in them.

Then we come to what has been described to you as the Chevrolet No. 9 riot. This plant, as the judge has told you, was raided during the process of this trial, and in that group were women and young girls, oh, I would say from 14 to 16 years of age, wearing these red berets. They were breaking windows and destroying property just as fast as they could come to it. All of this time, of course, in these last two instances our National Guard of the State of Michigan was mobilized in the city of Flint. Various school houses and barracks were set up for them. But they could not move and they did not move until sometime after this No. 9 was literally torn to pieces. The reason they could not move is because the Governor of our great State told them they could not move until he said so. He did condescend to give the order after No. 9 had been assailed. They then went down and took strategic points around this plant and they told the men in the plants that they could come out if they wished, but they would not be able to go back in.

That is as far as law enforcement went. The State police were also in there. As I understand their orders were to observe only. As a matter of fact, that is all they did do.

One could go on and on probably for an hour or two——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see the women's auxiliary led by Genora Johnson of Flint?

Mr. PRATT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have clubs and other weapons?

Mr. PRATT. They had everything they could have in their hands.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they destroying property and breaking windows with the clubs?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the incident that was referred to by the Communist William Weinstone, secretary of the Communist Party, in his book, the Great Sit-Down?

Mr. PRATT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Genora Johnson?

Mr. PRATT. She is a lady who has been living in Flint for some time. Her husband was chairman of one of the groups there. She is chairman of this ladies' auxiliary which we have termed the "Red Brase." All of these ladies wear red hats.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an auxiliary of what?

Mr. PRATT. An auxiliary of the U. A. W. U.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

TESTIMONY OF P. F. McAUSLAN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You are a druggist, of Flint, Mich.?

Mr. McAUSLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see the same things that the previous witnesses have described?

Mr. McAUSLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what occurred at the sit-down strike in Flint?

Mr. McAUSLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your drug store in relation to this building or factory?

Mr. McAUSLAN. It is diagonally across the street, on the corner.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see the women's auxiliary in action?

Mr. McAUSLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What were they doing?

Mr. McAUSLAN. They had clubs and various kinds of sticks 2 or 3 feet long. They were going along the sidewalk, after they broke formation, breaking windows.

The CHAIRMAN. In whose building?

Mr. McAUSLAN. The building of the Chevrolet Motor Car Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear Victor Reuther speak?

Mr. McAUSLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you hear the Third International played?

Mr. McAUSLAN. I heard it several times. I do not recall it on that day.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any Communist literature being distributed around?

Mr. McAUSLAN. Considerable; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN M. BARRINGER

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. Mosier. Your name is John M. Barringer.

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were subpoenaed here like the rest of the witnesses?

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir; I have the subpoena here.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here under subpoena.

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And like the other witnesses, you will receive your transportation and \$5 per day. For the sake of the record, I want all of these witnesses to understand that their transportation is being paid by the committee, as well as the usual \$5 per day.

Mr. MOSIER. I believe you were city manager and director of public safety in Flint, Mich., from 1932 to 1937.

Mr. BARRINGER. I was; yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did you hold both of those positions contemporarily?

Mr. BARRINGER. The office of city manager means that you are also director of public safety.

Mr. MOSIER. As director of public safety, did you officially come in contact with the police department?

Mr. BARRINGER. I was the official head of the police department.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, can you give the committee the benefit of any official information that you obtained during that time, concerning Communist activities in the city of Flint?

Mr. BARRINGER. Naturally, being city manager and director of public safety, I would be pretty close to the situation. Probably the best way to give it to you would be to tell you the story of what happened.

Mr. MOSIER. All right; go ahead.

Mr. BARRINGER. The trouble really started with the transportation strike which was called on December 3, 1936. Flint had instituted a new system of trolley coaches, and within 2 or 3 days after the system was in operation, the men went out on strike. They occupied the second floor of the office building of the trolley coach company, and they refused to leave for 3 days. After about 2 or 3 days, Mr. Roy Reuther appeared in the picture with the trolley strikers, and Mr. Reuther took charge of their strike. It was then that I came in contact with Roy Reuther. We were making every effort to get the transportation system back into operation. You should keep in mind that it was in December, the weather was cold, and there were many men going back and forth to work. As soon as Roy Reuther came in on the ground floor, you might say, I knew then that it would be hopeless for me to accomplish anything. I had heard of his background and activities. I might say, going further, as director of public safety, for years I had one man assigned to my office to keep track of or keep me in touch with subversive activities of the Communists and radicals out there. There were very few written reports, but they were given to me verbally at the office, at my home, or some other place. I knew pretty well what was going on along those lines. The trolley strike was not settled, and Mr. Reuther took all of those strikers away from the office of the trolley coach company, and took them down to union headquarters. From then on he ran all the strike.

Mr. MOSIER. Was there anybody else connected with that strike?

Mr. BARRINGER. Bob Travis came in later.

Mr. MOSIER. Was he known to you as a Communist?

Mr. BARRINGER. As a Communist sympathizer, or probably a left-wing Socialist. He would be where that type of people would meet.

Mr. MOSIER. Reuther did not live in Flint?

Mr. BARRINGER. No, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Did Travis live in Flint?

Mr. BARRINGER. No, sir; Travis was from Toledo, Ohio. He headed some trouble there before he came to Flint.

Mr. MOSIER. Go ahead.

Mr. BARRINGER. Mr. Reuther and Mr. Travis negotiated for the trolley coach strikers. The strike was not settled, and it was said that it was warming up for the big strike that was to come later. In the meantime, our commission meetings were talking with Reuther, Travis, and their friends.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you mean the city commission meetings?

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir; we met every week, on Monday nights.

Then, on December 30, I think it was, the Fisher Body strike occurred. That was at Fisher No. 1. Those men occupied the plant and refused to leave. It was something new to us, and it was something that we were confused to know how to handle.

Mr. MOSIER. That was really the first sit-down strike, was it not?

Mr. BARRINGER. It was the first that we had had any experience with.

Mr. MOSIER. It was the only place at which a sit-down strike had occurred.

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. How many men did you have on the police force?

Mr. BARRINGER. The total enrollment was about 135 or 140, but I am sure that we had not more than 70 or 80 effectives, or men physically able to go out on duty.

After this occurrence at the Fisher Body plant, men from Toledo and other towns kept coming into Flint.

Mr. MOSIER. From what other towns did they come?

Mr. BARRINGER. From Akron, Norwood, and once in a while we would see an Indiana car loaded with men. They were coming in and meeting in groups throughout the city, mostly close to the city hall. At this time, this famous sound wagon was running around the streets inciting the people, especially around in the factory districts, to join the strikers and support the unions. That car usually had one of the Reuthers talking, or some women. I tried to put through the city commission an ordinance to take that car off the streets, but I was unable to get it through. This led to other disturbances. In the meantime, I knew it was getting beyond the scope or ability of the Flint police to handle it. The first place we would logically look to would be the State police. They had a post on the edge of Flint, and East Lansing, the headquarters of the State police, is only 50 miles from Flint.

At this time, fearing that we were getting into serious difficulty, I had my secretary to make some notes for 3 or 4 days, during which time I tried to get help. These notes were made at that time, and I would be glad if you would let me read them.

Mr. MOSIER. They were made by you?

Mr. BARRINGER. I dictated them to my secretary.

Mr. MOSIER. Go ahead and read them.

Mr. BARRINGER. On Tuesday, January 5, realizing that an extremely dangerous situation was developing in Flint on account of having two of our large factories occupied by armed groups, I telephoned Commissioner Olander of the State police. Commissioner Olander informed me that he could do nothing without the Governor's permission, and he suggested that I telephone the Governor. That same evening I telephoned the Governor's office, but was unable to contact him. I talked to his secretary, however, and requested an appoint-

ment with the Governor as soon as possible. This was promised but the appointment was never made.

The next day, on January 7, I requested Inspector Demaroff to telephone Commissioner Olander and acquaint him of the near-riot which had just taken place and to further inform him of the number of men who were coming into Flint from Toledo and Akron, and other Ohio points. Inspector Demaroff informed Commissioner Olander that these men could be stopped at the city limits and turned back. The commissioner stated again that he could not act without the Governor's permission.

On January 8, I was successful in getting Governor Murphy on the telephone and acquainted him with what we had been experiencing and of the serious situation developing in Flint, particularly as to the influx of men from other cities and States, especially Ohio. I told him that we had information that these men were coming to the city to take part in the demonstrations and that I thought we should have help from the State police. The Governor gave me no assurance whatsoever that he would do anything about it.

During the afternoon of January 7, street fighting occurred near the Personnel office of the Chevrolet Motor Co. and this was caused by the use of a loud speaker placed in the window of a beer tavern. The talks being given through this loud speaker were inflammatory, radical, and libelous. The man talking through the speaker was identified as Roy Reuther. Men coming from the plant at this time were angered at the remarks by Reuther, proceeded to tear down the loud speaker and naturally this brought on a fist fight. Two men were arrested, both of them being strikers, one of them a strike leader and labor organizer from Toledo. The men were taken to the city jail.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know what happened there?

Mr. BARRINGER. No, sir.

About 10:30 the same evening, between 200 and 300 men and women led by out-of-town agitators, assembled before the police department and demanded the release of these two men. After an hour's waiting for the crowd to disperse, the police department gave the mob 5 minutes to disperse, which they did. During this demonstration, which might have become serious, Inspector Demaroff of the Flint police department, phoned Sergeant McGlone, in charge of the Flint post of the State police, advising him of the situation. Sergeant McGlone replied that he was sorry but he could not act without orders from Commissioner Olander, and we knew that Olander could do nothing without Governor Murphy's permission. Governor Murphy could not be reached. In this crowd that demonstrated before the police department were Roy and Victor Reuther. This record is being made for the purpose of showing the lack of understanding of the unwillingness to act upon the part of Governor Murphy.

At 11 o'clock on January 8, I telephoned Commissioner Olander but could not reach him because of his absence from headquarters. I talked to the next in command, Captain Lyon and gave him an account of the trouble which had occurred at the police department and of Inspector Demaroff's conversation with Sergeant McGlone of the Flint post of the State police. I then asked Captain Lyon if it was still the order that nothing could be done by the State police

except through orders of Governor Murphy. His reply was that he could act only upon orders from Commissioner Olander and that thus far he had received no orders to help Flint.

At 7:30 p. m., January 11, at the time that I was entering the city commission meeting, I received a telephone call from the police department that men were forming in front of the Fisher Body Co. plant No. 2, which is across from the Chevrolet plant. Excusing myself from the meeting, I proceeded immediately to the police department and found out that Chief of Police Wills had gone out to the scene of the trouble a half an hour ago. When the chief returned, however, he advised me that everything would be all right and that the men had congregated at that point to form two picket lines and to lend encouragement to those men who were in the plant. He was assured there would be no trouble.

Nevertheless, about 8:30 that evening word came to the police department from the office of the Chevrolet police department that a mob was storming the entrance to the first floor of the Fisher plant No. 2, which was across from the Chevrolet plant, and requested immediate help. The riot squad of the Flint police, which was quartered in the county jail building, was ordered immediately to the scene of the trouble, together with several cars of policemen from police headquarters. By the time they arrived a first-class fight had started, and the police immediately endeavored to restore order. As soon as the police arrived though, they were greeted by the mob with missiles of all sorts which were hurled at them. These missiles were pieces of steel, iron brickbats, milk bottles, and bottles containing an acid solution. A man later identified as Victor Reuther was talking from a lonspeaker wagon and was inciting the men to further violence and to combat the police. The police resorted to gas in order to gain entrance to the first floor of the Fisher Body plant, but due to the ineffectiveness of the gas they were not successful. The fight developed into serious proportions, and it was a question as to how far it might go. Knowing that I could not send any additional reserves or men to the battleground, I phoned immediately to the State police headquarters in East Lansing, but could not reach Commissioner Olander, who was in Detroit.

The officer in charge at East Lansing, of course, would not act without orders from the commissioner. I telephoned Detroit and located Olander but was unable to persuade him to come to our assistance. He said that he could not possibly act without Governor Murphy's permission. I finally located the Governor by phone and told him the story. He would authorize no help immediately but told us later to meet him at midnight at the Durant Hotel in Flint. When the Governor finally arrived at the hotel and started up the elevator to his rooms, he was followed immediately by Roy and Victor Reuther and several other mob leaders. He evidently must have gotten word to them to meet him there. The Governor conferred with these men for more than three-quarters of an hour before he would talk with the mayor and myself and other city officials. During this time the battle was still in progress and was liable to develop into a serious bloody one at any moment. After a 3-hour conference, at which conference were representatives of the State police, Flint police department, the mayor, the prosecuting attorney, and the sheriff, he still refused to order the 70 or 75 State police which were in Flint at

that time to help our Flint police department to restore order. He did state, however, that he would take immediate steps to bring in the first unit of the National Guard. That night I tried to impress upon him how serious the situation was at the exact time that I was talking to him. I told him that our men had been trapped, they were virtually surrounded and outnumbered many times; that they were fatigued, suffering from cold, and that if they were not allowed to withdraw by the mob without a battle, in pure self-defense they would have had to use solid shot and machine guns. This seemed to have no effect upon the Governor.

After the meeting I sent orders to Captain Hughes, who was in command of the force at the Fisher plant to withdraw without bloodshed if he possibly could. He succeeded in doing this but had to sacrifice two of the police cruisers to the fury of the mob. These cars were entirely destroyed. Early in the morning the first unit of the National Guard began arriving in Flint.

That is the memorandum I made.

Mr. MOSIER. During that time, did you swear in any special officers?

Mr. BARRINGER. Not at that time; no, sir.

When Governor Murphy issued orders for the National Guard to come in, his statement was published in the Flint papers and I give you this quotation from Governor Murphy's statement to the public, which was published in the newspapers:

Whatever else may happen, there is going to be law and order in Michigan. The public safety and public interest are paramount. There will be maintenance of public order and protection of private property in Flint.

After that statement I assumed that he would do as he said he would do. He said, there would be law and order. The first unit of the National Guard that came in were quartered across from the police department, in an old high-school building. Then other units came in until, I understand, there were between four and five thousand National Guardsmen in Flint. Naturally, we conferred with the officers in charge of the National Guard. Through some sources in the police department I heard rumors that some Communists were going to cripple Flint through damaging the water works, sewage disposal plant, pumping station, or dams connected with the water department, and we asked the National Guard if they would patrol those vital points, but we were refused. We had to hire men and arm them to patrol those points.

Mr. MOSIER. How many men did you put on?

Mr. BARRINGER. I imagine between 30 and 50. We had to have a 24-hour shift, and we could not spare any men from the police department. Our police department was rather crippled. We had a number of men injured in the Chevrolet No. 2 battle. From then on, the streets became more cluttered up with—I might call them mobs. The National Guard cautioned us not to do anything that would cause trouble. They even wanted us to stay out of certain parts of our own city, or to keep the police out of certain parts of our own city. Things were growing progressively worse. The State police could not come and help patrol the streets without orders, and the National Guard would not do it. In fact, the National Guard suggested to us later that we return the machine gun units. I interpreted that to mean that they wanted to disarm us. As things became progressively worse, we later tried to get Governor Murphy

to help out the local department, but he refused. At no time did Governor Murphy ever come to me or ask me for information. He got his information from other sources. I had no chance whatsoever to talk to him, except once or twice, but he came over often.

At the time Judge Gadola issued his writ, on February 2, another fight started over at plant No. 9 of the Chevrolet Co. That is when the parade went through the streets, with women with red berets and various descriptions of clothes.

Mr. MOSIER. The women did?

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir. The women carried red flags, and cared nothing about the traffic rules and regulations. As they went through the streets, I imagine there were 50 or 60 State police within a stone throw. They broke windows, and were inside of No. 9. It spread to plant No. 4, one of the biggest Chevrolet plants. The strikers took plant No. 4, with the National Guard right outside of it. At that time, the sound car was impounded by National Guardsmen, and they found that it was armed. It was in front of plant No. 4. When they impounded the sound car they found it armed.

Mr. MOSIER. What did they find?

Mr. BARRINGER. They found revolvers, and pieces of steel. Then, within an hour they had an order to release the car, and it went around the streets again doing the same thing.

Mr. MOSIER. That was a National Guard order?

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir; I understand so. At least, they released it. I think on February 2, Judge Gadola issued his writ giving them, I think, 24 hours to vacate. Now, the mobs had been getting braver and braver, and cared less about the Flint police department or anyone else. On February 3, the mobs virtually took the lower end of our city, around Fisher plant No. 1. They closed up the main highway leading from Detroit, and would not let traffic through unless they cared to. They injured many cars by banging up the fenders, and so forth, and they re-routed many cars. They had some of the cars given over to them for taxi service. I think one man came to the office and said that his car was taken away from him. He was a salesman from Detroit. The chief of police went down to that end of the city. Before that we asked if the National Guard would patrol that main highway and open it up, but they said they could not. The State police would not come into the city to do it.

Mr. MOSIER. Down in that section of the city, did they take possession of any stores?

Mr. BARRINGER. I do not know. At any rate, the chief of police went down there, and made his report to me. They were chased out of that section. I got a car, and with two men went through that section of the city. Luckily I was not recognized, and I saw what was going on first-hand. When I came back to the city hall I knew it was time we brought the thing to an issue, but the National Guard refused to act because they could not get Governor Murphy's orders. The State police refused to act. The mobs were not only vicious, but they were drinking on the streets, and the people were becoming fearful and angry. We either had to restore law and order, or the right-thinking people would have taken it into their own hands, and it would not have been more than a few days before they did it. When I returned to the city hall, I issued orders to bring in reserve officers. I sent those calls to various organizations,

to send men in. We wanted good officers in our reserve corps, and they commenced to come in.

Mr. MOSIER. The American Legion was brought into it?

Mr. BARRINGER. They had a large number in it. They assembled at the city hall and the Masonic Temple. As soon as the reserve corps began to organize, the unions commenced to find out what we were doing, and they asked for a conference with the mayor. The mayor and three others went there late that evening. The mayor asked us to do nothing until after the conference with the union leaders. The result of the conference was that we were to send executive officers, and they were to disperse the mobs, disarm the mobs, and that the mobs would not assemble again without permission of the police department, and that they would observe the traffic rules and be orderly. That is the only thing that restored order in Flint. Governor Murphy, through a telephone call, in one sentence, to those men in the plants, could have done the same thing.

Mr. MOSIER. What part would you say that members of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, or the left-wing group of the Socialist Party played in that strike?

Mr. BARRINGER. They played a very prominent part. We came in contact in every trouble with the Reuther brothers, Travis, and men of that sort.

Mr. MOSIER. They were men you knew, and while you could not prove they were members of the Communist Party, you knew they were in sympathy with them.

Mr. BARRINGER. That is right.

Now, during the time of the sit-down strike I had various calls, maybe half a dozen, from wives of men who were imprisoned in the Fisher plants, wanting to know why those husbands could not get out and why we did not do something about it. They were fearful of the health of those men; some of them had not been well; they were afraid that the food and the sleeping conditions, and so forth, would be very hurtful for them; or it might be that a child was sick, and they wanted the father to come home; and the only way eventually to get those men out would be to go to Bud Simonds, maybe, and persuade him to let these men out.

Mr. MOSIER. Bud Simonds was apparently directing the whole thing?

Mr. BARRINGER. That is, in Fisher Body plant No. 1.

Mr. MOSIER. Assisted by one or two of the Reuther brothers?

Mr. BARRINGER. That is right.

Now, during the time of the Fisher No. 1 strike—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I want to ask you this: From what you know, and the information that you got from seeing well-known Communists at the scene, would you say that this would ever have occurred if it had not been for the instigation and active leadership of the Communists?

Mr. BARRINGER. No; it would not have occurred. And I can further answer that question—that it would not have developed so seriously if it had not been for the attitude of the members of the La Follette committee, and Governor Murphy's treasonable action in not giving us help when we should have had it.

Mr. MOSIER. What did the La Follette committee do? Will you just explain that statement?

Mr. BARRINGER. After we formed our reserve corps, I had calls from members of the Department of Labor, under Madam Perkins, and from two men from the La Follette committee.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know who they were?

Mr. BARRINGER. I believe one was Cranebrook, or Craubrook.

Mr. MOSIER. Cranefield?

Mr. BARRINGER. Cranefield; I think that was one of them; and Allen—

Mr. MOSIER. Was the other one Allen?

Mr. BARRINGER. Allen; that sounds like it.

Mr. MOSIER. Cranefield and Allen?

Mr. BARRINGER. I think that is right.

Mr. MOSIER. They called on you?

Mr. BARRINGER. I heard that they were over at union headquarters. Then I heard from them again at the police department. They went over to our chief and demanded the names of the reserves that we had enrolled—the names and addresses.

Mr. MOSIER. Of the American Legion?

Mr. BARRINGER. No; we had enrolled this reserve corps.

Mr. MOSIER. But you enrolled part of them from the American Legion?

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes; surely. They demanded the names and addresses of these men. The chief told them he would not give them to them, and referred them to me. They came over to my office. Naturally I wanted to see their credentials, which they showed me, and they were all right so far as I knew. They did not seem to be a bit concerned as to what was going on; their main object or purpose there was to demand of me the names of those men whom we had signed up in the last day or two as police reserves, or special officers. I told them it was an unusual request; that I did not see any reason to give it to the committee; that if they would give me good reasons why they wanted it, I might be able to answer it more intelligently. They said: "Well, we would like to have it. We have found in some cases where men in organizations of this sort were not citizens; had criminal records."

Mr. MOSIER. Were not citizens, you say?

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir; and had criminal records.

"Well," I said, "I think I can assure you on that matter. I will give you an affidavit that every man enrolled is a citizen, and that he has no criminal record." "Well," they said, "that won't do; we want the list of names." "Well," I said, "if I gave it to you, wouldn't it be public property? Couldn't the people you have been visiting over here at the U. A. W., the Reuthers, and so forth, get a copy of it?" They said, "Probably so." I said "Couldn't anybody else get a copy of it?" They said, "I imagine, yes," "Well," I said, "I will not give it to you. I don't know what you want it for, but we have had plenty of experience with these yellow, dirty, cowardly tactics of intimidation, and we are not going to put these men up and make them targets for this same thing. If we gave the list of these men to you, they would be getting threats; their homes would be called on, and they would be intimidated. I would hate to think that the La Follette committee wanted it for this purpose. They will not get it from me." They said, "We are sorry, and it might be better for you and for everybody if you had given

it to us"—in other words, an implied threat. So it ended, and I told them, in effect, to go to hell.

Now, I think it was the attitude of the members of the La Follette committee, and the inactivity, which I would call treasonable, of Governor Murphy, throughout this thing, that built it up to where it was; and I can make this statement—that if there had been any bloodshed, anything worse than happened, it would be purely upon Governor Murphy's shoulders.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you have anything else, Mr. Barringer, that you want to volunteer about the other activities in Flint while you were city manager?

Mr. BARRINGER. Except this—that all through my job there as city manager we did keep track of the Communist activities, and we knew that they were building up to the point where they were going to make trouble. Now, there are others who can probably give you a much better picture, as to names, and so forth, than I can.

Mr. MOSIER. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Barringer, will you take the stand again? I would like to ask you another question.

Since your testimony has referred to the two members of the La Follette committee with whom you had conversation in your office, I will ask you if the La Follette committee, as a matter of fact, subpoenaed anybody from Flint?

Mr. BARRINGER. They did.

Mr. MOSIER. In their investigation?

Mr. BARRINGER. They subpoenaed Bob Travis and some other men in the union. They subpoenaed the chief of police, George Boysen. They called Travis and the union men down and publicized their statements, but did not call any of us, and I was not subpoenaed. They did not call to Washington any of the men on our side—as I say, the side of law and order.

I would like to make one further statement.

These statements went all over the country from the La Follette committee. I read them in the Flint papers—of Bob Travis, where he said the Flint police and the Flint Alliance incited these riots for the purpose of getting the union in dutch and putting the blame on them. We had to sit there defenceless and take it. We had no redress. It went all over the country, and that was the type of publicity that the La Follette committee was putting out.

Mr. MOSIER. About Flint, Mich.?

Mr. BARRINGER. Yes, sir; and for the country at large.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the chief of police; was he subpoenaed?

Mr. BARRINGER. He was subpoenaed, but never called.

The CHAIRMAN. They never put him on the stand?

Mr. BARRINGER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We will adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow, and finish by 12 o'clock tomorrow.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned until tomorrow, Saturday October 22, 1938, at 10 a. m.)



INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1938

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

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

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. We will recall Lieutenant Mulbar for a few questions.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF LT. HAROLD MULBAR

The CHAIRMAN. Lieutenant, there were several questions I failed to ask you. You testified yesterday about men who were compelled to stay in the plant; also, that certain men were compelled to pay union dues before they could get out.

Have you available any statements made by these men?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have those statements.

Lieutenant MULBAR. Do you wish me to read them?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I want the statements of the men who testified that they could not get out of the plants unless they joined the union and paid dues.

Lieutenant MULBAR. These were oral statements made to myself and the men working under me in Flint at that time, when they were interviewing those who had been in the plants.

The CHAIRMAN. You went there at the request of the Governor, did you?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You and these other men were sent by the Governor to investigate what were the facts?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Of course, I was assigned by the commissioner, and I am assuming, under the instructions of the Governor to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not to stop anything or to use any authority?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You just went there in an investigation capacity?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

If I may, I would like to withhold the names of the individuals, for their own particular protection, if that is permissible. If you want them, I will gladly give them to you.

The CHAIRMAN. You may withhold the names.

Lieutenant MULBAR. These men are still working in the plants, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am interested in getting now are reports that you have of men who could not get out of the plant until they joined the union and paid dues.

Lieutenant MULBAR. I shall try to locate some of those, Mr. Chairman. This volume is not indexed in that way, and it may take me a few moments to locate them.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you try to get them to us before 12 o'clock?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Very well, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any Federal or other outside officials in the plant of the strikers?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I received a report and read a newspaper clipping which I believe I have in this scrapbook of all the clippings covering the strike, of the Lieutenant Governor of the State being in one of the plants, where he addressed the sit-down strikers.

The CHAIRMAN. Inside the plant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any other officials that you know of that were addressing the strikers inside the plant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is the only one I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they encouraging the strikers, if you know?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I do not know; I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. If you do not know, do not testify concerning it.

Lieutenant MULBAR. I have a clipping here telling of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to the plant. That is about the only official information that I had of any State official or other official being inside the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. When you find that information, we will recall you; thank you, Lieutenant.

We will recall Mr. Barringer for a few questions.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF JOHN M. BARRINGER

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barringer, do you work for anyone now?

Mr. BARRINGER. Do I?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BARRINGER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are retired?

Mr. BARRINGER. No; I am a farmer.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not work for any corporation?

Mr. BARRINGER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you active in politics?

Mr. BARRINGER. I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. You were city manager; is that a political job, or what is it?

Mr. BARRINGER. No, sir; the city manager form of government is purely nonpartisan. That is the effectiveness of it. There are no political issues or any other issues concerned in the city manager

form of government. The city manager is not elected. He is appointed by the nine city commissioners, who are elected.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have taken no active part in the Governor's race, or anything of that sort?

Mr. BARRINGER. No. I think Flint has been very free from any partisan matters concerning the city government.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Communist Party very active in politics now?

Mr. BARRINGER. They have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have a candidate for Governor and Lieutenant Governor on the State ticket?

Mr. BARRINGER. No. I think the Communist Party, according to the newspaper reports, have endorsed Governor Murphy for reelection.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any repudiation of that endorsement?

Mr. BARRINGER. Not to my knowledge, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all, thank you.

We will call Donald W. Gardner.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD W. GARDNER

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Donald W. Gardner?

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a reporter for the Detroit Times?

Mr. GARDNER. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live—in Detroit?

Mr. GARDNER. I live in Lansing.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. GARDNER. About 20 months.

The CHAIRMAN. About 20 months?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, were you present covering the Lansing holiday?

Mr. GARDNER. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. What date was that?

Mr. GARDNER. June 7, 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Who called that holiday?

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Lester E. Washburn.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did he hold in the union?

Mr. GARDNER. At the time he was president of Lansing Local No. 182 of the United Auto Workers Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of calling the holiday, as he announced it?

Mr. GARDNER. Washburn called the holiday, he told me, to protest the action of the sheriff of Ingham County in arresting eight pickets against whom had been issued an injunction to stop them from picketing the Capital City Wrecking Co., which was then on strike in Lansing. I can quote you his words from a story that I wrote.

The CHAIRMAN. Those words were said to you?

Mr. GARDNER. That is right. In calling the strike Washburn said:

In celebration of the sheriff's brave act in arresting our men and women, the workers of Lansing have called a labor holiday so the world will never forget Sheriff McDonald and his courageous deed.

He also issued an official statement some time that morning in which he said:

The brave sheriff and his deputies who lacked the courage to arrest people in the process of the alleged violation of the injunction had no fears in arresting people in their sleep.

He said that, sort of chiding the sheriff for not doing something about the anarchy that prevailed in Lansing on that day.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there at all times and saw everything that took place?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, as much as I could.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there watching the occurrences?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And reporting them?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you follow the parade down to the university?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose, in your own language, you tell us exactly what happened from the time you arrived on the scene, until it was over.

Mr. GARDNER. I will have to tell you how that actually took place. In the office of Chief Alfred Seymour, the chief of police of Lansing, that afternoon about 4 o'clock, were met Washburn, a few of his aides; Thomas J. Bailey, the Ingham County prosecuting attorney; Justice William Seelye, who had signed the warrants for the arrest of these pickets; and the chief. While this meeting was in progress, a runner for the union arrived and told Washburn that several of his men had been thrown into the Red Cedar River by college boys. Washburn said, "Well send a group out there right away and don't come back until you bring back part of the college."

So this runner went on. It was at that time that Bailey, the prosecuting attorney, had decided to release these pickets, which included the wife of Washburn, Mrs. Neva Washburn, and a Mrs. Christian, the wife of another picket.

As these pickets were led out of the jail, they were escorted to the steps of the State capitol, where a minor celebration was held. Photographers took the pictures of the women, and so forth. They had loud speakers set up there on the steps of the capitol and they were celebrating.

At this time one of the union leaders came to the microphone and ordered several score—at least as many as could, to go to the college.

The CHAIRMAN. What leader was that?

Mr. GARDNER. I could not tell you. Well, then literally hundreds of them—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing.) He ordered them to go to the college?

Mr. GARDNER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people were assembled there?

Mr. GARDNER. At the college?

The CHAIRMAN. No, before they went to the college.

Mr. GARDNER. I should judge at least 15,000 men were in the downtown area at the time. Many of them were at the capitol, many of them were blockading stores, many of them were doing various tasks. Many of them were closing stores.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they forcibly close stores?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, yes; many of them; virtually all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they do that, just walk up to the proprietor of the store and say, "You have got to close your store?"

Mr. GARDNER. No; they would not say, "You have got to close your store," but they would say, "You would like to close your store, wouldn't you?"

The CHAIRMAN. How many would go and tell that to the proprietor?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, there were roving bands of these men.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they armed?

Mr. GARDNER. No—I cannot say from first-hand knowledge. Many of them carried clubs.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am talking about. They had these clubs?

Mr. GARDNER. Sticks and clubs. But a good share of them were not. I have pictures showing large groups here. There are very few clubs in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. And they went around to these stores, you say?

Mr. GARDNER. They were members of the flying squadron. I do not know whether you are familiar with that or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are they?

Mr. GARDNER. They are the shock troops of the U. A. W.

The CHAIRMAN. They went to the proprietors and asked them if they would not like to close their stores, is that right?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did all of them like to close their store?

Mr. GARDNER. A great many of them did not like to, but most of them did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they close down every store there?

Mr. GARDNER. Virtually. There were only drug stores and hotels that were open that day.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they permit people to come in and leave?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes—well, they would not permit customers to go in, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not permit customers to go into the stores?

Mr. GARDNER. No. They would form lines in front of the store, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they stop the United States mails?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, postmen on foot, I presume, could get through. I did not see any stopped. But city trucks could not get through.

The CHAIRMAN. Trucks carrying the United States mails were not permitted to get through?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not know of any specific instance, but I know all traffic was stopped.

The CHAIRMAN. Describe it to us, so we will understand it.

Mr. GARDNER. At 8 in the morning I was called to the streets by a lot of noise. There were horns blowing and shouting, and so forth. I was at the city hall at the time. Outside the door there were hundreds of cars congregated in the downtown area. They were parked in the street four or five abreast, right across the street.

The CHAIRMAN. So as to block all traffic?

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct. I have pictures showing that.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to the pictures in a moment. Was that true of fire trucks, and all other trucks?

Mr. GARDNER. For a while. About 10:30 in the morning someone came to Washburn and pointed out this thing to him; I do not remember whether it was a union man or a reporter, but somebody called Washburn's attention to the fact that fire trucks could not get through. He said, "Well, we will have to open up a lane for them," which they presumably did. I remember during the day I did see a fire truck get through.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of fire trucks, was anything permitted through?

Mr. GARDNER. No; no business trucks of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN. They had the whole place blocked off in a circle, all the streets leading into or around the capitol?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, that is right. The capitol is in the downtown area. It is practically the center of the city. The streets were blocked. Some of them were blocked by large vans belonging to the Fisher Body Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they take the trucks away from the owners in order to block the streets with them?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, yes. The owner in this case, of course, was the Fisher Body Corporation. The driver himself permitted this. He steered the truck into place and left it.

The CHAIRMAN. Just left the truck there?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the capitol of the State was completely surrounded by a barricade of cars.

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And people could not get in or get out?

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And these flying squads, armed with clubs, were going into various sections around there and closing the stores?

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And all the stores were closed with the exception of the drug stores, as you have testified?

Mr. GARDNER. And hotels.

The CHAIRMAN. And hotels. They were permitted to remain open?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, there were probably a few stores scattered around that were open, that had not been reached by these bands.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those bands did you see operating there?

Mr. GARDNER. At least a score, I should say.

The CHAIRMAN. At least a score of bands. How many would you say were in a band?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, they were ranging from one car full to three cars full.

The CHAIRMAN. They would go around in these cars?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And then get out and go into the store?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes. Then they would report back to the city hall where, on one of the cars, a union leader stood with a megaphone directing, giving orders, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have their headquarters at the city hall?

Mr. GARDNER. Did they have their headquarters at the city hall?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, right outside the city hall.

The CHAIRMAN. What were the authorities doing, police, State or local?

Mr. GARDNER. I saw no State police in the city at that time, at any time during the day, in official or unofficial capacity. The local police chief, Mr. Seymour, had canceled all leaves of his police force and was using them in the city hall to guard the pickets who were under arrest. The police chief feared that this mob would attempt to free them.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you call them a mob? Did they have the appearance of a mob? Were they shouting and screaming?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And doing things of that sort?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any officials around there that saw this condition?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes. There were officials there. The mayor was in his office that morning. He was asked to close the city hall, which he did.

The CHAIRMAN. They asked him to close the city hall and he did?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes. He posted notices all around the offices and closed the City Hall.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom else did you see around there, what other official?

Mr. GARDNER. I did not see the sheriff all day. He was apparently hiding some place. The prosecuting attorney was not present until late that afternoon. In fact, everyone was looking for him.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the mayor's name?

Mr. GARDNER. Max A. Templeton.

The CHAIRMAN. What other official did you see there who observed these happenings?

Mr. GARDNER. The Governor saw them later that day. He arrived at the Capitol about 1 p. m. This group left the city hall the first time about 10.30 or 11 o'clock, paraded around the capitol, four abreast, all around it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Governor make a speech to them?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; he made a speech, but I did not hear it myself. I saw him speaking there, but I did not hear the speech myself. I was busy doing other things.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand orders were given by this leader who spoke from the sound truck to go to the university, to do what with the university?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, Washburn made the statement in the chief's office, to go out to the college, "And don't come back until you bring back part of it."

The CHAIRMAN. Did they proceed to go to the college?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of them went?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, between two and three thousand, I should judge. There may have been more. They could not get near the place because, as soon as they got to the limits of East Lansing, they were met by a group of at least 3,000 students.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we get to that, the reason they were going was that it was reported that some students had done what to two pickets?

Mr. GARDNER. To about six pickets. They had thrown them into the Red Cedar River.

The CHAIRMAN. They had thrown them into the Red Cedar River?

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was the occasion for the order to march on the university?

Mr. GARDNER. I learned later—do you want to know the reason why they were thrown in?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GARDNER. I learned later that the pickets had been thrown in because they attempted to close a few establishments in East Lansing. Those students, at the Michigan State College, get hungry about 5:30 and they like to eat, and when pickets start closing restaurants, the students act. That was the reason.

The CHAIRMAN. When this crowd of two or three thousand started toward the university, was any effort made by any authorities to stop them?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. There were not any policemen on the scene, no State troops, no one to stop them?

Mr. GARDNER. There was no authority shown at any time during that day.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet it was known that they had been ordered to go there and bring back part of the university, if necessary?

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That was generally known?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet there were not any police or anyone in authority that made a move to stop that?

Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How far did they have to go?

Mr. GARDNER. About 3 miles.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they go there in cars, or did they march there?

Mr. GARDNER. In cars.

The CHAIRMAN. In cars?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was it that they met the 3,000 students?

Mr. GARDNER. They were met at the city limits of East Lansing.

The CHAIRMAN. What took place when the 2,000 strikers met the 3,000 students.

Mr. GARDNER. Nothing happened. That is the funny part of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did happen?

Mr. GARDNER. The students were shouting for blood, and the unionists, when they got there, seemed to change their minds a bit, and decided, perhaps, that it would not be a good plan, after all, to do

anything out there. A student leader named Vincent Vanderberg spoke to the students, and asked them to refrain from any show of force of violence. After shouting at the students for at least half an hour, he finally persuaded them to disperse. The unionists were called to go back to Lansing, and they turned their cars around and went back.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they get their cars turned around?

Mr. GARDNER. There is a boulevard running there, and they were able to turn around in one of the aisles.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the students do then? Did they go back in triumph?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When the unionists came back to Lansing, what happened there?

Mr. GARDNER. That was the end of the labor holiday. The blockade was broken up about 4 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. How many hours were the highways blocked?

Mr. GARDNER. From 8 a. m. until 4 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. During that time no one could go through in a vehicle or truck, except later on, about 10:30, they opened one lane.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They completely surrounded the Capitol of the State of Michigan.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see many out-of-town cars there?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir. During the early part of the afternoon there were many U. A. W. U. members from Flint, Pontiac, Eaton Rapids, and Charlotte, and some surrounding towns there.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any out-of-State cars there?

Mr. GARDNER. I would not know them, if I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear any songs or music played?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir. During the day the unionists set up a sound system on the capitol steps, and played phonograph records, including "Solidarity," etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Internationale sung?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything you can add to that, by giving us a verbal description of what took place there? You have some photographs there.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see those photographs. Who took these photographs?

Mr. GARDNER. I took some of them, and some of them were taken by other people.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a photograph of the blocked streets, at Washington and Michigan Avenues. This shows automobiles and buses.

Mr. GARDNER. There is a city transport bus abandoned in the street. The driver could not get through.

The CHAIRMAN. The next photograph you offer is one which shows one of the flying squads.

Mr. GARDNER. That photograph shows pickets outside of the City Wrecking Co.

The CHAIRMAN. It shows some women with clubs and bricks.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next shows a street.

Mr. GARDNER. That does not show the street. That is a parking area.

The CHAIRMAN. What does this photograph show, with cars blocking the street?

Mr. GARDNER. In the background you can see cars blocking the street, and in the foreground is the parking area back of the city hall.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this photograph?

Mr. GARDNER. That is a picture of Governor Murphy looking out of his office window at the crowd outside of the capitol.

The CHAIRMAN. What does this picture show?

Mr. GARDNER. This is Lester Washburn, leader of the union, speaking to the strikers from the top of the jail, in connection with the city hall.

The CHAIRMAN. That is when he was asking them to go.

Mr. GARDNER. To march on the capitol to protest the arrest of the eight pickets to Governor Murphy.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those pickets ever tried?

Mr. GARDNER. No, sir; many of them were released. As I recall, I do not think any of them were punished for the violation of this nonpicketing injunction. However, Washburn was later arrested with this same group on the charge of illegal picketing under another statute, and they are now appealing to the United States Supreme Court on it, I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether some of them were punished? You do not know of your own knowledge?

Mr. GARDNER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want these photographs back?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir; I must have them back.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF HAROLD MOYER

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Harold Moyer.

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You run a grocery store?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your grocery store?

Mr. MOYER. In relation to the downtown district, I am about 2 miles south and 1 mile west.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what town?

Mr. MOYER. The central part of Lansing.

The CHAIRMAN. You have an independent grocery store?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no affiliation with any corporation, or anything of that sort.

Mr. MOYER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the incident of the Lansing labor holiday that the previous witness has testified about?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear his testimony?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he correctly describe what took place there?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your store one that was closed by the flying squad?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir; I was closed by what is known as the flying squadron.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were in the squad that waited on you?

Mr. MOYER. May I say that first they called me by telephone.

The CHAIRMAN. Who called you?

Mr. MOYER. Somebody describing himself as from union headquarters. He said, "We are having a labor holiday," and asked if we would close to help them carry out their cause. I said that I saw no reason why I should close, but that in the event they would send one of their officials to explain it further, I would entertain it. That they never did. However, late in the afternoon—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). At what time?

Mr. MOYER. I would say about 3:45. In the confusion, several cars drove up in front of my store. There was a space of pavement, that having been a boulevard. Four other stores were adjacent to my store, including three grocery stores and a drug store. They dispersed from the cars in front, and I would say that between 35 and 40 got out. They separated and went to the various stores. A man came into my store. None of them I had ever seen. They came in and instructed me that we were to close. I said, "Gentlemen, I have no reason to close. There is no blockade down here, and the downtown people must eat." One of them took hold of one end of the counter, as much as to say, "Here goes." I looked around over the situation. None of them inside of the store were armed. However, two were standing on either side of the entrance, where there were glass windows, and they were carrying clubs. So I agreed to close, without further argument with them.

The CHAIRMAN. You closed through compulsion?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

I might state that many closed their stores after I closed. When I closed, I dismissed the help and went home. I knew that it would be no use, knowing the situation in the city, having been down there several times. I knew the situation. I went home and sat down on the porch to read. In a few minutes I glanced toward the store, and noticed that the Kroger Store next to mine was open. So I went in and called up one of the men on the outside, and told him I would like to come back, and wanted to open up. The call was made by phone. This was one of the local officers of the local union, and I was told that I could go back and open up my store.

The CHAIRMAN. You were then given permission to reopen your store.

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you reopen?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir; I went back and opened up. I might say that in the afternoon, the central part of the city was completely paralyzed, with all the stores closed. We did a regular Saturday business. People were calling on us, that we had never served before, because we were open and this situation might be prolonged for

possibly a week. A lot of my staples were completely sold out that day. People were fearful that they would not get something to eat the next day. I had a lot of orders that I had to send out, and that I sent out in my personal car. I was fearful of taking a truck.

The CHAIRMAN. They were taking trucks from some people.

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir; trucks and other machines had been taken. The keys were thrown away, and they were not permitted to use them. These squadrons were milling around the city at a tremendous rate of speed, paying no attention to stop signs or red lights.

The CHAIRMAN. Were many of the squads armed with clubs?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they went on through the city lights?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At terrific rates of speed?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir. There was one lady who came in my store. She had come 3 miles, and she was stopped for no reason whatever three different times. At one time they opened the hood of the car and disconnected the spark plugs in the motor. The lady was alone, with a baby in the car.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any police around, or any attempt made to stop it?

Mr. MOYER. No, sir. From the information I gathered from the papers at that time, the police department were called off the streets, because the chief was fearful that, as individuals, they would be injured. They did not have sufficient strength to cope with the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. That occurred within the shadow of the State capitol.

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir. I talked with one gentleman the next day. I might say that in Lansing they formed a Citizens Club, a protective club. There were some 32,000 people who within 48 hours signed up through coupons in the local paper to the effect that they were interested in having protection. That would be approximately one-third of the city of Lansing. The next day following that, I was on the spot because the American Legion was given credit for organizing this group, and I was at the time commander of one of the local posts. Some union men immediately took exception to my stand, and were very indignant that I would be affiliated with any organization of that type. I talked to many of them about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You finally restored law and order by the citizens themselves demanding it and taking definite steps.

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir.

To my knowledge, as the Colonel testified, there were city police and State police, but they were not enforcing order of any kind within the city.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a complete break-down of law and order within a stone throw of the capitol.

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir; I think you will readily see, in view of the fact that this followed so closely on the heels of the previous strike in Flint, that they took advantage of it, and realized they had the upper hand. It wore on throughout the morning, and at noon there seemed to be some encouragement of stopping this. They had seen that the Governor would be in his office by 1 o'clock, and every-

body lived in hopes that when he arrived he would disperse this mob.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he, or was any effort made to do that?

Mr. MOYER. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that it was an open rebellion against the civil authorities?

Mr. MOYER. Yes, sir. I was informed by a man representing the company I carried insurance with that had anything happened within the downtown section of the city of Lansing the insurance company would not have been responsible, due to the mob rule, which automatically cancels insurance.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. MOYER. I was informed by the representative of the insurance company with whom I insure my goods that in the event there had been a fire or destruction within the confines of this part of the city, downtown, the insurance company would not have been responsible because of the mob rule, and the inability of the fire department and other apparatus to operate.

The CHAIRMAN. The mail trucks could not get through the blockade either.

Mr. MOYER. It would be impossible for anything to proceed through this large section of downtown Lansing.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you for your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF MR. REX WATSON

(The witness was duly sworn by the Chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Rex Watson.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. WATSON. In Lansing, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived at Lansing?

Mr. WATSON. Fifty years.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, all your life.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. WATSON. A bank guard.

The CHAIRMAN. For what bank?

Mr. WATSON. The American State Savings Bank.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by a bank guard? Do you stand outside and guard the bank, or inside?

Mr. WATSON. Inside.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that job?

Mr. WATSON. Five years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the Lansing labor holiday incident that has been testified about by other witnesses?

Mr. WATSON. Very well; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard their testimony.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they accurately describe what took place?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you waited upon, or was the bank waited upon, by this flying squadron?

Mr. WATSON. They did not get inside.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they do?

Mr. WATSON. There were two groups that were outside and they had some talk among themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they talk to you?

Mr. WATSON. I talked to one member—

The CHAIRMAN. Of the flying squadron?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say to you?

Mr. WATSON. I asked him if they were going in, and said that I could not stop them. I suggested that they do not. I suggested that when they did they were trespassing on Federal property, and they stayed away.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell them you would resist them to the utmost if they attempted to enter?

Mr. WATSON. I told him there would be some that would not get out.

The CHAIRMAN. And they did not come in this bank.

Mr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any police protection whatsoever there?

Mr. WATSON. None.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they so effectively block the streets that no vehicle could come in or go out?

Mr. WATSON. Not anything could go through.

The CHAIRMAN. Could the United States mail go through?

Mr. WATSON. Nothing could go through the streets. They were blockaded from curb to curb.

The CHAIRMAN. That was from 8 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do mails normally come through there during those hours?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many mail trucks normally come in there? Was the post office within the blockaded area?

Mr. WATSON. It was just on the edge of it. The area blockaded was between the post office and the Union Station.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the post office blockaded?

Mr. WATSON. Not entirely. Trucks could go around.

The CHAIRMAN. The trucks could go around the blockade.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir; but it would take them about 7 miles farther on the trip.

The CHAIRMAN. They could get to the post office.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have substations within the blockaded area?

Mr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not any mail trucks went through there that day?

Mr. WATSON. They could not have gotten through.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless, as you say, they went 7 miles around.

Mr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any of them did that?

Mr. WATSON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. The route that they usually pursued was completely blockaded, and they could not travel over that route.

Mr. WATSON. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how many times trucks normally go to the post office?

Mr. WATSON. No, sir; I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say a good many times?

Mr. WATSON. They would make at least a dozen trips a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you can add to the testimony that has been given here by other witnesses so as to give us a more complete picture of what took place there?

Mr. WATSON. I do not think so; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear any songs sung during the day, or the playing of any records?

Mr. WATSON. I was not close to the sound truck in the evening. There was a big meeting on the capitol grounds, and I could hear the noise of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not the International, the official song of Russia, was played?

Mr. WATSON. I think it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that that was an open undisguised rebellion against the civil authorities?

Mr. WATSON. It certainly was; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know it to be a fact that stores were closed that day under compulsion?

Mr. WATSON. I know that some were.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that some were closed?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see the crowd when they went down there and started toward the university?

Mr. WATSON. No, sir; I did not see them start.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the men on the outside of your bank armed with clubs?

Mr. WATSON. Most of the so-called fighting squadrons were.

The CHAIRMAN. They were armed with clubs?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About how long were those clubs?

Mr. WATSON. Approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long.

The CHAIRMAN. How large in diameter, would you say they were?

Mr. WATSON. I would say they were a little heavier than the ordinary lath—possibly 2 inches wide, and half an inch thick.

The CHAIRMAN. They were sufficiently strong and heavy to inflict serious bodily injury?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any man being arrested for carrying any of those clubs?

Mr. WATSON. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF LT. HAROLD MULBAR

The CHAIRMAN. Lieutenant, have you found those names?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I have found several.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the cases you have.

Lieutenant MULBAR. The statement here deals with interviewing one of the men employed at the plant, giving his name and address, living in the city of Flint. This relates to his departure from Fisher plant No. 1. He states at the time the strike was called, a man, giving the name, informed him, and he was held in the plant from approximately 9:30 p. m. until 4 a. m. He stated that from official sources within the plant the impression was left with him that it would be necessary for the men to join the union before they were permitted to go out. He says he paid his dues to Bert Harris. He was instructed to call at union headquarters for a union card. He said that he did not. The only reason he paid the \$1 was so he would be able to leave the plant peacefully.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you recognize or identify the signature of Bert Harris?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Eugene Fay?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I have heard of him.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not identify this card here?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you identify the signature of Bob Travis? Do you know the signature of Bob Travis?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Go ahead and read these reports.

Lieutenant MULBAR. Here is a report, rather brief, giving the name and address of an individual, where he states that he was held in the plant for several hours after the sitdown, against his will; that he paid \$1 to Mr. Bert Harris as a fee, and was permitted to go home. He says that he never returned to the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. You are reading from the official records of the State Police of Michigan?

Lieutenant MULBAR. This is the record that I took out of the file in the office of the State police at East Lansing.

Here is the address of another individual, giving his name and the city he resides in, who states that he was taken by force and held in the plant for several hours against his will.

These are just a few of a number of cases of that same kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there other cases in the records?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; quite a few of them. And I am quite sure that the G-2 of the National Guard has reports along that same line. I remember talking to Captain Cleary about it at the time, who was with, I think, Major Croshaw, who was also a part of G-2.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the incident of the Lansing day holiday—the Lansing holiday?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in the official headquarters of the State police on that date?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How far was it from the capitol?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I would say that we were about 3 miles from the State capitol.

The CHAIRMAN. How far were you from the scene of the riot?

Lieutenant MULBAR. About 3 miles.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that this thing was going on?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I heard about it; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive reports that flying squadrons were going around the streets, armed with clubs, and closing stores.

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that an open rebellion was taking place there?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, I knew there was a lot of trouble in the city of Lansing.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not characterize it as a rebellion?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you and the other State police go there and put a stop to it and give protection to those people?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I had no authority to move down there without orders from my superiors.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are your superiors?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Governor Murphy and Commissioner Olander.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever give you any orders to move?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you had to have some affirmative order before you could go down there and restore order?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct. The policy of the State of Michigan under those conditions would be that the State police would be prohibited from moving in unless so instructed to do so by the Governor.

The CHAIRMAN. You never received any such instructions?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get—well, there were not any instructions not to move, because it was not necessary?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did not get any instructions to move at any time?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the reason the State police stayed inside, or stayed at their headquarters, and took no part whatever in the matter?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That, I presume, was the reason we did not enter the city of Lansing.

The CHAIRMAN. How far was the State college from your headquarters?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, actually the State police headquarters is a part of the campus itself. In other words, to the main buildings of the college I would say it is approximately a quarter of a mile.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not do anything on your own initiative; you had to get instructions?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get reports that some 3,000 strikers, or participants in the demonstration, were marching on the State University?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes; we did hear of that—that the strikers had left Lansing and had gone out to East Lansing to close up the stores there, and duplicate what they had done in the city of Lansing;

and we later learned, of course, that the students took exception to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that students were assembling to resist it?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet that was within a stone's throw of your headquarters?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Very close.

The CHAIRMAN. And you never, at any time, received instructions to stop a mob of 2,000 marching down on the State university?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you and the others not appreciate the grave danger there; that there were liable to be lives lost?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, we would have gone gladly if we had been called.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you would have gone; but didn't you appreciate the fact—didn't you all know that there was grave danger that people might be killed, knowing that 2,000 people were marching, some armed with clubs, and were about to be met with 3,000 who were also armed—some of them were, were they not—the students?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well it was a dangerous situation, and we did realize that, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. You realized that everything that took place that day was of the gravest danger to human life and property, did you not?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And, so far as the State police was concerned, you would have been willing and ready to have gone there to carry out orders for the protection of life and property?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; if we had had such orders.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had had such orders from the Governor and the Commissioner?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But, lacking such orders, you were powerless to act?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right. I want to call attention also to the fact that the Commissioner was powerless to issue such instructions, without instructions from the Governor.

The CHAIRMAN. You and the Commissioner were powerless to act without instructions from the Governor?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was the Governor when this thing happened?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I could not say from my own personal knowledge, although I heard that he was over on the campus of the college when the invasion occurred by the mob from Lansing.

The CHAIRMAN. You never got any telephone call from him?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I did not personally, and I had no knowledge of anyone in the Department getting a call from him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to him that day?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anybody in your presence talk to him that day?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of no calls that went forth from the Governor or the Commissioner to the State police?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir. The only thing I know is that our force was ready to go into action when it was necessary. I mean to say, if we were called we were ready to go.

The CHAIRMAN. Who gave those instructions to be ready?

Lieutenant MULBAR. They were partly my instructions and partly Captain Marmon's instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it was just good luck that human lives were not lost there on that day?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, I think that is probably right.

The CHAIRMAN. You had ample laws in that state to stop that, did you not?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Under what law could you have prevented that?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, of course, under the laws of the State of Michigan, when three or more people become disorderly, you can read the riot act to them. That will give the proper authority to take the necessary action to stop the disturbance. It becomes a felony.

The CHAIRMAN. A felony under your State law?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. If three or more people participate in a disorderly meeting?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, didn't you have a law that would prevent a man—what offense is it to forcibly close up a man's store? Is not that a felony, for a man to walk in and, through compulsion, say to another man, in effect, "You must close your store?"

Lieutenant MULBAR. Mr. Dies, you are asking me for a legal opinion, and I am not going to—I don't know just what the law would be on that.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that you are not a lawyer, but as a lieutenant you have some knowledge of what the laws are, because you have got to enforce them?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that there is a law against men being armed with dangerous weapons, do you not?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And is not a club such as they carried considered a dangerous weapon in Michigan?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, I just wonder about that. I would consider it personally as a dangerous weapon. How far we would get in court, with a man parading down the street with a club in his hand, I don't know. It might be necessary to prove the purpose of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not familiar with the legal end of it?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I do not know that it is unlawful to carry a revolver, a knife, or other dangerous weapon. Personally I would consider such a club as they carried a dangerous weapon, and I will say frankly that they were not carrying them for canes that day.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Lieutenant, a club that long could kill a man, could it not?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Oh yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If it hit him on the head, it could kill him?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right. Personally I would consider it a dangerous weapon.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see how anyone could consider it otherwise. If a man hit another man over the head, or over the nose, he could inflict a mortal injury.

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right; very easily.

The CHAIRMAN. You have laws against unlawful trespassing?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If a man goes onto another man's property, on his premises, that is unlawful trespassing, is it not?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Haven't you a law against blockading highways?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a felony?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I do not think that would be felony; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is a misdemeanor?

Lieutenant MULBAR. It is a violation of the law.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the United States law against blockading a post office in a Federal building, do you not?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a high crime under this Government for any group, under any pretext, to block up the passage of mail trucks; is not that a fact?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that is interference with the United States mails, under the statute?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So, as a matter of fact, you had misdemeanors and felonies under the State law, and you had a high crime under the Federal law, being violated there on this particular day?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet no effort was made to stop it, and nothing was ever done to punish those responsible for it?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Lieutenant, you are an appointee—you hold an appointment to your office?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Of course—just how do you mean that? I am an employee of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that under civil service?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Under civil service. We have a Civil Service Act; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not take any part in any political campaigns?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I am prohibited by law from doing so.

The CHAIRMAN. You are taking no part in the present political campaign?

Lieutenant MULBAR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here under subpoena?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. To tell the truth?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of where the chips fall?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There were well-known Communists taking leading parts in this demonstration that day, were there not?

Lieutenant MULBAR. That was the report we received, yes; and I believe it to be true.

The CHAIRMAN. You received reports during the day that Communists were directing the whole thing?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, I would not say the whole thing.

The CHAIRMAN. But they were taking a very active part in it?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir; I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get reports that they were playing the Third Internationale?

Lieutenant MULBAR. I heard that later; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the report that you got?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As lieutenant?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It came to you in your official capacity?

Lieutenant MULBAR. Well, it came to me in my post there, and I suppose that would be in my official capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. Lieutenant, we want to express our appreciation to you for coming here and telling us the truth about this situation. That is what we are interested in getting—a true picture of just what took place there—and this committee wants to express its appreciation to you. Of course you had to come, but nevertheless we appreciate the fact that you did come.

Lieutenant MULBAR. Thank you, Mr. Dies. I was glad to come.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there are witnesses due here from several different sections. We probably will begin Monday morning at 10 o'clock on an entirely different phase, dealing with an entirely different section that has not yet been touched upon. These witnesses are due in here Sunday night.

Then, according to the conversation which the chairman had with the attorney for Mr. Homer Martin, the chair is to be notified what day is mutually convenient next week to appear and to testify. Mr. Martin is under subpoena, and, as previously stated, Mr. Martin was not feeling well and asked the chair to postpone his appearance until next week, which was done.

Then we have witnesses due here that will testify with reference to the sit-down strikes in other sections, and as to the men who took leading parts in these strikes, and the outsiders who appeared there, and so on and so forth.

The chair will state that he has received three or four telegrams from people who have been named in this particular sit-down strike inquiry during this week, who have denied statements made against them, and those telegrams are available to any member of the press who wants them.

The chair also wants to make it plain that all witnesses who have appeared here were subpoenaed by our investigator: Mr. Chester Howe, who spent 2 months in the Detroit area investigating the situation, and who issued subpoenas for these people to appear here and to testify.

The chair also wishes to reiterate the fact that all these witnesses are not only under subpoena, but their transportation was paid here and they were given their \$5 a day. The object of making that statement is to offset what has been reported to the chair to be rumors to the effect that these people have appeared here voluntarily, or that they came as a group and volunteered, or anything of that sort. As a matter of fact, all of them are witnesses that the investigator found, during a period of 2 months and subpoenaed to come here to testify.

The Chair has also stated many times that any individual or organization, through any official representative, will be accorded the full opportunity to appear before this committee and, under oath, to deny any charge or attack that has been made that involves that particular individual or that organization. That statement has been made many, many times, and the Chair again reiterates it. As a result of that invitation some three or four people have indicated a desire to appear before the committee, and the Chair has immediately informed them that when they are ready and have their material they are at liberty to come. Those who have asked to appear include Miss Ellen Woodward, of the Federal Theater project; Mr. Alberg, also of the Federal Theater project, and Miss Hallie Flanagan, also of the Federal Theater project. All of them have been told that they would be accorded the full opportunity when they are ready. They are now preparing their material. The committee afforded them an opportunity to get all of the testimony that was given here with reference to those projects, and when they are ready, and at a date that the Chair can fix, they will appear.

Those, I think, are the only ones who have asked as a right to appear before this committee and answer any of these statements. The Chair hopes that others will avail themselves of the opportunity, because all that the committee is interested in is to get the facts. We want all sides to be heard, and if any testimony appears before this committee that is biased, colored, or predicated upon false statements, we want to know that fact; and we will accord them full opportunity to establish those facts, and when the facts are established, the committee will be the first ones to acknowledge the truth and to correct any false impressions or statements that have been made.

We will not adjourn until Monday, because I am not sure that these witnesses will arrive, but I feel fairly certain they will. But rather than have the press and others have to make a useless trip here, we will notify members of the press Monday morning at, say, 9 o'clock if there is to be a hearing. If you do not receive notification, then you need not go to the trouble of coming here. But I feel sure that we will have a hearing on Monday.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

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